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BUCHANAN's

HISTORY

OF

SCOTLAND.

The SECOND EDITION, Reviſed and Corrected from the LATIN Original,

By Mr. *BOND.*

VOL. II.

Adorned with Curious CUTTS Engraven from the Original Paintings, by Mr. *White*, Mr. *Vertue*, &c.

142247

LONDON:

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00142247

TO

Henry Jermyn Bond, Eſq;

SIR,

WHILE I am offering this VOLUME to You, I do not look upon my ſelf, as a Writer, who is chuſing a New Patron, but, as an obliged Man, who is publickly approaching an experienced Friend. You have been *ſo* to me, ever ſince we firſt knew one another, and, while ſome Authors are forced to ſeek out, with Diligence, for Perſons, who may be generous enough to *oblige them*, You always ſought to *oblige me* with Your Favours. This Your ſo ſingular and diſtinguiſhed Goodneſs towards me, could not poſſibly do leſs, than create in me the ſtrongeſt Affection; and then all thoſe Virtues, out of which is formed the Compoſition of a *Fine Gentleman*, and which I have conſtantly obſerved in You, have made

me conceive ſo thorough an Eſteem, and both together ſuch a Paſſionate Veneration for You, that I dare not truſt my own Temper in deſcribing the valuable Character which You deſerve, for fear of being thought, even then, to flatter You, when I ſhould ſpeak my ſincereſt Opinion. Though All muſt eſteem You, who have but once converſed with You, yet even ſome of Thoſe might think I commended You with too much Ardour, who, for want of a larger Converſation with You, muſt remain Ignorant of half Your Merits. As for the others, they are generally known, and need no other Applauſe, than what follows them, where They are daily ſeen. The Gracefulneſs of Your Perſon, the Genteel Turn of Your Behaviour, Your Innocent Gallantry, and beautiful Addreſs, make You the Favourite of the *Fair*, and the darling Subject of their Converſation: And as we *Men* may very reaſonably take upon ourſelves to be the beſt Judges, *Who* are the moſt agreeable of *their Sex*; ſo

They

They have an unconteſted Right of determining, *who* ought to be deemed the moſt Accompliſhed Gentlemen of *Ours*. What they *All* in general, who know You, ſay of You, makes me often Paint to my ſelf the Figure which You make in their Imaginations, in the ſame Colours, in which a very ingenious Lady deſcribed the Perſon of the Honourable Mr. *Granville* (now Lord *Lanſdown*.)

——————*You*, who ſtill ſucceed,
In all You do, whether with Graceful Art *You* lead,
The Fiery Barb, or with as Graceful Motion tread,
In ſhining Balls, where all agree,
To give the higheſt Praiſe and the firſt Place to *Thee*.

If we look on the other Side of Your Amiable Character, we find You as generally commended among All Gentlemen as the moſt chearful Companion, and the trueſt Friend, and as generally admired, for having in the Bloom of Your Years ſo perfect a Knowledge both of Men and Books. Amidſt this univerſal Applauſe, it would be a Preſumption in me to think I could add any thing particular not taken Notice of by Them, excepting it be that *Humility* which You have ſhewn in admit-

ting *me* into ſo large a Share of a Converſation ſo courted and coveted. After having Congratulated You, upon Your ſucceeding ſo well in the Opinion of Mankind, in the Words that *Horace* Addreſſes the Courtly *Tibullus*,

Non tu Corpus eras ſine Pectore. Dî tibi formam,
Dî tibi Divitias dederant, artemque fruendi.
Quid voveat dulci Nutricula majus alumno
Quam ſapere & fari ut poſſit, quæ ſentiat; utque
Gratia, fama, valetudo, contingat abunde,
Et mundus victus, non deficiente crumenâ?

After this I have nothing left to do but only to give You my hearty Thanks, for that particular Goodneſs and Generoſity that You have ever manifeſted in regard to myſelf, by which You have preſerved me from ſome Severities of Fortune, that would have been enough to oppreſs and ſpoil a Genius, much ſtronger and better than I can pretend to enjoy. 'Tis out of a Senſe of Gratitude that I take this opportunity of paying [illegible] theſe proper Acknowledgments of the Mind, and of offering to your Acceptance an Hiſtorical Book, the Peruſal of which, I know, muſt be ſo agreeable to You, that I will

I will venture to call it a *Preſent*. Hiſtory is, I know, that ſort of Reading, which You principally Delight in, and I do not wonder that a Perſon who has travelled ſo much, ſeen ſo many foreign Countries, and ſeveral of the politeſt Courts in *Europe*, ſhould have a particular Taſte, and a curious Reliſh in that way. For it muſt be a very agreeable Exerciſe of the Mind, to compare Times, Perſons, and Places ſo vaſtly diſtant, with the preſent, when You are turning over the Leaves and Records of Antiquity, and I believe You know what was done in moſt of the Nations of *Europe* for ſeveral Ages, almoſt as exactly by Your Reading, as (which is certain) You do their preſent Manners by Your Travelling and Experience. I cannot help mentioning to You here one very particular Pleaſure more, that, I am ſure, You muſt have met with in the Courſe of Your Reading. When You have been diverting Yourſelf amidſt the beautiful Variety of fine Characters, that abound in *French* and *Engliſh* Story, You muſt have been ſingularly delighted

to find ſome of Your own Anceſtors enroll'd, at once, among the *fine Gentlemen* and the *Great Men* of thoſe Times, and placed in a very ſhining Light among the beſt and foremoſt of them all. Such were Your Noble Anceſtors, the Earl of St. *Alban* and the Lord *Dover*. Such likewiſe were Your Grandfathers, both by Your Father's and Mother's Side, the Lord *Jermyn*, and Sir *Thomas Bond*. They *all* enjoyed the Favour, and the greateſt Eſteem of *Crowned Heads*, and *all* acquitted themſelves with remarkable Fidelity and Honour, in Affairs of the higheſt Truſt and Importance. I ſhall come now from ſpeaking of what may be found agreable in other Hiſtories, to tell You what I think will be ſo in this Hiſtory of *North-Britain*, which I am offering to Your Acceptance. The Matters, the Book treats of, are very copious, but ſtill the Relations of them very full, and yet as conciſe as could be poſſibly conſiſtent with that Perſpicuity, with which they are delivered; the Subjects are very numerous, and quite different in their Natures, and

yet

yet the Accounts of them, from the greateſt to the minuteſt Things, are curious, regular and exact. This Book, beſides giving You a Chronicle of all the Kings, in an exact Series of Succeſſion, from *Fergus*, the firſt Founder of the *Scotiſh* Monarchy, to the Reign of King *James* the Sixth of *Scotland* and Firſt of *England*, gives You alſo an accurate Account of the ſeveral Situations of the Country; It lays open the Nature of the whole Climate, and enumerates the different Virtues of the Soil in every particular Province; it tells You the ancient Names, Manners, Laws and Cuſtoms of the Country, and what People inhabited the Iſland from the very beginning: But while I am thus mentioning *Buchanan*'s Perfections, I am obliged to take Notice of his Defects, and what Amendment he made for them after his Book was printed; becauſe otherwiſe I know, that, from the Reverence You bear to all crowned Heads, You will be ſurpriſed, how I ventured to make a Preſent of a Book to You, in which Queen *Mary* of *Scotland*, one of

the greateſt Queens that was ever born, meets with ſuch indecent Treatment, and is ſo falſly and ſo barbarouſly traduced. It is indeed certain, that all the Calumnies, which have ever ſince been laid on that wrong'd and innocent Princeſs, have taken their Source from ſome Paſſages in this Hiſtory, and from another little Book, written by the ſame Author, and entitled, *The Detection.* But if You will be pleaſed to look into that accurate *Oxford* Edition of the great *Camden*'s *Annals, during the Reign of Queen* Elizabeth, You will find in the 105th Page of the Learned Editor, Mr. *Hearne*'s Preface, how much *Buchanan* humbled himſelf for this Crime, publickly confeſſed his Diſingenuity and Falſhood upon his Death-bed, a time when he ought moſt to be believed, and confeſſed it with all the Expreſſions of a repenting and a contrite Heart. In the Body of the ſaid Book *p.* 130 and 131, theſe are the expreſs Words of *Camden. Quid Georgius Buchananus hâc de re, cum in Hiſtoriâ, tum in Libello, cui Detectio titulum fecit, prodidit, ex libris impreſſis nemo*

non novit. Quum autem ille partium Studio & Moravij munificentiâ abreptus ita ſcripſerit, ut Libri iſti falſitatis damnati fuerint ab Ordinibus Regni Scotiæ, quorum fidei plus tribuendum; & ipſe ingemiſcens coram Rege, cui fuit Pædagogus, ſubinde ſe reprehenderit (ut accepi) quod tam virulentum Calamum in Reginam bene meritam ſtrinxiſſet, morienſque optaverit, ut tantiſper ſupereſſet, donec maculas, quas malevolentiâ falſò aſperſerat, revocatâ veritate; vel ſanguine elueret, &c. Liceat mihi &c. *Camden*'s Words (ſays Mr. *Hearne*) are confirmed by a Letter, which he has now in his own Poſſeſſion, being a Preſent made to him by Mr. *Smith*, to whom it was ſent by one Mr. *Sage*, a Man of great Credit. This Letter gives a full Account of his Retractation, and how *Buchanan*'s Friends and Relations were Witneſſes that he made it ſolemnly on his Death-bed: *Strada* likewiſe mentions it in his *de Bello Belgico*. You ſee, Sir, He has owned his Crime (as *Camden* ſays above) and deſired to expiate it with his very Blood. He begs for a little remain

of

of Life, only that he might avoid a Natural Death, for a few Minutes; and deſires, by way of Atonement and Satisfaction, to fall by a Capital Puniſhment. You find him here to be as warm and bitter againſt himſelf, while he is retracting his Falſhoods, as he had been warm and bitter againſt her, while he was detracting from her, and loading her with the heavieſt and the blackeſt of Calumnies; and the *Penitent* is as great now, as the *Tranſgreſſor* was then. Now ſince theſe Books contain all the Slanders, that have been ever raiſed to the Prejudice of the QUEEN of *Scots*, every Line of *Reproach* becomes a Line of *Glory* to her, ſince each is retracted, as being falſe and virulent, by the original Inventor of them all. Thus *Buchanan* himſelf plainly ſhews all that Falſhood can, and what Truth cannot ſay againſt that excellent Princeſs; and whoever writes after him, whoever quotes his Works, and mentions not his Retractation and Repentance, ſtands in more need of it himſelf, than *Buchanan* did

at

at firſt. *Buchanan*, Sir, in this Light, is become her greateſt Defender. For whatever any other Writer ſays againſt her, look only if you cannot find the ſame in *Buchanan*'s Words, and if You do, he refutes the other Author. He ſhews it was originally his own Invention, and he tells you it was an act of malicious Forgery; he tells you implicitely, that this particular Story in the other Author, is one of the Calumnies, for the Inventing of which he begged upon his Death-bed for a ſmall Reſpite of Life, that he might even waſh away the Blemiſhes, by which he endeavoured to cloud her Virtue, ſo conſpicuous to all the World, with his own Blood, that he might turn a Martyr for the Truth he had oppoſed, and give the greateſt, the cleareſt, and laſt Teſtimonial he could, of the injured Innocence of his Royal Miſtreſs. Whoever after theſe Words of a dying Man, ſhall renew the Sins of his Life by reprinting them, without giving the Memorial of his Repentance, calls up

the Author from the Dead, to ſtab him in the brighteſt Part of his Character, as well as a Queen from her Grave, in order to put her to a more cruel Execution, than that ſhe was formerly ſo unfortunate to undergo. They are not cutting off the Head that wore the Crown, but they are mangling her pure Mind, and murdering her Spirit it ſelf; they are lopping, as I may ſay, from her very Soul, the *Head* of all thoſe meritorious Virtues and Graces, that, more than all her exterior Beauty, made her adorn a Crown.

THUS, Sir, in this Edition of his Work, *Buchanan* with Juſtice appears an *Advocate* for that Illuſtrious Princeſs againſt his *former* ſelf; and the ſame Retractation being ſufficient to ſet aſide ſome few other Blemiſhes, that lie ſcattered in his Book, and were owing to the ſame Spring, I Preſent You with the Works of an Author, who is, if taken in *this Light*, one of the Greateſt, the moſt Learned

and

and even *Faithful* Hiſtorians, either of our own, or other Countries, that ever wrote, and I beg You would accept it kindly, as a Token of Gratitude, from

SIR,

Your moſt Obliged,

Moſt Obedient

Affectionate Humble Servant,

William Bond.

DIRECTIONS for placing the CUTS.

KING JAMES the (Sixth of *Scotland*, and) First of *England*, to front the First Volume.

BUCHANAN, before his LIFE.

MARY Queen of *Scots*, to front the Second Volume.

King JAMES the First, Second, Third, Fourth and Fifth, to be placed before their LIVES, as the *Index* directs.

James the 2.d
King of Scotland.

THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

Book XI.

AFTER the Punishment of the Parricides, *James* the only Son of the deceased King, as yet scarce Seven Years of Age, made his Accession to the Throne on the 25th of *March*, in the Abby of *Holy-Rood-House* at *Edinburgh*. The King being as yet not fit for Government, there was a Dispute among the Nobles, who should be elected Vice-King or Regent. *Archibald*, Earl of *Douglas*, exceeded all the *Scots* at that time in Wealth and Power; but *Alexander Levingstone*, and *William Creighton*, both of them of worthy

Families, bore away the *Belle* in point of Authority, and in the Fame which they got for their Prudence in the Adminiſtration of Affairs in the then late Reign. The Nobility was unanimouſly inclined to give theſe two their Votes, becauſe they were jealous of *Douglas* his Power, which was great enough to make even Monarchs themſelves uneaſy at it. Accordingly *Alexander Levingſtone* was made Regent, and *William Creighton*, Chancellor, which Office he had born under the former King. The Nobility was ſcarce gone from the Aſſembly, but preſently, Factions aroſe: For the *Chancellor* kept cloſe with the King in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*; and the Regent with the Queen, at *Sterlin*; and *Douglas*, fretting that he was put by in the laſt Aſſembly, not knowing which Faction he hated moſt, was well pleas'd to ſee all things in diſorder; ſo that rather by his Connivance, than Conſent, the Men of *Annandale*, who were always accuſtom'd to Theiveries and Rapin, infeſted all the neighbouring Parts, ranſack'd them, and carried off the Plunder, as if they had been in an Enemy's Country. When Complaint was made of it to the Governors, they ſent Letters to *Douglaſs* to ſuppreſs them, (knowing that the *Annandalians* were under his Regulation and Power) but theſe not prevailing, they wrote others in a ſharper Style, to put him in mind of his Duty, but he was ſo far from puniſhing paſt Offences, that, through his Neglect, by Impunity, the growing Miſchief was highly increaſt; for he likewiſe gave forth a Command that none of them ſhould obey the King's Officers if they ſummoned them into the Courts of Juſtice, or perform'd any other Act of Magiſtracy; in regard, (as he alledged,) That was a Priviledge granted to him (they commonly call it a *Regale*, or *Royalty*,) by former Kings, and that if any one ſhould go about to infringe it, it ſhould coſt him his Life.

THE Regent, and the *Chancellor*, did bewail this State of things, but they could not rectify it; ſo that this Gangreen ſpread further and further, till it had ſoon infected all thoſe Parts of *Scotland*, which lay within the *Forth*. The other two Factions alſo diſagreed amongſt themſelves, inſomuch, that Proclamations were publickly made in Market-Towns and Villages, by *Alexander*; that no Man ſhould pay Obedience to the *Chancellor*; and by the *Chancellor*, that none ſhould obey *Alexander*. And if a Man addreſt himſelf to either of them, to complain of any Wrongs, he was ſure, at his Return, to meet with ſevere Treatment from the Men of the contrary Faction; and Matters were now and then carry'd with ſo high a Hand, that the Complainant had his Houſe fired about his Ears, and was ruined to all Intents and Purpoſes; ſo that both Parties went greater than the Lengths of hoſtile Fury, and in a Manner inter-butcher'd one another.

another. But the good Men, who had join'd neither Faction; not knowing well what to do, kept close at home, privately bewailing the deplorable State of their Country. Thus, whilſt every Party ſought to ſtrengthen itſelf, the Publick was neglected, and ſtood as 'twere in the Midſt, forſaken and abandon'd by every body.

THE Queen, who was with the Regent at *Sterlin*, in order conſiderably to ſtrengthen her Party, perform'd an Attempt both bold and manly. For ſhe undertook a Journey to *Edinburgh*, under pretence of viſiting her Son, and ſo was admitted into the Caſtle by the *Chancellor*. There ſhe was courteouſly entertained, and after ſome Compliments had paſt, her Diſcourſe turn'd upon a Lamentation of the preſent State of the Kingdom. She made a long Oration, about the many and great Miſchiefs that would flow from this publick Diſcord, as from a Fountain of Ills; and ſignify'd that, for her Part, ſhe had always endeavour'd, to compoſe all Differences and to put the State into a more eaſy Way, if ſhe could not accompliſh the good Work of a perfect Tranquillity and Peace. But ſeeing ſhe could not prevail either by her Authority or Counſel, to do any good abroad, and in a publick manner, ſhe was now come to try what ſhe could do privately, for ſhe was reſolved to try her utmoſt, that her Son who was the Hopes of the Kingdom ſhould have a pious and a liberal Education; that ſo, in time, he might be able to apply ſome Remedy to theſe ſpreading Evils. And, ſeeing this was a motherly Care implanted in her by Nature, ſhe hop'd, it would procure her the Envy of no Body, that as for other Parts of the Govement, ſhe deſired they might take it, who thought themſelves fit to manage, and undergo, ſo great a Burden, but yet, that they would manage it *ſo*, as to remember, that they were to give an account to the King, when he came of Age.

THIS Harangue ſhe made with a Countenance ſo compos'd, that the *Chancellor* was fully convinced of her Sincerity; neither did he diſcover any thing in her Train of Followers, which gave him the leaſt Hint to ſuſpect either Fraud or Force; ſo that hereupon, he gave her free Admiſſion to her Son when ſhe pleaſed; and they were often alone together, and ſometimes ſhe ſtaid with him all Night, in the Caſtle. In the mean time, the crafty Woman frequently diſcourſed the Governour about peicing up of Matters between the Parties; and ſhe called alſo ſome of the contrary Faction to the Conferences; and thus ſhe inſinuated her ſelf ſo far into the Man, that he made her acquainted with almoſt all his Deſigns.

WHEN ſhe had thus chous'd and gull'd the *Chancellor*, ſhe eaſily perſuades the young King to follow her, as the Author

of his Liberty, out of the Priſon, and ſo to deliver himſelf out of the Hands of a Perſon, who pretended to uſe the Royal Name for all his Wickedneſs, and who had monopolized all publick Offices to himſelf; and thus neglecting the Good of the Publick, had highly advanced his own particular Fortune. To bring this happily to paſs, ſhe told him there wanted only a Will in him to hearken to the good Counſel of his Friends, and as for other Matters, he might leave Them to her Care and Management. By ſuch kind of glozing Speeches, ſhe; being his Mother, and crafty too, eaſily perſuaded him, who was her Son, and but a Youth, to put his whole Truſt and Confidence in her; eſpecially, ſeeing a freer Condition of Life was propoſed to him.

ACCORDINGLY ſhe prepared all things for their Flight, then went to the *Chancellor*, and told him, that ſhe would ſtay that Night in the Caſtle, but early in the morning ſhe was to go to * *White Kirk*, (that was the name of the Place) to perform a Vow which ſhe had made, for the Safety of her Son, and ſhe commended him to his Care, till ſhe return'd. He ſuſpected no Deceit in her Words, but wiſh'd her a good Journey, and a ſafe Return, and ſo parted from her.

HEREUPON, (as was agreed before) the King was put into a Cheſt, wherein ſhe was wont to put her Woman's Furniture, and, the Day after, carried by faithful Servants out of the Caſtle to the Sea-ſide at *Leith*. The Queen followed after only with a few Attendants, to prevent all Suſpicion. There was a Ship juſt ready to receive them, they went a-board, and, with a fair Gale, made for *Sterlin*. The King's Servants waited late in the Morning, expecting ſtill, when he would awake, and ariſe out of his Bed; ſo that, before the Fraud was detected, the Ship was quite out of Danger, and the Wind was ſo favourable, that, before the Evening, they landed at *Sterlin*. There the King and Queen were received with great Joy and mighty Acclamations of the Regent, and of all the promiſcuous Multitude. The Craft of the Queen was commended by all, and the great Fame for for Wiſdom which the *Chancellor* had obtained, became now to be a Ridicule, even to the Vulgar. This Rejoycing and Thankſgiving of the Populace laſted (as is uſual) Two Days, and was celebrated with general Shouts and Acclamations of Joy.

The Third day, thoſe of *Alexander*'s Faction came in, ſome out of new Hopes; others, invited by Authority of the King's Name, to whom, when the Series of the Project was declared in order; the Courage of the Queen, in undertaking the Matter;

* Situate below *Linton* Bridge, on the *Tine*, in *Eaſt-Lothian*.

her

her Wiſdom in carrying it on; and her Happineſs in effecting it, were extolled to the Skies. The Avarice, and univerſal Cruelty, of the *Chancellor*, and eſpecially, his Ingratitude to the *Queen* and the *Regent*, were highly inveighed againſt. He was accuſed, as the only Author of all the Diſorders, and conſequently of all the Miſchiefs ariſing from thence; Moreover, That he had converted the publick Revenue to his own uſe; That he had violently ſeized on the Eſtates of private Perſons, and what he could not carry away, he ſpoil'd; That he alone had all the Wealth, Honour, and Riches, when others were piping in Ignominy, Solitude and Want; Thoſe Grievances, tho' great, yet were like to be ſeconded with more oppreſſive Ones, unleſs, by God's Aid and Counſel, the Queen had, no leſs valiantly, than happily, freed the King out of Priſon, and ſo deliver'd others from the *Chancellor*'s Tyranny; for, if he kept his own King in Priſon, it was evident what private Men might fear and expect from him? What Hope could there ever be, that he would be reconciled to his Adverſaries, who had ſo perfidiouſly circumvented his Friends? And how could the inferior ſort expect Relief from him, whoſe unſatiable Avarice, all their Eſtates were not able to ſatisfy? And therefore, ſince by God's Help in the firſt Place, and next by the Queen's Sagacity, they were freed from his Tyranny, all Courſes were to be taken, that this Joy might be perpetual: And to make it ſo, there was but one Way, which was to pull the Man, as it were, by the Ears, out of his Caſtle, that Neſt of Tyranny; and either to kill him, or in ſuch a manner to diſarm him, that, for the future, he ſhould not have the Ability of doing them any more Miſchief; though (ſaid they) merely diſarming him was not a very ſafe Way, becauſe ſuch a Savage as he, who had been accuſtomed to Blood and Rapin, would never be at quiet, ſo long as the Breath was in his Body.

THIS was the Purport of *Alexander*'s Diſcourſe in Council, to whom all did aſſent, ſo that an Order was made, that every one ſhould go home, and levy what Force they could to beſiege the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, from which they were not to depart, till they had taken it. And that this might be compaſſed with the greater Facility, the Queen promiſed to ſend thither a great Quantity of Proviſion, which ſhe had in her Store-houſes in *Ff*; but Diſpatch was the main Thing to be conſulted at that Juncture, while their Counſels were yet private, and the Enemy had no Warning to provide things fit and neceſſary for a Siege: And in the Interim, they had no room to apprehend any Thing from *Douglas*, who was, they knew, a mortal Enemy to the *Chancellor*; ſo that now, as they had all the Power, Treaſure enough, and likewiſe the Authority of the King's Name, (that being now taken from him)

him) he could have no Hope, no other Reſource, but to put himſelf upon their Mercy.

THUS, the Aſſembly being diſſolved, all things were ſpeedily provided for the Expedition, and a cloſe Siege laid to the Caſtle. The *Chancellor* was acquainted well enough with their Deſigns, but he placed the greateſt Hope of his Safety, and of maintaining his Dignity in bringing over *Douglas* to concur with him in his Deſign.

FOR this End he ſent humble Suppliants to him, to acquaint him, 'That he would always be at his Devotion, if he 'would aid him in his preſent Extremity; urging, that he was 'deceiv'd, if he thought, that their Cruelty would reſt in the De'ſtruction of himſelf alone; but that they would make his Over'throw as a Step to deſtroy *Douglas* too.'

Douglas anſwer'd his Meſſage with more Freedom than Advantage; *viz.* 'That both *Alexander* and *William* were equally guil'ty of Perfidiouſneſs and Avarice, and that their falling out was not 'for any point of Virtue, or for the good of the Publick, but for 'their own private Advantages, Animoſities, and Feuds; and that it 'was no great Matter which of them had the better in the Diſ'pute; nay, if they fell both in the Conteſt, the Publick would 'be a great Gainer by it; and that no good Man would deſire 'to ſee a happier Sight, than two ſuch Fencers hacking and hew'ing one another.'

THIS Anſwer, being noiſed abroad in both Armies, (for the Caſtle was already beſieged) was the Occaſion of a Peace being ſooner clapt up, than any one thought was poſſible. A Truce was made for two Days, and *Alexander* and *William* had a Meeting, where they debated it together, how dangerous it would be, both for the Publick and their private Eſtates too, if they ſhould perſiſt in their Hatred, even to a Battle; inſomuch as *Douglas* did but watch the Event of the Combat, that he might come freſh, and fall upon the Conqueror, and by that politick Means attract all the Power of the Kingdom to himſelf; when either One of them was ſlain, or both weakn'd and broken; and therefore, the Hopes of both their Safeties were plac'd in their common and mutual Agreement. Thus the threatning Dangers eaſily reconciled thoſe two, who were, upon all other Accounts, prudent enough. *William*, according to Agreement, gave up the Keys of the Caſtle to the King, profeſſing, that both himſelf, and it, were at his Service; and that he never entertain'd any other Thought, than that of Obedience to the King's Will. Upon this Profeſſion he was receiv'd into Favour with the univerſal Aſſent of all that were preſent. The King ſupped that Night in the Caſtle, thus ſurrendred to him, and the next Day, the Government of the Caſtle was beſtowed on *William*, and the Regency on *Alexander*. Thus, after a deadly Hatred between

tween them, it was hoped, that for ever after, the Foreſight of their mutual Advantage, and the Fear of their common Enemy, had bound them up in one firm and indiſſoluble Knot of Friendſhip.

AFTER theſe civil Broils between the Factions were compoſed; beſides Robberies, and the Murders of ſome of the common ſort, which were committed in many places, without Puniſhment, there were ſome remaining Feuds, which broke out between ſome Noble Families. The Year after the King's Death, on the 29th of *September*, *Thomas Boyd*, of *Kilmarnock*, had treacherouſly ſlain *Alan Stuart* of *Darnly* in a Truce, as he met him between *Linlithgoe* and *Falkirk*. The next Year after, on the 9th of *July*, *Alexander*, *Alan*'s Brother, with his Party, fought *Thomas*, where many were ſlain on both ſides, their Numbers being almoſt equal; and, amongſt the reſt, *Thomas* himſelf fell.

THE Death of *Archibald Douglas* happen'd very opportunely at this time, becauſe, in his Life-time, his Power was univerſally formidable. He died of a Fever, the next Year, after the Death of *James* the Firſt. His Son *William* ſucceeded him, being the Sixth Earl of that Family, he was then Fourteen Years of Age, a young Man of great Hopes, if his Education had been anſwerable to his Ingenuity. But, *Flattery, which is the perpetual Peſt of great Families*, corrupted his tender Age, which grew a little more inſolent by the premature Liberty in entring on his Eſtate; for ſuch Men, as were accuſtomed to Idleneſs, and who made a Gain of the Folly and Indiſcretion of the Rich, did magnify his Father's Magnificence, Power, and, almoſt more than, Royal Retinue; and, by this means, they eaſily perſuaded a plain, ſimple Diſpoſition, and unarmed againſt ſuch Temptations, to maintain a great Family, and to ride abroad with a Train, beyond the State of any other Nobleman; ſo that he kept his old Vaſſals about him, in their former Offices, by his Reſpects to them; and obtained alſo new *Clans* by his profuſe Largeſſes; he alſo made Knights and Senators, and ſo diſtinguiſhed the Order and Degrees of his Attendants, as to imitate the publick Conventions of the Kingdom; in fine, he omitted nothing, which might equal the Majeſty of the King himſelf. Such Carriages were enough to create Suſpicions of themſelves, but good Men were alſo much troubled for him, upon another account, that he would often go abroad with 2000 Horſe in his Train, amongſt whom ſome were notorious Thieves, and many of them worthy of Death for the Murders they had committed; yet, with theſe, he would come to Court, and even into the King's Preſence, not only to ſhew his Power, but even to ſtrike Terror into the Hearts of others. This his Inſolence

was further heightned, by his ſending ſome eminent Perſons as his Ambaſſadors into *France*, viz. *Malcolm Fleming*, and *John* * *Lauder*, who were to declare the Merits of his Anceſtors from the Crown of *France*, and to deſire that the Title of *Duke* of *Tours* might be beſtow'd upon him; which he very eaſily obtained. For his Grandfather had that Honour conferr'd upon him by *Charles* the *Seventh*, for his great Service performed in the Wars; and his Father alſo had enjoy'd it after him. Grown proud by this Acceſſion of Honour, he undervalued the Regent and the *Chancellor* too, being, as he alledged, his Father's Enemies; neither did he much ſtand in awe of the King himſelf. For theſe Cauſes, the Power of the *Douglaſſes* ſeem'd too exorbitant; and over and above all that a further cauſe of Suſpicion was added.

William Stuart had a large Patrimony in *Lorne*; his Brother *James*, after the King's Death, had marry'd the Queen, and had Children by her, but very haughtily reſenting that he was admitted to no Share in the Adminiſtration, to the end he might more eaſily obtain what he deſired, and revenge his concealed Grief, he ſeemed not much averſe to *Douglaſs* his Faction; and it was thought, that the Queen was not ignorant of his Deſign. For ſhe alſo took it amiſs, that the Regent had not rewarded her Services, as ſhe expected. On account of theſe Suſpicions, the Queen, her Husband, and her Husband's Brother, were committed to Priſon the Second of *Auguſt*, in the Year of our Lord, ... The Queen was ſhut up in a Chamber narrow enough indeed of it ſelf, but yet even there ſhe was diligently, and watchfully guarded; for the reſt were laid in Irons in the common Priſon; and they were not freed, till in an Aſſembly of Noble-men, held the 31ſt of *Auguſt*, the Queen had clear'd her ſelf from being any way privy to theſe new Plots; and *James* and his Brother had given in Sureties that they would act nothing againſt the Regent; and that they would not take any Poſt in the Government without his Conſent.

AMIDST this Uncertainty of Affairs, the *Ebudians* made a Deſcent upon the Continent, and waſted all with Fire and Sword, without diſtinction of Age or Sex, ſo that their Avarice and Cruelty was not to be parallell'd by any Example: Neither were they contented to prey only upon the Sea-Coaſt, but they alſo ſlew *John Colchon*, a Noble Perſon in *Lennox*, having call'd him out from *Inch-Merin* in the *Loch-Lomond* to a Conference, and after having publickly plighted their Faith for his Security: This was done the 23d of *September*. Many foul Offences of this Nature were committed; ſo that partly on the account of want

* Or *Lother*, a great and antient Family in *Lothian*.

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of Tillage, and partly of unſeaſonable Weather, Proviſion came to be very dear; and moreover, there was a Peſtilence for Two Years, ſo dreadful and fierce, that they, who were viſited with it, died within the ſpace of a Day. The Vulgar aſcribed the Cauſe of all theſe Calamities to the Regent; for Matters ſucceeding proſperouſly with him, he deſpiſed the *Chancellor*, and the Nobles of that Faction, and brought the Adminiſtration of all things within the Compaſs of his own Power. Complaints were made againſt him, that he cauſed noble and eminent Perſons to be impriſon'd upon light and ungrounded Suſpicions, and afterward inflicted upon them very heavy and unwarrantable Puniſhments; and that he gave Indempnity to thoſe, who were really guilty, merely according to his own arbitrary Will and Pleaſure, and that he held ſecret Correſpondence with *Douglas*. The *Chancellor* could not bear theſe Things with Patience, nor paſs them over in Silence; neither was he able to prevent them by Force, and therefore he ſuppreſt his Anger for the preſent, and reſolved to leave the Court. And accordingly, upon the firſt Opportunity, he left the King and the Regent at *Sterlin*, and with a great Train of Followers came to *Edinburgh*; and there he fixt himſelf in that ſtrong Caſtle, being intent and vigilant in all Occaſions of Change which might occur.

When this Matter was noiſed abroad, it excited Envy againſt the Regent, becauſe of his Power, and procur'd Favour to the *Chancellor*, becauſe of his Retirement: neither did *William* neglect his Opportunity againſt their Feuds; for, he reſolved, by ſome bold Attempt, to curb the Inſolence of his Adverſary, and to remove the Undervalue he had ſet upon him. And therefore, having underſtood, by his Spies, that the King went every Day a-hunting, and was ſlightly guarded, watching the Seaſon when *Alexander* was abſent, and having made ſufficient Enquiry into the Conveniency of the Country, the Fitneſs of the Time, and the due Number of the Undertakers, he choſe out a Place not far from *Sterlin*, where the Faithfuleſt of his Friends, with what Force they could make, ſhould meet and wait for his coming: And he, with a few Horſe, lodg'd himſelf in a Wood near the Caſtle of *Sterlin*, before Day, and there waited for the King's coming; neither did Providence deceive him in this bold Attempt. The King came into the Wood, early in the Morning, with a ſmall Train, and thoſe unarm'd too; and ſo he fell amongſt the arm'd Troops of the *Chancellor*; they ſaluted him, as King, according to Cuſtom, and bid him to *be of good Cheer, and take Courage*. The *Chancellor*, in as few Words as the Time would permit, adviſ'd him to provide for himſelf and the Kingdom, and to deliver himſelf out of *Alexander's* Priſon, that ſo he might live,

live, hereafter, at Liberty, and as a King; and might not accuſtom himſelf to fulfil the Luſts and Dictates of other Men, but might, himſelf, lay thoſe Commands, which were juſt and equal, upon Others; and ſo might free all his Subjects from their preſent Miſery, which they had been plung'd into by the Ambition and Luſt of their ſubordinate Governors, and that ſo deeply, that there could be no Remedy found for them, unleſs the King himſelf would undertake the Government; and this he might eaſily do without Peril or Pain. for he himſelf had provided a good Body of Horſe near at hand, who would attend him to what fit Place ſoever he would go. The King ſeem'd by his Countenance to approve of what he had ſaid, either that he really thought ſo; or elſe, that he diſſembled his Fear. Whereupon, the *Chancellor* took his Horſe's Bridle in's Hand, and led him to his own Men: They which were with him, being few, and unarm'd, not able to encounter ſo many Men, return'd back in great Sadneſs. Thus the King came to *Edinburgh*, guarded with 4000 Horſe, well accoutred, where he was received by the Commonalty, with great Demonſtrations of Joy.

AFTER the Regent heard of what was done, his Mind was confounded betwixt Anger and Shame, inſomuch, that he return'd to *Sterlin*, to conſider what was moſt adviſable in the Caſe. His great Spirit was mightily troubled to ſee himſelf ſo childiſhly deluded by his own Negligence; he ſuſpected it was done by the Fraud and Connivance of his own Followers; and thus he ſtood long wavering whom to truſt, and whom to fear; Shame, Anger and Suſpicion reigning alternately in his Mind. At length, he took a little heart, and began to bethink himſelf what Remedy to apply to his preſent Misfortune. He knew, that his own Strength was not ſufficient againſt the *Chancellor*, a Man politick in Counſel, and ſtrong in Force; and beſides, he had the Favour of the People, and the Authority of the King's Name, as Buttreſſes to ſupport him: As for the Queen, he had ſo offended her by her cloſe Impriſonment, that ſhe was hardly ever like to be reconciled to him; and if ſhe was, he had no great Confidence in her Aſſiſtance. And for *Douglas*, 'tis true, he had Strength enough, but no Prudence; his Age was tender; his Mind infirm; he was corrupted by Flatteries, and ſway'd by the Perſuaſions of others; and (as in ſuch Circumſtances it uſually falls out) the worſt of Men could do moſt with him, and therefore he thought it below his Dignity to have any thing to do with ſuch a Raſcality of Men: But the *Chancellor*, tho' he was of a contrary Faction to him, yet was a wiſe Man, and his Age and Diſpoſition might more ſafely be truſted; neither was the

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cauſe of Offence, between them, ſo great, but that it was ſuperable by their ancient Offices of Reſpect one to another; but the greateſt likelihood of their Reconciliation was grounded upon the Similitude of their Danger, and their joynt Conſent to maintain the Safety of the Common-wealth. Beſides the Enmity of the *Chancellor* was, what was moſt of all to be dreaded; for if he joyn'd the other Factions, he had Power in his Hands either to reduce, or baniſh him. Having pondered upon theſe Things for ſome Days, in his Mind, and communicated them to ſome of his moſt familiar Friends, good Men, and Lovers of their Country, by their Advice, he took a ſmall ordinary Train of Attendants, and went to *Edinburgh*.

IT happen'd, that the Biſhops of *Aberdeen* and *Murray* were then there; Men, according to the Judgment of thoſe Days, highly advanc'd both in Learning and Virtue. By their Means and Interceſſion, the Regent and *Chancellor* had a Meeting in St. *Giles's* Church, with ſome few of their Friends on each Side;

THE Regent firſt began to ſpeak;

'I think it not neceſſary (ſays he) to make a long Diſcourſe 'in bewailing thoſe things, which are too well known to all, 'or in reckoning up the Miſchiefs ariſing from inteſtine Diſ-'cords, and the Benefits ſpringing from *Concord*; I wiſh, we 'might experience thoſe Miſeries rather by foreign than 'domeſtick Examples; I will then come to thoſe things 'which concern the publick Safety of all the People; and, 'next to theirs, our Own, moſt of all. This Diſagreement 'betwixt us ariſeth, neither from Covetouſneſs, nor from 'Ambition to rule, but becauſe, in the Adminiſtration of 'publick Affairs, which both of us wiſh well to, we are not 'of one Mind, but take different Meaſures; yet, we are to 'take great care, leſt this our Diſſention ſhould be publickly 'prejudicial to the Kingdom, or privately injurious to our 'ſelves. The Eyes of all Men are upon us Two: Wicked 'Perſons propoſe to themſelves a Licentiouſneſs to do any 'thing, when we are deſtroy'd; and ambitious ones think 'then, alſo, to obtain an Opportunity to get Wealth and Pow-'er; and beſides, we have a great many Maligners and En-'vyers, *as uſually Men, raiſed up from a low Eſtate to the 'higheſt Dignity, are wont to have.* All theſe, as they repine 'at our Succeſſes, and calumniate our Proſperity; ſo they 'willingly receive the News of our Adverſity, as thereby 'hoping, and wiſhing for our Ruin, and therefore it will 'be worth both our Labours, to conſult our own Safety, 'which is cloſely interwoven with that of the Publick,

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'and ſo to revenge our ſelves on our Enemies and Detractors, 'to our great Glory and Praiſe. And the only Way to ac-'compliſh thoſe Ends, is this, That we forget our private In-'juries, and contribute all our Thoughts and Counſels for the 'Good of the Publick; let us remember, that the King's 'Safety is committed to our Cares, and ſo is alſo the Safety 'of the Kingdom; yet ſo, that we are both liable to an Ac-'count. And therefore, as, heretofore, we have been to 'blame in contending which of us ſhould be the greater in 'Honour and Authority; ſo, for the future, let our Conteſt 'be, which ſhall exceed the other in Moderation and Juſtice: 'And, by this means, we ſhall bring it to paſs, that the Com-'monalty, who now hate us, and impute all their Calamities 'to us, will be reconciled to, and revere, us again. And the 'Nobility, who, upon our Diſ-union, have launch'd forth in-'to the moſt unwarrantable Exceſſes, may be brought back to 'due ſenſe of Moderation; and the great Men, who ſlight us, 'as weakned by Diviſion, may ſtand in awe of us, when uni-'ted and reconciled, and ſo behave themſelves towards us 'with greater Sobriety than ever. As for me, I willingly give 'up the tender Age of the King to be modell'd and govern'd 'by you, as his Father, in his Life-time, appointed; for, as 'often as I ſeriouſly think of that Function and Service, I 'judge my ſelf rather to be eas'd of a Burden, than deſpoil'd 'of an Honour: If I have received any private Injury from 'you, I freely forgive it for the ſake of the Publick; and if I 'have done you any Wrong, let honeſt Arbitrators adjuſt the 'Damage, and I will make you Satisfaction to the full; and I 'will take ſpecial Care that ſuch ſhall be my Behaviour, for the 'future, that neither my Loſſes, nor Advantages, ſhall put 'the leaſt Stop to the publick Proſperity. And if you are of 'the ſame Mind, we may both of us reſt ſecure for the pre-'ſent, and alſo leave our Memories more grateful to Poſte-'rity; but if you think otherwiſe, I call all Men to witneſs, 'both here and hereafter, that 'tis not my Fault, that the Evils 'under which we now labour, are not, either fully cur'd, or, 'at leaſt, in ſome ſort reliev'd and mitigated.

To This the *Chancellor* replied,

'As I unwillingly enter'd upon this Stage of Contention, ſo, 'I am very willing to hear any mention made of an honeſt 'Agreement: for, as I did not take up Arms, before the Injuries 'I ſuffer'd provoked me; ſo your Modeſty hath urg'd me, not 'to ſuffer the Publick to be damag'd by my Pertinacioufneſs. 'For, I ſee as well as you, by this our Diſcord, That Good 'Men are expos'd to the Injuries of the Bad; in the Minds 'of the Seditious are excited Hopes of Innovation; our Coun-

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'try is left for a Prey; the Kingly Dignity is leſſen'd; publick 'Safety betray'd; Authority bearded and ridicul'd, even by the 'meaneſt of the People. And whilſt we thus betray the Safe-'ty of the Publick, our private Affairs are in no better a Po-'ſture. In the mean time, Men, who are given to Sedition, 'make advantage of our Diſcords; and our Enemies behold 'them, as a pleaſant Sight, (for they hate us both alike) and if 'the Loſs fall on either of us, yet they count themſelves Gain-'ers, by what either of us ſhall loſe: And therefore I will not 'repeat the Cauſes of our Feuds; leſt I make old Sores bleed a-'freſh, but, in ſhort, I declare, that I forgive all my private 'Wrongs and Injuries upon the Score of my Country, for there 'never was, nor ſhall be, any thing that I prefer to the Safety of 'the People, and the Good of the Common-wealth.

THOSE, who were preſent, did highly commend both their Reſolutions; and ſo, by joynt Conſent, Arbiters were choſen to compoſe Differences; and, to the great joy of all, old Diſcords were pluck'd up by the Roots, and new Foundations of Amity laid; and thus they, by joynt Counſel, again undertake the Management of the Kingdom. After this Concord, an Aſſembly of the Eſtates was held at *Edinburgh*. Thither came not a few Perſons, as is uſual, but even whole Clans and Tenantries, (as if they had remov'd their Habitations) to complain of the Wrongs they had ſuſtain'd; and indeed, the Sight of ſuch a miſerable Company could not be entertain'd without deep Affliction of Spirit, every one making his woful Moan, according to his Circumſtance; that Robbers had deſpoiled Fathers of their Children; Children of their Fathers; Widows of their Husbands, and all in general of their Eſtates; Whereupon, after Commiſeration of the Sufferers; The Envy (as is uſual) and Reflection was carry'd to, and fix'd upon, the Captains of thoſe Thieves; whoſe Offences were ſo impudent, that they could in no wiſe, be ſuffer'd; and their Faction was ſo far diffus'd, that no man was able to defend his Life or Fortune, unleſs he was of their Party, yea, their Power was ſo great, that the Authority of the Magiſtrate could afford little help to the poorer and weaker Sort againſt their Violence and Force. Wherefore the wiſer ſort of Counſellors were of Opinion, That, ſeeing their Power was inſuperable by plain Force, 'twas beſt to undermine it by degrees. They all knew well enough, that the Earl of *Douglas* was the Fountain of all thoſe Calamities, yet no Man durſt name him publickly; and therefore the Regent, diſſembling his Anger for the preſent, perſuaded the whole Aſſembly, That it was more adviſeable for them to cajole *Douglas* by Flatteries, than to irritate him by Suſpicions; for he had ſo great a Power, that he alone, if he remain'd refractory, was able to hinder

hinder the Execution of the Decrees of All the Eſtates; but if he joyn'd in with the Aſſembly, then he might eaſily heal the preſent Miſchiefs.

IN purſuance to this Advice, a Decree was made, that Letters of Compliment, in the Name of the Eſtates, ſhould be ſent to him, to put him in Mind of the Place which he held; and of the great and illuſtrious Merits of his Anceſtors, for the Advantage of their Country; and withal to deſire him to come to the publick Aſſembly of the Eſtates, which could not well be held, without the Preſence of him and his Friends. If he had any Complaint to make in the Aſſembly, they would give him all the Satisfaction they were able to do; and if he or his Friends had done any thing prejudicial to the Publick; in reſpect to his noble Family, which had ſo often deſerv'd well of their Country, they were ready to remit many things upon the account of his Age; of the Times; of his own Perſon, and the great Hopes conceiv'd of him. And therefore they deſired, he would come and undertake what part of the publick Government, he pleas'd; for, inaſmuch as *Scotland* had often been deliver'd from great Dangers by the Arms of the *Douglas*'s, they hop'd, that, by his Preſence, he would, at this Juncture, ſtrengthen and relieve his Country which labour'd under inteſtine Evils.

THE young Man, whoſe Age and Diſpoſition made him covetous of Glory, was taken with the Bait; and his Friends back'd his Deſires with their Perſuaſions. For they were all blinded by their particular Hopes; ſo that their Minds were turn'd from all Apprehenſion of Danger, to the ſole Conſideration of their ſeveral Advantages. When the *Chancellor* heard that he was on his Journey, he went out ſeveral Miles to meet him, and gave him a friendly Invitation to his Caſtle, which was near the Road, (it was called *Creighton*) where he was magnificently entertain'd, for the ſpace of Two Days, in which time, the *Chancellor* ſhew'd him all imaginable Reſpect, that he might the more eaſily intrap the unwary young Man. For, to ſhew that his Mind was no way alienated from him, he began, in a familiar manner, to perſuade him to be mindful of the King's Dignity, and of his own Duty; that he ſhould own him for his Liege Lord, whom Right of Birth, the Laws of the Country, and the Decree of the Eſtates had advanc'd to the Sovereignty: That he ſhould tranſmit the great Eſtate, which his Anceſtors had got by their Blood and Valour; to his Poſterity, in like manner as he had receiv'd it; and ſo the Name of the *Douglaſſes*, which was illuſtrious for their Loyalty and Atchievements, free from the horrid Stain, and even from all Suſpicion of Treaſon; that he and his Tenants ſhould forbear oppreſſing the poor common People; that he ſhould put all

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Robbers out of his Service; and for the future, maintain the Laws of Juſtice in ſo inviolable a manner, that if he had offended heretofore, it might be reaſonably attributed to the ill Counſel of bad Men, and not to the Depravity of his own Nature; for, in that tender and infirm Age, his Repentance would paſs for Innocence. By theſe and the like Speeches, he perſuaded the young Man, that he was his entire Friend, and ſo drew him on to *Edinburgh*, with *David* his Brother, who was privy to all his Projects and Deſigns. But his Followers had ſome Suſpicion of Deceit, by reaſon of the frequent Meſſages that paſt betwixt *Alexander* and the Regent. For Expreſſes were flying to and fro every moment betwixt them; and beſides, the *Chancellor's* Speech ſeem'd to ſome more diſſembling and flattering, than was uſual for one of his Place and Dignity. All his Followers complain'd of this ſecretly among themſelves, and ſome freely told him 'That if he was reſolv'd to go on, yet he ought to ſend back 'David his Brother, and (according to his Father's Advice to 'him, on his Death-Bed,) not lay his whole Family open to 'one Stroke of Fortune'. But the improvident Youth was Angry with his Friends, that had thus adviſ'd him; and gave out orders to all his Followers, that not a Whiſper of that kind ſhould be heard among them. To his more particular Friends he made this Anſwer, 'That he knew well enough, that 'twas 'the common Plague of great Families, to be troubled with 'Men, who loved to be reſtleſs and uneaſy, and who made a 'Gain of the Dangers and Miſeries of their Patrons: And that 'ſuch Men, becauſe in time of Peace, they were bound up by 'Laws, were the Authors and Adviſers to Sedition, that ſo they 'might fiſh the better in troubled Waters; but for his part, 'he had rather Truſt his Perſon to the known Prudence of the 'Regent and *Chancellor*, than give Ear to the Temerity and 'Madneſs of ſeditious Perſons'. Having ſpoken theſe Words, to cut off any occaſion of further Advice in the Caſe, he ſet Spurs to his Horſe, and with his Brother, and a few more of his beſt Confidents, haſtened to the Caſtle, with more ſpeed than is uſual in an ordinary March; and ſo, Fate drawing him on, he precipitated himſelf into the Snares of his Enemies.

IN that very Moment of time, the Regent came in too, for ſo it was agreed, that the whole Weight of ſo great Envy might not lye on one Man's Shoulders only. *Douglas* was kindly received, and admitted to the King's Table; but in the midſt of the Feaſt, ſome armed Men beſet him, quite defenceleſs as he was, and put a Bull's Head upon him, which, in thoſe Times, was a Meſſenger and Sign of Death. When the young Man ſaw that, he was troubled and went to riſe from his Seat, but the armed Men ſeized him, and carry'd him to a Court near the Caſtle;

Caſtle; where, he paid for the Intemperance of his Youth, with the Loſs of his Head. *David* his Brother, and *Malcolm Fleming*, whom, next to his Brother, he truſted moſt of all, were alſo put to Death with him. 'Tis ſaid, that the King, who was juſt coming of Age, wept for his Death; and that the *Chancellor* rebuk'd him mightily for his unſeaſonable Tears, at the Deſtruction of an Enemy; whereas the publick Peace was never like to be ſettled, as long as he was alive. *William* dying thus without Children, *James* (Sirnamed *Craſſus*, or the *Groſs*, from his Diſpoſition,) ſucceeded him in the Earldom, (for 'twas a *Male-Feo*, as Lawyers ſpeak) the reſt of his Patrimony, which was very great, fell to his only Siſter *Beatrix*, a very beautiful Perſon in her Days. This *James*, the *Groſs*, though he was no bad Man, yet was no leſs ſuſpected by the King, and hated by the Commons, than the former Earl; becauſe, though he did not maintain Robbers, as the former Earl had done; yet he was not very zealous in ſubduing them; but he was deliver'd from this State of Envy, by his Death, which happen'd Two Years after.

William, the Eldeſt of his Seven Sons, ſucceeded him, and being emulous of the ancient Power of the Family, that he might reſtore it unto its priſtine Splendor, reſolv'd to marry his Uncle's Daughter, who was the Heireſs of many Countries: Several of his Kindred did not approve of the Match, partly becauſe 'twas an unuſual, and by conſequence, an unlawful thing; and partly becauſe, by the Acceſſion of ſo much Wealth, he would be envy'd by the People, and alſo formidable to the King. For a Rumor was ſpread abroad, and that not without ground, that the King himſelf would do his utmoſt to hinder the Match. This made *William* haſten the Conſummation of the Marriage, even within the time when Marriages are prohibited, that he might prevent the King's Endeavours to the contrary. Thus having obtained great Wealth, he grew inſolent, and Envy follow'd his Inſolence, in regard Troops of Robbers did ſwarm every where, whoſe Captains were thought to be no Strangers to *Douglas* his Deſign. Amongſt them there was one *George Gorm*, of *Athole*, who pillag'd all the Country about him, and ſet upon *William Ruthven*, Sheriff of *Perth*, becauſe he was leading a Thief of *Athole* to the Gallows, and fought with him, as it were, in a ſet Battle. At laſt *Gorm* the Captain, and 30 of his Followers were ſlain, and the reſt fled to the Mountains. This Skirmiſh happen'd in the Year of *Chriſt* 1443.

A few days after, the Caſtle of *Dunbarton*, impregnable by Force, was twice taken in a little time: *Robert Semple* was Commander of the Lower Caſtle; and *Patrick Galbreth* of the Higher, and their Government was ſo divided, that each had

had a peculiar Entrance into his own Part. Theſe Two were not free from Factions amongſt themſelves. For *Patrick* was thought ſecretly to favour the *Douglaſſes*. Whereupon *Semple*, perceiving that his Part was but negligently guarded, ſeiz'd him, and commanded him to remove his Goods. The Day after, *Patrick* entred with four Companions attending him, without Arms, to fetch out his Goods; where firſt, he lit upon the Porter alone, and then, ſeizing ſome Arms, drove him and the reſt out of the Upper Caſtle; and thus, ſending for Aid out of the upper Town, he beat them out of the Lower Caſtle alſo, and ſo reduc'd the whole Fort into his own Hands.

ABOUT that time there were very many Murders committed upon the inferior Sort; which were partly perpetrated by the *Douglaſſians*, and partly charg'd upon them by their Enemies. The King was now of Age, and manag'd the Government himſelf; ſo that *Douglas*, being unable to ſtand againſt the Envy of the Nobles, and the Complaints of the Commons too, reſolves to become a new Man, to ſatisfy the People, and by all Means poſſible, to win back the Heart of the King, which was alienated from him; and, in order thereunto, he came with a great Train to *Sterlin*. And, when he had Intelligence by ſome Courtiers, whom he had bribed and made his Own, that the King's Anger was appeas'd towards him, then, and not before, he came into his Preſence, and laid down his Life and Fortune at his Feet, and ſubmitted and left them all to his diſpoſal. He partly excuſed the Crimes of his former Life, and partly (becauſe that ſeemed the readier way to Reconciliation,) he ingenuouſly confeſt them; withal affirming, that whatever Fortune he ſhould have hereafter, he would aſcribe it ſolely to the Clemency of the King, not to his own Innocency; but, if the King would be pleas'd to receive Satisfaction from him, by his Services and Obſequiouſneſs, he would do his utmoſt endeavour for the future; that no Man ſhould be more loyal and obſervant of his Duty, than himſelf; and that, in reſtraining and puniſhing all thoſe exorbitant Offences which his Enemies caſt upon him, none ſhould be more ſharp and ſevere than he; in regard he was deſcended from that Family, which was not raiſed by oppreſſing the Poor, but by defending the Commons of *Scotland*, by their Arms. By this Oration of the Earl's, and the ſecret Commendation of the Courtiers, the King was ſo chang'd, that he forgave him all the Crimes of his former Life, and received him into the Number of his Favourites, and communicated all his ſecret Deſign to him.

AND indeed the Earl, in a very little time, had ſo obliged the King by his obſequious Carriage, and had won ſo much

on his Miniſters by his Liberality; nay, had ſo ingratiated himſelf into all Men, by his modeſt and courteous Condeſcention; that the ordinary ſort of People conceiv'd great Hope of his gentle and pliable Deportment; but the Wiſer were ſomewhat afraid, whither ſo ſudden a Change of Manners would tend: And eſpecially *Alexander Levingſton*, and *William Creighton*, imagining, that all his Counſels would tend to their Deſtruction, having reſigned their Places, retired each of them from Court, *Alexander* to his own Eſtate, and *William* into the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, there to watch and obſerve, where the Simulation of *Douglas* would terminate and end. Nor were theſe Men of Penetration out in the Opinion they had entertained: For *Douglas*, having gotten the King alone, and deſtitute of graver Counſel, and who was ſomewhat unwary too, by reaſon of the greenneſs of his Years, thought now that he had a fit Opportunity to revenge the Deaths of his Kinſmen; and ſo eaſily perſuaded the King to ſend for *William Creighton*, and *Alexander Levingſton*, with his two Sons, *Alexander* and *James*, to give him a legal Account of the Adminiſtration of their former Offices. His Deſign herein was, if they came to Court, either to deſtroy them, or elſe bring them under, by the Power of his Faction; but, if they refuſed to come, then to declare them publick Enemies; and ſo, having the Authority of the King's Name, as a Pretence for his Power, to ſequeſter their Eſtates. Hereupon they were ſummoned to appear, but return'd Anſwer, by Letters, 'That they had never 'any thing more prevalent and ſuperior in their Thoughts, 'than the good of the King and Kingdom; and that they 'had ſo managed their Offices, that they deſired nothing more 'than to give up a full Account, provided it was before equal 'Judges; but, for the preſent, they deſired to be excus'd, in 'regard they perceiv'd, that the Minds of thoſe, who were to 'be their Judges, were prepoſſeſs'd with the Favours and 'Bribes of their Enemies; and beſides, all Paſſages were beſet 'with Armed Men; not that they ſhunn'd a legal Hearing, 'but only withdrew from the Violence of their mortal Ene-'mies at the preſent, and reſerv'd their Lives for better 'Times, till the Commanders of Thieves be driven from the 'King's Preſence, as they had often done in doubtful Times 'before, they might then juſtify and aſſert their Innocency to 'the King and all Good Men.

WHEN this Anſwer was receiv'd, in a Convention, which was held at *Sterlin* the Fourth Day of *November*, *Douglas* carry'd the Matters ſo, that they were declared Publick Enemies, and their Goods confiſcate. And then he ſends out *John* Froſter*

* Or *Forreſter*.

of *Gorſtorphin*, his Confident, with Forces to ravage their * Countries; and bring their Goods into the King's Exchequer. He took in their Caſtles by Surrender; part of them he demoliſh'd, and part he put new Garriſons into; and thus making mighty Waſte, without any Reſiſtance, he carried off a very conſiderable Booty. The *Douglaſſians* had ſcarce retired, before *Creighton* had gathered an Army of his Friends and Vaſſals, ſooner than Men thought; and with them he ran over the Lands of the *Foreſters*, and of the *Douglaſſes*, even as *Gorſtorphin*, ** *Strabrock*, *Abercorn*, and *Blackneſs*. He burnt their Houſes, ſpoil'd their Corn, and brought away as much of the Plunder as he was able; and, amongſt the reſt, a ſtately Breed of Mares: and thus he did his Enemy much more Miſchief than he received. *Douglas*, knowing that *Creighton* had done this, by the Aſſiſtance of Others, rather than his own Force, turns his Anger upon his Friends, who (he was inform'd) had ſent him Aid privately (for few durſt do it openly.) The Chief of them were *James Kennedy*, Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, *George* Earl of *Angus*, *John* Earl of *Morton*; Both the latter of *Douglas*'s own Family; but One born of the King's Aunt, the Mother of *James Kennedy*; the Other had marry'd the King's Siſter. Theſe Perſons did always prefer the Publick Safety, and the Duty incumbent upon them, to preſerve it before all private Reſpects to their Families. But *Kennedy* exceeded the reſt in Age, Counſel, and conſequently in Authority; and therefore his Wrath was, principally, incenſed againſt him: Whereupon the Earl of *Craford*, and *Alexander Ogilby*, raiſed a ſufficient Body of Men, and deſtroyed his Lands in *Fife*; and, having greater Eye to the Plunder, than they had to the Cauſe, they ranſack'd the neighbouring Farms into the Bargain; and then, without any Oppoſition, return'd into *Angus*, laden with Spoil. In this Caſe, *Kennedy* betook himſelf to his proper Church-Arms of Defence; and, theſe *Craford* avoided, attempting the deciſion of theſe Diſputes by Law, and was proſecuted by him with Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures: Theſe he deſpiſed, according to his wonted Contumacy: But, a little while after, he was juſtly puniſh'd for his Contempt of all Laws humane and divine. For, the ſame Year theſe things were acted, the College of the *Benedictines* at *Aberbrothock* (becauſe 'twas not for Monks to intermeddle, and ſet themſelves up for Judges in civil Cauſes) had made *Alexander Lindſy*, Eldeſt Son of the Earl of *Craford*, their Chief Judge in Civils, or, as they call him, *Sheriff*, or *Bayliff*. He, with

* In *Mid-Lothian* two Miles Weſt of *Edinburgh*. ** A Town on the River *Brock*, in *Weſt-Lothian*, a Caſtle ſtanding on a Rock, lying near the *Firth* of *Forth* above *Abercorn*.

his huge Train of Followers, became burdenſome to the Monaſtry; and beſides, he carried himſelf as their *Maſter*, rather than their *Servant*; ſo that they diſpoſſeſt him of his Offices, and put *Alex. Ogilby*, in his Place; *Lindſy* lookt upon This as a Wrong done to him; which made each of them gather together what Force they could, as if a War had been declared between them. When both Armies ſtood in a Readineſs to fight, the Earl of *Craford*, having notice of it, made all the haſte he could, and rode in betwixt them both, thinking, that the ſole Authority of his Name had been Armour of proof to him; and, whilſt he was hindring his Son from ingaging, and calling out *Ogilby* to a Conference, a Soldier darted a Spear into his Mouth; (it was not known, who he was, nor what he aim'd at) and ſtruck him down dead from his Horſe. His Death was an Alarm to both Armies, and, after a ſharp Conflict, many being wounded on both ſides, the Victory fell to the *Lindſys*: They ſay, the Cauſe of it was, that, whilſt both Armies ſtood with their Spears upright, appearing in the perfect Form of a Grove, a certain Man cry'd out, Why do you bring thoſe Goads with you, as if you had to do with Oxen? Pray, throw them away, and let us fight it out with our Swords, hand to hand, by true Valour, as becomes Men? This ſaid, they all threw away their Pikes, on both ſides, except 100 *Clydeſdale* Men, whom *Douglas* had ſent in to aid the *Lindſys*: Theſe held the Tops, or Points, of their Pikes in their Hands; and drew the reſt of them behind their Backs; but, when they came to Handy-blows, then they held them out as a thick Fence before them, and their Enemies, being terrified with the ſudden Spectacle, let their Ranks be broken. The conquering Side loſt 100; the conquer'd 500, and amongſt them, ſome Men of Note. *Alexander Ogilby* was taken Priſoner, and died a few Days after, either of his Wounds, or for Grief; *Gordon*, Earl of *Huntly*, was put upon a Horſe by a Friend of his own, and ſo eſcap'd. The Slaughter had been much greater, if the Night had not cover'd the Fugitives; for the Battle began a few Hours before Night, on the 24th of *January*.

THE *Lindſys* manag'd their Victory with great Cruelty, they pillaged and demoliſh'd Houſes, and utterly ſpoil'd the Country. The War was hotly carried on between the Factions in other Parts. *Douglas* had beſieg'd *William Creighton* ſome Months in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*: And, to make a more cloſe Siege, the Aſſembly of the Eſtates, which was ſummoned to be held on the 15th of *July*, and was already begun at *Perth*, he remov'd to *Edinburgh*. When the Siege had laſted nine Months, both the Beſiegers, and the Beſieged, grew equally weary, and ſo a Sur-

render was made on theſe Conditions, viz That, William *ſhould be indemnify'd for whatſoever he had done againſt the King, and he and his ſhould march ſafely off.* Thus, in every Diſpute, *he, who is moſt powerful, would ſeem to be moſt innocent.* And, not long after, *Creighton* was received into the King's Favour, and was made *Chancellor* again, by the general Conſent of all; but he refrain'd the Court, and all publick Buſineſs, as much as ever his Office would ſuffer him to do. *Douglas*, having thus rather terrified, than overthrown, *Creighton*, turn'd the reſt of his fury upon the *Levingſtons*. But, before I come to that Part of my Hiſtory, I will touch upon the Slaughter of ſome of theſe noble Perſons, for it would be a Work without End, to record the *Fates* of them all who were put to Death in thoſe Days.

James Stuart, a noble Knight, was ſlain by *Alexander Liſle*, and *Robert Boyd*, at *Kirk-Patrick*, about Two Miles from *Dunbarton*; neither could they ſatisfy their Cruelty with his Death, but they endeavour'd to get his Wife alſo, who was then big with Child, and juſt upon the point of Lying in, into their Power; in order whereunto, they ſent a Prieſt to her, as in great haſt, to tell her, That all the Roads were full of Horſe and Foot, and that there was no Way for her to eſcape the preſent Danger, but to go on Shipboard, and fly to *Robert Boyd* at *Dunbarton*, who had ſolemnly promiſ'd to return her ſafe home. The credulous Woman, who did not know, that *Robert* was preſent at the Perpetration of the Murder, being carried from *Cardros* into the Caſtle, perceiving, that She was circumvented by the Fraud of her Enemies, and overcome with Exceſs of Grief, Fear, and Indignation, brought forth an abortive Birth, which, with the Mother, died a few Hours after.

ABOUT the ſame time, *Patrick Hepburn*, Earl of *Hales*, kept the Caſtle of *Dunbar*, and had with him *Joan* the Wife of *James* the I. who in thoſe tumultous times, had fled thither for refuge, *Archibald Dunbar*, thinking this to be a juſt Cauſe for a Quarrel, ſet upon *Hales*, *Hepburn's* Caſtle, in the Night, kill'd the Garriſon Soldiers on the firſt Onſet, and took it; yet, in a few Hours, for Fear, he gave it up to the Earl of *Douglas*, upon condition that he and his ſhould march ſafely off. Not long after, Queen *Joan* died, leaving theſe Children by her later Husband, *John* Earl of *Athole*, *James* Earl of *Buchan*, and *Andrew*, afterwards Biſhop of *Murray*. After ſhe was dead, *Hepburn* deliver'd up the Caſtle of *Dunbar*, un-garriſon'd, and empty, to the King.

IN *Angus*, *Alexander*, Earl of *Crawford*, put *John Lyons* to death in the Market-place at *Dundee*, becauſe he had been rifling

up to great Wealth and Honour, even to a Match in the Royal Family, by his Father; yet he prov'd ungrateful, and forgot the Courteſies he had received.

Amidst theſe Diſcords, the Men of *Annandale* embroiled the adjoyning Countries in all ſorts of Calamities. The Cauſe of all theſe Miſchiefs was imputed to the Earl of *Douglas*; who yet did all he could to conceal theſe Miſdemeanors of his *Clans*: for he openly ſtudied nothing more than to afflict the Men of different Parties, in regard, he was grown to that Height of Power, that 'twas a capital Offence to call any thing he did in queſtion. He caus'd *James Stuart* the King's Uncle to fly the Land, becauſe he ſpoke ſomething freely concerning the State of the Kingdom: but, his Ship being taken by the *Flemings*, he liv'd not long after.

Now, he thought, it was high time to attempt the *Levingſtons*; whereupon, he caus'd *Alexander*, the Head of the Family, and his Son *James*, and alſo *Robert* the King's Treaſurer, and *David*, to be ſummon'd to an Aſſembly at *Edinburgh*; and of his Friends, *Robert Bruce*, *James*, and *Robert Dundaſſes*. Of theſe, *Alexander*, and the two *Dundaſſes*, were ſent back to priſon to *Dunbarton*; the reſt were put to death Of what Crime they were guilty, meriting ſo great a Puniſhment, the Hiſtorians of thoſe times do not mention, neither will I interpoſe my own Conjectures, in a Buſineſs ſo remote from our Memory: only I will relate what I have heard, That *James Levingſton*, when he came to the place of Execution, compl in'd heavily, and expreſly, of the Inconſtancy of Fortune. 'That his Fa-
'ther, who was honour'd with a Power next to the Kings, did
'yet freely give up the invidious Title of Regent, and went
'to his own Eſtate far from Court, and out of his Enemies
'Sight, whoſe Cruelty was never ſatiated with his Miſeries; and
'therefore he was forc'd to take Arms to preſerve his Life,
'which he again laid down at the King's Command; If there
'were any fault in that; he had long ago obtain'd his Pardon;
'and ſince that time, he had liv'd remote, and free from all
'ſuſpicion of any Crime; of which this was an evident Token;
'That the Nobility thought them Innocent, and did ſolici-
'toutly deprecate their Puniſhments; and yet notwithſtanding,
'the ſevere Cruelty of their Enemies prevailed more, than
'the former Demerits and good Offices of their Family; or,
'than the King's Pardon obtain'd; or than the interceding
'Supplications of the Nobility. And therefore he intreated
'all who were then preſent, to look upon thoſe lofty Titles of
'Empire and Dominion, to be nothing elſe but the flattering
'Complements of Fortune, who then intended to d[illegible]
'Miſchief; and that they were rather flowr'y Ei[illegible]ments
for

'for ones Funeral, than Safeguards to a Man's Life; eſpecially 'ſince bad Men can do more to deſtroy the Good, than the 'conſent of the Good can do to ſave them.' And, having thus ſpoken, to the great Grief of all the Spectators, he ſubmitted his Neck to the Executioner.

Amidst theſe Combuſtions, *Creighton* was ſent into *France*, partly to renew the antient League, and partly to obtain from thence a Royal Bride. *Douglas* took his Abſence very well, tho' in an honourable Employment; becauſe, tho' he was a prudent and potent Perſon, yet, there were ſome Relicks of their former Diſcords, that made him not over-fond of him. In this troubleſome State of the Kingdom, the ſame Diſeaſe, which vex'd others, did alſo infect the Eccleſiaſtical Order. *James Cameron*, Biſhop of *Glaſco*, had, himſelf, committed many acts of Cruelty and Avarice, among the Husbandmen of his Dioceſs, (which was very large) and he had alſo given Encouragement to thoſe who were in Power, to do the like; that ſo, when the Owners were unjuſtly condemn'd, their Eſtates might be confiſcated to him: ſo that he was believ'd to be the Author, or the Favourer of all the Miſchiefs which were acted abroad. 'Tis reported, that the Man came to an End worthy of his wicked Life. The Day before the Nativity of *Chriſt*, as he was a-ſleep in a Farm of his own, about 7 Miles from *Glaſco*, he ſeem'd to hear a loud * Voice, calling him to the Tribunal of *Chriſt*, to plead his Cauſe. That ſudden Fright wakened him out of his Sleep; he call'd up his Servants to bring a Candle, and ſit down by him; he took a Book in his Hand, and began to read; but preſently the ſame Voice was heard louder than before; which ſtruck all thoſe preſent with a great Horror. Afterwards, when it ſounded again more terribly and frightfully than before, the Biſhop gave a great Groan, put out his Tongue, and was found dead in his Bed. This ſo eminent an Example of God's Vengeance, as I ſhall not raſhly Credit, ſo I have no mind to refute; yet, it being deliver'd by others, and conſtantly affirmed to be true, I thought proper not to omit it.

At the ſame time, ** *James Kennedy*, one of a far different Life and Manners, as referring all his Counſels to the good of the Publick; when, neither by his Authority, nor Counſel, he could reſiſt the daily new-ſpringing Evils of his Country; and ſeeing likewiſe, that the King's Power was not able to oppoſe the Conſpiracies of wicked Men, he left all his Eſtate for a Prey, and ſhifted for himſelf. Neither, in theſe Domeſtick Miſeries, were Matters much quieter abroad. When the Truce made

* The Biſhop of *Glaſco* frightned by a Voice from Heaven for his ... Life; which is the Occaſion of his Death.

** *James Kennedy* retires from a corrupt Court, with

with the *Engliſh* was expir'd, the *Scots* made an Inroad into *England*, and the *Engliſh*, into *Scotland*; and where-ever they went, they waſted all with Fire and Sword. In *England*, *Alnwick* was taken and burnt, by *James*, Brother to the Earl of *Douglas*. In *Scotland*, the Earl of *Salisbury* did the like to *Dumfreiz*; and the Earl of *Northumberland* to *Dunbar*. Great Booties of Men and Cattle were driven away, on both ſides. But the Commanders agreed amongſt themſelves, that the Priſoners ſhould be exchang'd; for they were in a manner equal, both for Number and Degree. By theſe Incurſions, the Country was depopulated, and yet the main chance of the War not concerned; ſo that Truce was again agreed upon for Seven Years.

IN this State of Affairs, *James Dunbar*, Earl of *Murray*, departed this Life. He left two Daughters his Heireſſes. The Eldeſt of them was marry'd, by her Father before his Death, to *James Creighton*: The Younger, after her Father's Deceaſe, marry'd *Archibald*, Brother to the Earl of *Douglas*. He, againſt the Laws and the Cuſtom of his Anceſtors, was called Earl of *Murray*; ſo ſuperlative was *Douglas*'s Power then at Court. Nether was he contented with this Acceſſion of Honour; but, that he might further propagate the Dignity of his Family, he caus'd his Brother *George* to be made Earl of *Ormond*. His Brother *John* had many fair and fruitful Farms and Lands beſtowed upon him; and was alſo made Baron of *Balvany*, againſt the Mind of many of his Friends, who were jealous leſt the Power of that Family, too great before, would be at laſt formidable, even to the King himſelf: nay, they imagined that theſe immoderate Acceſſions and Frolicks of Fortune would not be long-liv'd. But his Enemies did, as invidiouſly as they could, inveigh againſt this inſatiable Ambition. 'For who (ſay they) could ſafely live under the exorbitant Rule of ſuch a Tyrant, for whoſe Avarice nothing 'was enough, and againſt whoſe Power there was no Safe-'guard; who, right or wrong, invaded the Patrimony of the 'Nobles, and expos'd the Countrymen to be a prey to his 'Tenants; and thoſe who oppos'd his Luſt, he caus'd them, 'by Thieves and Cut-Throats, either to loſe all they had, or 'elſe to be put to Death; that he advanced Upſtarts to 'high Honours, whom he grafted on the Ruin of Noble Fa-'milies: ſo that all the Power of the Kingdom, was now 'brought into one Houſe; beſides many Knights and Barons, 'there were five opulent Earls of the Family; inſomuch that 'the King himſelf did but reign precarioufly; and men were 'like to ſuffer all Extremities under the cruel Bondage of the '*Douglaſs*'s, and he that utter'd the leaſt word tending to Li-

berty,

berty, muſt pay his Life for his Boldneſs.' Theſe, and other Diſcourſes of this kind, ſome true, others to create greater Envy, ſtretch'd beyond the Lines of Truth, were ſpread abroad amongſt the Vulgar; which made thoſe, who were of neither Faction, to ſit looſe from the Care of the Publick, and every one to mind his own private Concerns. The wiſer ſort of his Enemies were glad to hear, that a Man of ſuch Power, againſt which there was no making head, ſhould thus voluntarily run headlong to his own Deſtruction. Neither did they preſage amiſs, for his Mind was grown ſo proud and inſolent, by reaſon of his great Succeſſes, that he ſhut his Ear againſt the free Advices of his Friends; nay, many could not, with any ſafety, diſſemble and cover, by their ſilence, what they diſliked, becauſe he had Paraſites, which did not only lie at catch for Words, but obſerv'd Mens very Countenances. As for his old Enemies, many of them were haled to Judgment, before him, who was both their Adverſary and Judge too; ſo that ſome of them were outed of their Eſtates, ſome depriv'd of their Lives, and others, to avoid his unrighteous and partial Judgment, fled out of their Country.

THE Men alſo of *Douglas*'s Faction lived in no fear, at all, of the Law (for no Man durſt implead them) but letting the Reins looſe to all Licentiouſneſs, they invaded and made havock of things Sacred, as well as Profane: Thoſe, who were obnoxious to them, they ſlew, and kill'd out of the way. Neither was there any end of their Wickedneſs: Sometimes, when they had no ſufficient Cauſe to do a Man a Miſchief, then they did it unprovok'd, and gratuitouſly, as it were, leſt, through diſuſe of offending, any honeſt and tender Thoughts ſhould ariſe in their Minds; ſo as to allay their brutiſh Cruelty. Every one thought himſelf the nobleſt and braveſt Fellow, that could caſt the greateſt Contumely on the Commons. When ſuch great Miſeries were diffus'd into ſo many Parts of the Kingdom, *Scotland* had certainly ſunk under the Burden, unleſs *England*, at the ſame time, had been as much embarraſſed with civil Combuſtions; which, at laſt, being ſomewhat allay'd, the *Engliſh* violated their Truce, and invaded *Scotland*: When they had run over a great Circuit of Ground, and pillaged many Villages, they drove away a vaſt Number of Cattel, and return'd home. Neither was it long, before the *Scots* cry'd quits with them: for they alſo entred *England* with a good Force, and did the Enemy more Damage than they receiv'd. Thus the minds of both were irritated by theſe alternate Plunderings: ſo that a mighty Deſolation was made in the Territories of either Kingdom: but the [illegible] ſhare of the Calamity fell upon *Cumberland*, which had

had been the Riſe of the Injury and Wrong: for that Province was ſo harraſſed by the War, that it was almoſt quite deſtroy'd. When this was related at *London*, it occaſion'd the *Engliſh* to levy a far greater Army againſt the *Scots*: for, by that means, they thought eaſily to reduce the Country into their Power, they being weakned by civil Diſcords. Hereupon an Army was rais'd of the better ſort of People, and the Earl of *Northumberland* made their General, in regard he knew the Country well; and beſides, his Name and Power was great in thoſe Parts. To him they joyn'd one *Main*, of an Equeſtrian Family; but who had long ſerv'd in *France*; and was commended for his Induſtry and Valour. 'Tis ſaid, that he, out of his mortal hatred againſt the *Scots*, had bargain'd with the King of *England*, that the Lands he took from the *Scots*, either by killing or driving away the Inhabitants, he, and his Poſterity after him, ſhould enjoy. On the other ſide, the *Scots*, hearing of the Preparation of their Enemies, were not negligent in gathering Forces, on their Part. *George Dunbar*, Earl of *Ormond*, was made Captain-General; who preſently march'd into *Annandale*, whither his Intelligence inform'd him, that the Enemy would come. And indeed the *Engliſh* had prevented him, and entred *Scotland* before. They had paſt over the Rivers *Solway* and *Annand*, and pitch'd their Tents by the River *Sare*; from whence they ſent out Parties on every ſide, to pillage; but, hearing of the coming of the *Scots*, they recall'd them all, by ſound of Trumpet; and contracted all their Forces into one Body. As ſoon as ever they came in ſight one of another, they fell to it without delay. *Main* commanded the Left Wing of the *Engliſh*, and *John Penington* the Right: He had the *Welſh*, the Relicks of the Antient *Britains*, for his Aſſiſtants. The Earl himſelf commanded the main Battel. *George Douglas* appointed *Walter*, Laird of *Craig*, to fight *Main*; and *Maxwel* and *Johnſton*, each with their Troops to attack *Penington*; he himſelf took care of the main Body. He gave them a ſhort Exhortation, to conceive good Hopes of Victory, becauſe they had taken up Arms in their own Defence, as provoked by the Injuries of their Enemies; and that a proſperous Iſſue muſt needs attend ſo juſt a Cauſe; and, if they could abate the Pride of the Enemy, by ſome notable Overthrow, they would reap a laſting Fruit of their ſhort Labour. The *Engliſh*, who abounded in the number of Archers, wounded many of the *Scots*, with their Darts, at a diſtance: Whereupon *Wallace*, who commanded the Left Wing, cry'd out aloud, ſo as to be heard by moſt of his Men, *Why they trifled ſo, and skirmiſh'd at a diſtance: they ſhould follow him, and ruſh in upon the Enemy, Hand to Hand; and then their* [illegible] *would*

would truly appear; for that was the Fighting, fit for Men. Having thus ſpoken, he drew the whole Wing after him. And preſently with their long Spears, wherewith the *Scots*, both Foot and Horſe, were furniſh'd, they drove the enemy back, routed, and put them to flight. *Main*, perceiving his Wing to give back, being more mindful of the juſt Glory of his former Life, than of his preſent Danger, ruſhes with great Violence upon *Wallace*; that ſo by his Boldneſs, he might either renew the Fight, or elſe breath out his laſt, in the Glory of ſome illuſtrious Attempt: but, unwarily Charging, he was intercepted from his own Men, and, with thoſe few that follow'd him, was ſlain. When both Armies heard that he was ſlain, the *Scots* preſs'd on more chearfully: ſo that the *Engliſh Army* did not ſtand long. As they fled diſperſed in great Diſorder, and with much Precipitation, more were ſlain in the Purſuit, than in the Fight. But the chiefeſt Slaughter was upon the Banks of the *Solway*: for there the Tide had ſwollen up the River, ſo that they could not paſs. About 3000 of the *Engliſh* were ſlain in this Fight, and 600 of the *Scots*. There were many Priſoners taken, the Chief were *John Penington* and *Robert Huntington*. The Earl of *Northumberland*'s Son might have eſcap'd, but, whilſt he was helping his Father to Horſe, he himſelf was taken Priſoner. The Booty was greater than had been ever known in any Battel betwixt the *Scots* and *Engliſh* before. For the *Engliſh*, truſting to the Number and Goodneſs of their Soldiers, and depending alſo on the Diſcord of the *Scots*, came on ſo ſecurely, as if it had been to a *Shew*, not to a *Fight*; ſo great was their Confidence, and ſo much they undervalued their Enemy. *Wallace* was wounded, carried home in a Litter, and in 3 Months after died of his Wounds.

Ormond, being thus a Conqueror, took a view of the Priſoners. The chief Commanders he ſent Priſoners to the Caſtle in *Loch Maban*. He himſelf returned to Court; where every Body went out to meet him: and he was received with all the Tokens of Honour. The King highly extoll'd his Military Services; but withal adviſ'd him and his Brother, That, as they had often given a proof of their Courage abroad, and had defended the State of *Scotland*, by their Labour and Valour, even in perillous Times; ſo at home they would accuſtom themſelves to a modeſt Deportment; and firſt refrain themſelves from injuring the Poorer ſort; and next hinder their *Clans* from doing it: and that they ſhould ſhew their Puiſſance and Grandeur, which their Anceſtors had obtain'd by their many Merits, both of King and Subjects, rather in reſtraining of Robbers, than in cheriſhing them. That this was the only thing wanting to compleat their Praiſe, and make it abſolute;

lute; and, if they would do that, they ſhould certainly find, that he would eſteem the Honour of the *Douglas's*, and their Family, before any thing elſe whatſoever. They anſwer'd the King ſubmiſſively, and ſo took their leave, and went joyfully home.

AFTER this Fight at *Sarc*, as the Borders of *Scotland* were quieter from the wrongs of their Enemies; ſo, when the Matter was reported at *London*, it did rather irritate the *Engliſh*, than deject them. For, a Council being call'd about a War with *Scotland*, a new Army was order'd to be rais'd, to blot out the former Ignominy. Whilſt they were all intent upon it, at that very Criſis of Time, Civil Wars broke out among them; and a ſtrong Conſpiracy of the Commons made againſt the King, took off their Thoughts from a Foreign War: ſo that Embaſſadors were ſent into *Scotland*, to treat of a Peace; which was ſo much the more welcome, becauſe their own Affairs were not well ſettled at Home. Yet they could not well agree to Terms of Peace; but only made a Peace for three Years, and ſo returned Home. Theſe things were acted in the Year of our *Lord* One Thouſand Four Hundred Forty Eight.

This publick Joy was ſoon after increas'd by a Meſſage, ſent out of *Flanders* from the *Chancellor*, who went Ambaſſador to *Charles* the Seventh, about contracting a Marriage. By his Endeavours, *Mary*, the Daughter of *Arnold*, Duke of *Gelderland*, was betrothed to *James*. She was of Kingly Race by her Mother's Side, who was a Siſter of the Duke of *Burgundy*. The Year after, ſhe came with a great Train of Noble Perſons into *Scotland*, and, in *July* was crown'd in the Abby of *Holy-Rood-Houſe*, near *Edinburgh*.

This Univerſal Joy, for the Victory, for the Peace, and for the Marriage, was ſoon diſturbed by the Death of *Richard Colvil*, a Man of Note; which, tho' perhaps, in itſelf, not undeſerv'd, yet was of very bad Example to the Common-Wealth. This *Colvil*, having receiv'd many and great Wrongs from one *John Aſſleck*, a Friend of *Douglas's*; and, after many Complaints, getting no Remedy in Law nor Equity; fought with and ſlew him, and ſome of his Followers. *Douglas* took the Fact ſo hainouſly; that he made a ſolemn Oath never to reſt, till he had expiated the Murder by *Colvil's* Death. Neither were his Threatnings in vain: for he ſtorm'd his Caſtle, took and plunder'd it; and killed all the People in it, who were alſo to bear Arms. This Action, tho' performed againſt Law and Cuſtom, was excuſed, and, in effect, commended by ſome, as proceeding from Indignation, a Paſſion that does not ſit unbecoming upon a generous Mind. Thus, as it commonly happens in degenerate Times, *Flattery, the perpetual Companion of Greatneſs, dreſſed up the higheſt Offences with honeſt and laudable Names.*

Names. Moreover, *Douglas* was ſo elated with the Flatteries of Fortune, which were now bent to his Deſtruction; that he was ambitious enough to make an Oſtentation of his Power, even to Foreign Nations; as if the Splendor of ſo great a Family ought not to be ſtraitned within the narrow Theatre of one Iſland only: ſo that he had a mind to go to *Rome*. He pretended Religion, but the principal Deſign of his Journey was Ambition. The Church of *Rome* had adopted the old Rites of the *Jewiſh*: for, as the *Jewiſh* Church every Fiftieth Year, was to forgive all the Debts of what kind ſoever, to their Countrymen, and to reſtore all Pledges *Gratis*; and alſo to ſet their *Hebrew* Servants at Liberty: So the *Pope* taking an Example from thence, as *God's Vicar* on Earth, arrogated the Power of forgiving all Offences. For, whereas at other times he trucked out his Pardons by Piece-Meal; every Fiftieth Year he open'd his full Garners thereof, and pour'd out whole Buſhels full of them publickly to all; yet, I will not ſay, *Gratis*.

Douglas, with a great Train of Nobles, who were deſirous, partly to ſee Novelties, and partly were tempted with the hopes of Reward; ſail'd over into *Flanders*: From whence he Travelled by Land to *Paris*, and took with him his Brother, appointed Biſhop of *Caledonia*; who, afterwards, ſeeing *Douglas* had no Children was, by the King's Permiſſion, put in Hopes of being his Heir. In *France*, he was highly careſſed, partly upon the account of their Publick League with the *Scots*, and partly in Memory of his Anceſtor's Merits from that Crown; and the Fame of this filled all *Rome* with the Expectation of his coming.

About two Months after his Departure from *Scotland*, his Enemies and Rivals began to lift up their Heads; they durſt not, for Fear, complain of him, when he was preſent; but now they laid open all the Injuries which they had received from him. And, when it was once noiſed abroad, that the Acceſs to the King was eaſy, and that his Ear was open to all juſt Complaints; the Troop of Complainants, lamenting their Sufferings, increated daily: ſo that all the ways to the Palace were almoſt ſtopt by them. The King could not well either reject the Petitions of the Sufferers, nor yet condemn the Earl, in his abſence, without hearing him; ſo that he gave a middle Anſwer, which ſatisfy'd their Curioſity for the preſent, *viz.* *That he would command the Earl's Proctor, or Attorney, to appear; that ſo, in his own Preſence, a fair Tryal might be had.* Whereupon the Proctor was ſummon'd, but did not appear: ſo that the King's Officers were ſent out to bring him in by force. When he was brought to Court, ſome alledged, that he ought to be immediately puniſh'd for diſobeying the King's Command; in regard

regard, that, by too much Patience, the King's Authority would be deſpis'd and run low, even amongſt the meaner ſort: for, under the Pretence of Lenity, the Audaciouſneſs of the Bad would increaſe, and the Impunity of Offenders would open the way for more Crimes. The King was not mov'd by thoſe Inſtigations, but remain'd conſtant to his Reſolution; which was, rather to ſatisfy his greateſt Accuſers, by the Compenſation of their Loſſes, than to ſatiate their revengeful Minds with the ſpilling of his Blood. For this End, he caus'd the Earl's Proctor to be freed from Priſon, and to plead in his Maſter's behalf; telling him, That, *if he had any thing to alledge, by which he could clear his Maſter of the Crimes objected, he ſhould freely declare it, without any Fear at all.* When he was caſt in many Suits, and the King commanded him immediately to pay the Damages; the Proctor anſwer'd, *He would defer the whole Matter, till the return of the Earl; who was expected in a few Months.* This he ſpake, as 'twas thought, by the Advice of *Ormond* and *Murray*, the Earl's Brothers: When the King was inform'd of his Reſolution, he ſent *William Sinclare*, Earl of the *Orcades*, who was then *Chancellor*, firſt into *Galway*, and then into *Douglaſdale*. He appointed Sequeſtrators, to gather up the Rents of *Douglas*'s Eſtate; and ſo to pay the Damages adjudg'd by Law. But, as *Sinclare* had not Power enough to inforce his Order; ſome eluded, others abus'd him very groſsly; ſo that he return'd without bringing his Buſineſs to any manner of Effect.

The King, being provoked by this Contempt of his Authority, commands all the Favourers of *Douglas* his Faction to be Summon'd to appear; which they refuſing to do, were declared publick Enemies; an Army was levy'd againſt them, which march'd into *Galway*. At their firſt coming, the Commanders were driven into their Caſtles; but a ſmall Party of the King's Forces, purſuing the reſt through Craggy Places, were repuls'd; and not without Ignominy driven back to the King. The King, being in a mighty Indignation, that a few vagabond Thieves ſhould dare to make ſuch Attempts, reſolv'd to make them pay dear for their Contempt of the Commands of Majeſty, by attempting their ſtrongeſt Holds. He took the Caſtle of *Maban*, with no great difficulty; but his Soldiers were ſo much toil'd and weary'd in the taking of *Douglas* Caſtle, that he entirely demoliſhed it, by way of Revenge. As for the Vaſſals and Tenants who had ſubmitted themſelves, and their Fortunes to him, he commanded them to pay their Rents to his Treaſurers, 'till *Douglas*'s Eſtate had fully ſatisfy'd, what was awarded againſt him by Law. And, when this was almoſt done, he diſmiſs'd his Army; having obtain'd a good Report for his Lenity and Moderation, even amongſt his very Enemies.

VIII. N

WHEN theſe Matters were related to the Earl at *Rome*, his great Spirit was mightily mov'd; his Reputation was even abated amongſt his own Attendants; a great Part of them deſerted him; and he ſet out upon his Journey homewards, with but a few Followers. He came through *England*; and, when he came upon the Borders of *Scotland*, he ſent his Brother *James* to feel the King's Pulſe, how he ſtood affected towards him. And, as the King was found in the Humour of being appeaſed, he return'd home, and was kindly receiv'd; only he was admoniſh'd to abandon and ſubdue all Robbers, eſpecially thoſe of *Annandale*; who had plaid many cruel Pranks, to ſatisfy their Avarice, in his Abſence. *Douglas* undertook to do ſo; and confirm'd his Promiſe by an Oath. Whereupon, he was not only reſtor'd into his former Grace and Favour, but alſo made Regent over all *Scotland*; ſo that every one was enjoyn'd to obey his Commands.

BUT his vaſt Mind, which was always hankering after Supremacy and Height, was not content with this Honour, which was the greateſt he could be advanced to, under the King; but, by his Temerity, he gave the State new Occaſions of Suſpicion: For he undertook a Journey very privately into *England*; and, after his Addreſs to that King, he told him, that the cauſe of his coming was, That *his Eſtate, tho' claimed by him, was not yet reſtor'd.* But this ſeem'd to *James*, a light, and no probable Cauſe of his Journey: And therefore the King conceiv'd a great Suſpicion in his Mind; which before was not well reconcil'd, againſt him; neither did he conceal his Anger, as ſuppoſing that there was a deeper Deſign hid under that Diſcourſe with the *Engliſh* King. *Douglas*, having now an offended King to deal with, fled preſently to his wonted Refuge, His Majeſty's well-known Clemency; and caſt himſelf at his Feet: The Queen alſo, and many of the Nobles, interceded for him; and, after a ſolemn Oath, that, for the future, he would never act any thing which might juſtly offend the King, his Fault was forgiven; only he was deprived of his Office. Whereupon the Earl of the *Orcades*, and *William Creighton*, who had always remained loyal, were advanc'd again to the Helm.

Douglas was very angry with all the Courtiers for this Diſgrace, (for ſo he interpreted it) but he was moſt of all incens'd againſt *William Creighton*; for, he thought that 'twas by his Prudence, all his Projects were diſappointed; and therefore he was reſolv'd to diſpatch him out of the World, either by ſome Treachery; or, if that ſucceeded not, by any other way whatſoever. And, that he might do it with the leſs *Odium*, he ſuborn'd one of his Friends to Witneſs, that he heard *Creighton*

ton ſay, *That* Scotland *would never be at quiet, ſo long as any of the Family of the* Douglas's *were left alive; and that the Safety of the King and Kingdom, the Concord of the Eſtates, and the Publick Peace, depended upon the Death of that one Man: For, he being of a Turbulent Nature, and ſupported by many and great Affinities, and Irreconcilable by any Offices of Reſpect, and Advancements to Honour, it was better to have him taken out of the way; that ſo the Publick Peace might be confirm'd and ſettled.* This Tale, when nois'd abroad, and believed by many, by reaſon of the face of Probability it carry'd along with it, rais'd up a great deal of Ill-will againſt *Creighton*. *Douglas*, being inform'd by his Spies, when he was to depart from *Edinburgh*, lays an Ambuſh for him, late in the Night, as ſecretly as he could; and, when he and his Train came to it, the inſidious Ruffians ſet upon them with a great Shout; they, who were firſt aſſaulted, were ſo aſtoniſh'd at the ſuddenneſs of the Danger, that they could not lift up an Hand to defend themſelves. But *William*, being a Man of great Courage and Conduct, as ſoon as he had a little recover'd himſelf from his Fright, kill'd the firſt Man that aſſaulted him, and wounded another; and ſo he and his Attendants broke through the midſt of their Enemies, having only received ſome Wounds. He fled to *Creighton* Caſtle, and there ſtaid ſome Days, to cure his Wounds; and ſoon after, he got a great Number of his Friends and Tenants along with him, and came with profound Secrecy to *Edinburgh*: His ſpeed did ſo prevent the Noiſe of his coming; that he had almoſt ſurpriz'd his Enemy unawares.

Douglas, being thus freed from unlook'd for Danger, either out of Fear, Shame, or Both, when he ſaw the Power of the adverſe Faction increaſe and grow extremely popular, endeavour'd alſo to ſtrengthen his own Party, as much as ever he could; and therefore he joins himſelf in League with the Earls of *Craford* and *Roſs*, which were the moſt noted and potent Families in *Scotland*, next to the *Douglas's*. A mutual Oath was entred into betwixt them; *That each of them ſhould be aiding and aſſiſting to the Friends, and Confederates, one of another.* And, in confidence of this Combination, they ſlighted the Forces of their oppoſite Faction; nay, and the King's too. The King reſented this as the very higheſt Indignity; and beſides, he had other freſh Cauſes of Provocation againſt him; which haſted his Deſtruction. *John Herris*, a Knight of a Noble Family in *Galway*, being averſe to the ill Practices of the *Douglas's*, commonly kept within the Walls of his own Houſe; but the *Annandians* were ſent in upon him; who did him a great

* *Douglas's* Deſign againſt *Creighton's* Life.

deal

deal of Miſchief. He often complain'd of it to *Douglas*, but in vain: So that, at length, he determin'd to revenge himſelf, and repel Force by Force. And accordingly, he gather'd a Company of his Friends together; and, entring *Annandale*, he, and all his Followers, were there taken Priſoners by thoſe *Banditti*; and, being brought to *Douglas*, he hang'd him up as a Thief; tho' the King had earneſtly interceded for him, by his Letters. The Matter ſeem'd very heinous, as indeed it was: ſo that Speeches were given out, *That* Douglas, *by evil Practices, did endeavour, and, that not obſcurely, to make his Way to the Crown: For now there was nothing elſe remaining, which could ſatisfy his vaſt and aſpiring Mind.* Which Suſpicion was ſoon after increas'd, by another Action, which he committed; as foul as the former. There was a certain Family of the *Maclan's*, in *Galway*, one of the chief and beſt there: The prime Perſon of that Family, had kill'd one of *Douglas's* Attendants, from whom he had received continual Wrongs and Affronts; for which *Douglas* put him and his Brother in Priſon. The King was made acquainted with it, and very much importun'd by the Friends of the Priſoner, not to ſuffer ſo Noble, and otherwiſe a very honeſt Man, to be hal'd forth, not to a Tryal, but to an undoubted Deſtruction; the ſame Perſon being both his capital Enemy, and his Judge too; and, that they were not his preſent Crimes, which did him ſo much Prejudice, as his having always been of the Honeſt, or Royal Party. Hereupon, the King ſent *Patrick Gray*, *Macklan's* Uncle, a worthy Knight, and of Kin alſo to *Douglas*, to command him to ſend the Priſoner to Court, that the Matter might be tryed there, in due Courſe of Law. The Earl receiv'd *Gray* very courteouſly; but, in the mean time, he cauſed Execution to be done upon the Priſoner, and intreated *Gray* to excuſe him to the King, as if it had been done by his Officers, without his Knowledge. But he, perceiving how manifeſtly he was deluded, was in ſuch a Rage, that he told *Douglas*, That from that Day forward, he would renounce all Alliance, Friendſhip, or any other Obligation to him, and was reſolv'd to be his everlaſting avowed Enemy, and do him all the Miſchief he could. When this News was brought to Court, this Action appeared ſo horridly vile to all that heard it, that it grew the World's common Talk, That *Douglas* did now exceed the Bounds of a Subject, and plainly carry'd himſelf as a King: For, to what other purpoſe elſe, did his Combinations with the Earls of *Craford*, *Roſs*, *Murray*, and *Ormond* tend? And moreover, his private Diſcourſe with the King of *England*; his putting good Men to Death; and his allow'd Licentiouſneſs, in pillaging the People; were Indications of the ſame Deſign. Now, Innocency was

accounted Cowardice; and Loyalty to the King puniſh'd as Perfidiouſneſs; that the Enemies of the Common-wealth grew inſolent, by the too great Lenity and Indulgence of its Prince: That 'twas time for him now to take the Reins of Government into his own Hand, and to act like a Monarch himſelf; and then it would appear, who were his Friends, and who were his Enemies; or, if he did not dare to do it openly, by Reaſon of the Power of ſome Men; yet, by ſome private Way or other, he ſhould puniſh Treachery: But, if he were ſo fearful, as not to do ſo neither; what remain'd, but that they, who had hitherto been conſtant in their Loyalty to him, ſhould now at length, provide for themſelves? Tho' the Life of the *Douglas's*, and the Credulity of the King, (prone to Suſpicion) did confirm theſe Diſcourſes to be too true; yet the King, out of his innate Clemency, or elſe, having, before, laid his Deſign, ſends for *Douglas* to Court: He, conſcious of ſo many miſchievous Pranks he had plaid; and calling to remembrance, how often he had been pardon'd; and withal, underſtanding, how diſtaſtful his new League with *Craford* was to the King; tho' he put great Confidence in His Majeſty's Clemency, yet, being more inclin'd to Fear, refus'd to come; alledging that he had many powerful Enemies at Court, and ſome of them had lately lain in wait to take away his Life. Hereupon, to remove this his Fear, many of the Nobles, about the King, ſent him a Schedule, with their Hands and Seals to it; promiſing upon Oath, That, if the King himſelf ſhould meditate any thing againſt his Life, yet they would diſmiſs him in Safety. So that *Douglas*, encourag'd by the King's Clemency, and by the publick Faith, teſtify'd by the Subſcriptions of ſo many noble Perſons, with a train of Followers, came to *Sterlin*; where he was courteouſly treated by the King, and invited into the Caſtle. After Supper was ended with a great deal of Mirth, the King took him a-ſide, into his Bed-chamber, with but a few of his Confidents: He did not ſo much as admit thoſe, to whom he was wont to communicate his moſt ſecret Counſels. There he diſcourſed over, from the very beginning, the Loyalty and Valour of his Anceſtors, and his own Indulgence towards their Family, and eſpecially towards himſelf; whom, after having committed many heinous Offences, either through the unexperience of his Years, or, through the Perſwaſions of wicked Men, he had freely pardon'd; always hoping, that either his Royal Clemency toward him, or elſe his growing further into the Years of Diſcretion, would reform him; and as yet, ſays he, I deſpair not, but it may be ſo: And if you repent of what you have impiouſly committed, the Door of my Clemency ſhall never be ſhut againſt you. This laſt League (proceeded he)

he) with *Craford* and *Roſs*, as it is not creditable for you; ſo it is ignominious to me: And therefore, tho' I take it much amiſs, that you entred into it, yet I put it into your Power, and, as yet, give you liberty to cancel and break it off: Which, tho' by my Prerogative, I may command, yet, I had rather, by fair means, perſwade you ſo to do; that, ſince all Men's Eyes are upon you, you may avert all cauſe of Suſpicion with greater Security. *Douglas* anſwer'd ſubmiſſively enough to all other Points; but, when His Majeſty came to mention the League, he was ſomewhat perplex'd, and did not clearly declare what he would do; but that he would adviſe with his Aſſociates: Neither could he ſee any Cauſe, why the King, at preſent, ſhould oblige him to a Breach of it; ſince it contained nothing that could juſtly offend His Majeſty. The King, either having reſolv'd upon the Matter before, or, elſe provok'd by his contumacious Anſwer, (as the Courtiers ſay) reply'd, *If thou will not break it, I will: and immediately ſtruck his Dagger into his Breaſt.* Thoſe that ſtood at the Door, hearing the Noiſe, ruſh'd in; and, after a great number of Wounds, gave him the finiſhing Blow. Some ſay, that, next after the King, *Patrick Grey*, of whom mention was made before, ſtruck him into the Head with a BILL; and the reſt that came in, to ſhew their Duty to the King, gave him every one a Blow. He was kill'd in the Month of *February*, 1452. according to the *Roman* Account.

HE had then four Brothers in *Sterlin*, whom a great number of the Nobility had accompany'd thither: They, as ſoon as ever they heard what was done, ran in great amazement to their Arms, (as it commonly happens in ſuch ſudden Confuſions) and filled the Town with Noiſe and Clamour. But, when the Tumult was appeaſed by the Nobles, they were commanded to go, each Man to his reſpective Lodging. The next Day they met to conſult: And firſt of all, *James* was call'd Earl, in the room of his departed Brother. He mightily inveighs againſt the perfidiouſneſs of the King and the Courtiers, and adviſes to beſiege the Caſtle, with what Force they then had, and with all ſpeed to levy more; and ſo to pull thoſe Men out of their lurking-holes, who were valiant only to commit perfidious Miſchiefs, whilſt they were yet in ſome Fear and Anguiſh, for the guilt of their Offence. The Company commended the Piety of *James*, and the couragiouſneſs of his Spirit; but were averſe to his Advice to a Siege; becauſe they were not prepar'd with any Materials for ſo great an Enterprize; So that they all departed Home. And after Conſultation with the chief of their Friends, the 26th of *March* they return'd again, and tied a Cord to an Horſe-Tail, on which they faſtned the Schedule of the King and Nobles,

promiſing the publick Faith to *Douglas* for his Security: This they drew through the Streets, abſtaining from no manner of Reproach, either againſt the King, or Council. When they came to the Market-place, they proclaim'd the King, and, thoſe that were with him, *Truce-breakers, Perjur'd Perſons, and Enemies to all Good Men.* Moreover, they were angry with the Town, tho' that had committed no Offence; and, after they had pillag'd it, they ſent *James Hamilton* back, to burn it: Nay, their Fury continued for ſome Days; ſo that they rang'd all over the Country, and ruin'd the Lands of all thoſe, who were Loyal to the King. They beſieg'd the Caſtle of *Dalkeith*; and took an Oath not to depart from it, till they had taken it: For they were angry with *John*, the Owner of it, becauſe he, and the Earl of *Angus*, had ſeparated themſelves from the Counſels of the reſt of the *Douglaſſes*. The Siege laſted longer than they expected; for *Patrick Cockburn*, Commander of the Garriſon, made a ſtrenuous Reſiſtance againſt all the Efforts of the Enemy: So that, after they had loſt a great many Men, they were worn out with Toils and Watchings, and ſo broke up the Siege. In the mean time, the King levied an Army to relieve his diſtreſſed Friends; but, not having Strength enough to encounter the *Douglaſſes*, he reſolv'd to wait, till *Alexander Gordon* could come in to his Aſſiſtance; who had levy'd a great Force in the Northern Parts, and was marching towards him: But, as he was paſſing thro' *Angus*, *Craford*, with a conſiderable Body, met and oppos'd him at *Brechin*; where a ſharp Battel was fought betwixt them. When the King's chief Forces were giving Ground, as not able to endure the ſhock of the *Anguſians*; *John Colace*, who commanded the Left Wing, forſook *Craford*; having born him a Grudge; and ſo left the main Body of the Army naked. This ſtruck thoſe, who were almoſt Conquerors, with ſuch Terror, that they turn'd their Backs, and fled for it. Thus *Gordon* unexpectedly got the Victory, yet with much loſs on his Side; his two Brothers, and a great number of his Friends and Followers, being ſlain. Of the *Anguſians* alſo, there fell ſeveral Men of Note; and, amongſt the reſt, the Earl's own Brother. As for the Earl himſelf, he turn'd his Wrath, from the Enemy, upon thoſe, who had deſerted him: He ſtorm'd their Caſtles, and put their ſeveral Territories to Fire and Sword: And he had the better Opportunity ſo to do, becauſe *Gordon* made a ſpeedy return into his own Country, when he heard that the Earl of *Murray* was exerciſing all manner of Cruelty againſt his own Territories: So that he was forced to march back with his victorious Army; where he not only revenged his Loſs upon his Enemy, but alſo quite expell'd him out of his Coun-

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try of *Murray*. Theſe Actions were perform'd towards the end of the Spring.

In the interim, the King, by the advice, chiefly of *James Kennedy*, caus'd an Aſſembly of the Eſtates to meet at *Edinburgh*, to which he ſummon'd, by an Herald, the Earl of *Douglas*, and the Nobles of his Party, to come. But he was ſo far from obeying him, that, the next Night, he caus'd a Libel to be hung on the Church-doors, That he would not truſt the King with his Life, nor yield Obedience to him, for the future, any more, who had ſent for his Kinſman to *Edinburgh*, and his Brothers to *Sterlin*, under the Protection of the Publick Faith, and there had perfidiouſly ſlain them, without hearing their Cauſe. In this Aſſembly, the Four Brothers of the late Earl who was ſlain, *James*, *Archibald*, *George* and *John*, with *Beatrix* the Earl's late Wife, and *Alexander*, Earl of *Craford*, were declar'd Publick Enemies to the Common-wealth. Many perſons were advanc'd to be Noblemen, and Rewards were aſſign'd them out of the Rebels Eſtates. An Army was levy'd to purſue the Enemy, which, after ſome devaſtation of the Country, driving off Booties, and burning Corn in the Granaries, was again diſmiſt in Winter, becauſe the Soldiers could not then keep the Field, and an Expedition was appointed againſt the Spring.

In the mean time, *James Douglas*, leſt the Wealth of his Family, which was mightily increas'd, by rich Matches, ſhould go away to other people, takes to Wife *Beatrix*, the Relict of his Brother, and treats with the Pope to confirm the Marriage. But the King, by his Letters, interpos'd, and hindred him from giving his Ratification to it. This Year, and the next following, there was bandying between the Parties; Lands were pillag'd; ſome Caſtles overthrown; but they came not to the deciſion of the main Controverſy by a Set Battle; the greateſt Part of the Damage fell on the Counties of *Annandale*, *Foreſs*, and the Neighbouring Counties of the *Douglaſſes*. This Devaſtation of the Countries was followed by a Famine, and the Famine by a Plague; yet the Wiſeſt of *Douglas*'s Friends uſed all Arguments in perſuading him to endeavour a Reconciliation with the King, and ſo to lay himſelf, and all his Concerns, at his Feet, whom his Anceſtors had before found very merciful; eſpecially, ſince he had a King, who was eaſily exorable in his own Nature; and moreover, might be made more reconcilable by the Mediation of his Friends, and that he would not ſuffer ſo noble a Family, as His was, to be extirpated by his Obſtinacy; nor betray the Lives of ſo many brave Men, who follow'd his Party; nor yet bring them to that Point of Neceſſity, that, after having ſuffer'd

* The *Douglaſſes* proclaimed publick Enemies.

ſo many Calamities, they ſhould be forc'd to make Terms for themſelves: Whilſt he was in a good Condition, he might make eaſy Terms of Peace; but, if once his Friends deſerted him; He could then have no hopes of obtaining his Pardon. The Man, being in the full pride and warmth of his Youth, and of a fierce Diſpoſition too, made Anſwer, *That he would never ſubmit himſelf to their Power, who were reſtrain'd by no Bonds of Modeſty, nor by any divine or human Laws; who under fair Promiſes had inticed his Couſins, and his Brother to come to them, and then, perfidiouſly and cruelly murdered them: In a Word, he would ſuffer the height of all Extremities, before he would ever put himſelf into their hands.*

This his Anſwer was approv'd, or diſlik'd, according to every Man's Humour: Thoſe, who were violent, or who made a Gain of the publick Miſeries, commended the Greatneſs of his Courage; but the Wiſer ſort perſuaded him to take Opportunity by the Forelock, leſt, after his Friends had forſaken him, he ſhould find reaſon, when it was too late to complain, that he had neglected the Time for a Reconciliation, which is uſually the end of haſty and headſtrong Reſolutions. But the Earl of *Craford*, weary'd out with ſo long a War, and likewiſe reflecting inwardly upon the Injuſtice of his Cauſe, and the ſtrange Turns and Changes of Human Life; and knowing moreover, that he might eaſily obtain his Pardon, if he would be but early enough in his Sollicitations for the King's Favour; but that he would find it extremely difficult to get it, if he ſtood it out; and beſides, being forſaken by ſome of his Friends, and ſuſpecting the Fidelity of the reſt, He put himſelf into ſuch an Habit, as would moſt probably move Compaſſion; and came bare-headed, and bare-footed, in moſt humble manner to the King, as he was paſſing thro' *Angus*. He ingenuouſly confeſt the Offences of his former Life; he put his Life and Fortune upon the King's Mercy, having firſt prefaced ſomething concerning the Fidelity and good Services which his Anceſtors had performed to their Kings; he was conſcious, that his Fault had deſerv'd the Extremity of Puniſhment; but whatſoever hereafter he had either of Life or Fortune, it would be a Debt wholly due to the King's Clemency. Having ſpoken theſe, and other Words, of the ſame import, not without Fear, all the Spectators were much moved and affected, eſpecially ſome of the Nobility of *Angus*; and, tho' they themſelves had followed the King's Party, yet they were unwilling, that ſo eminent and ancient a Family ſhould be deſtroy'd. *James Kennedy* carry'd himſelf, at the ſame time, like a good Biſhop and a friendly Patriot; for he not only forgave the Earl the many grievous Injuries he had done him, but further commended his Suit, and ſpoke in his Favour, to the King:

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For he foreſaw, as it after happen'd, That, by this Acceſſion, the King's Party, would be ſtrengthen'd, and his Enemies weaken'd daily, for the future; becauſe many were likely to follow the Example of this Great Man. And beſides, the King, thinking, that his former Fierceneſs was tam'd, and that he was really penitent for what he had done; was not hard to be intreated; but gave him his Pardon, reſtor'd him to his former Eſtate and Honour, only advis'd him, for the future, to keep within the Bounds of his Duty: And indeed, *Craford*, being thus ingag'd by the Lenity and Indulgence of the King, did afterwards endeavour to perform him all the Service he poſſibly could. He followed him with his Forces in his March to the furtheſt Parts of the Kingdom; and, having ſettled Things there for the preſent, he entertained him nobly at his Houſe, in his return; and, when he march'd to make a full end of the Civil War, he promis'd him all the Force he could make; and, indeed, the whole courſe of his Life was ſo chang'd, that, laying aſide his former Savageneſs of Behaviour, he liv'd courteouſly, and in Complaiſance, with the Neighbouring Nobility; ſo that his Death, which followed ſoon after, was the greater Grief to the King, and to all the People.

The King, thus weakening *Douglas's* Party by degrees, his remaining Hopes were from *England*, if poſſibly he might obtain Aid from thence. For this end, he ſent *Hamilton* to *London*, who brought him back Word, that the *King of* England *would undertake a War againſt* Scotland, *on no other Terms, but that* Douglas *ſhould ſubmit himſelf and all his Concerns to that King, and acknowledge himſelf a Subject of* England: So that his Hopes from thence were cut off. And, on the other ſide, the King of *Scotland* preſt hard upon him by his Edicts, Proſcriptions and Arms; and by all the Miſeries, which accompany Rebellious Inſurrections: So that *Hamilton* advis'd the Earl, not to ſuffer the King to Lop away his Forces by piece-meal; and, by catching Party after Party, to weaken, and in time, overthrow the Whole; but rather to march out with his Army, truſt Fortune, put it to a Battle, there to dye Valiantly, or conquer Honourably. This Reſolution (ſaid he) is worthy of the name of the *Douglaſſes*, and the only Way to end the preſent Miſeries. Alarmed and fired with this Speech, he gather'd as great an Army as he could, of his Friends and Dependents, and marched out to raiſe the Siege of the Caſtle of *Abercorn*; for the King, after he had demoliſh'd many Caſtles of the *Douglaſſes*, had at laſt beſieged That. It was a very ſtrong Hold, ſcituate almoſt in the Mid-way between *Sterlin* and *Edinburgh*. When *Douglas* came ſo near, that he ſaw, and was ſeen by, the Enemy, his Friends advis'd him to puſh at all, and either to make himſelf renown'd

by ſome eminent Victory; or, by a Noble Death, to free himſelf from Reproach and Miſery; but, when all his Party were ready for the Onſet, he daunted all their Spirits by his own Delay, for he retreated with his Army again into his Camp, and determin'd to draw and ſpin out the War to a greater Length. His Commanders diſlik'd his Deſign; and *Hamilton*, abhorring his Cowardice, and deſpairing of the Succeſs of his Arms, revolted that very Night to the King's Party. Upon this his Defection, the King gave him his Pardon, but not permitting any great Confidence in him, becauſe of his Subtilty, he ſent him Priſoner to *Roſſeline*, a Caſtle belonging to the Earl of the *Orcades*; but afterwards, by the Mediation of his Friends, he was releas'd, and receiv'd into Favour; and that unbloody Victory aſcribed to him, as the main Occaſion of it.

THE reſt of the *Douglaſſians* follow'd *Hamilton*'s Example, and gave him every one the ſlip, going where each thought it moſt convenient for his own Security; ſo that, at length, the Caſtle, after much Loſs on both ſides, was taken, the Garriſon put to the Sword, and after 'twas half demoliſhed, it was left as a Monument of the Victory. *Douglas*, being thus deſerted by almoſt all his Friends, with a few of his Familiars, fled into *England*; from thence, not long after, he made an Inrode with a ſmall Party into *Annandale*, which was then poſſeſt by the King's Garriſons; but, being worſted in a Skirmiſh, he and his Brother *John* eſcap'd; *Archibald*, Earl of *Murray*, was ſlain; *George* was much wounded and taken Priſoner; and, after his Wounds were cur'd, was brought to the King, and put to Death. In an Aſſembly of the Eſtates held at *Edinburgh*, on the Fifth of *June*, in the Year 1455. *James*, *John*, and *Beatrix*, all *Douglaſſes*, were again proſcrib'd: The Publick Acts make *Beatrix* their Mother, which ſeems not very probable to me, unleſs, perhaps, they might be called her Sons, by Adoption. Earl *James* having thus loſt his Brothers, being deſerted by his Friends, and diſtruſting the *Engliſh*, that he might leave no Stone unturn'd, apply'd himſelf to *Donald*, King of the *Æbudæ*, a Man bad enough in his own Nature: They met at *Dunſtafnage*; where he eaſily perſuaded him to joyn with him, in the War; whereupon, they committed great Outrages on the King's Provinces, near adjoyning, without diſtinction either of Age or Sex; there was nothing ſpar'd which could be violated by Fire or Sword; the like Cruelty was us'd in *Argyle* and *Arran*; and then being laden with Booty, he return'd home; and afterward, having waſted *Loch-Abyr* and *Murray*, he return'd to *Innerneſs*, he took the Caſtle, pillag'd and burnt the Town.

NEITHER

NEITHER were the *Engliſh* quiet all this while, but, watching their Opportunity, they made Incurſions into *Merch*; where they ſlew ſome Men of Note, and endeavoured to oppoſe their furious Ravages; and ſo return'd Home without loſs, but full of Plunder, from that opulent Country. The next Year after, *Beatrix*, Wife to the former Earl of *Douglas*, and alſo living for ſome Years with *James*, his Brother, as his Wife, came in to the King: She laid all the Fault of her former Miſcarriages upon *James*; that ſhe being a Woman, and helpleſs, was inforc'd to that wicked Marriage; but at the firſt opportunity, as ſoon as *James* was abſent, ſhe was fled from that Servitude: That *now* ſhe had laid Herſelf, and all her Concerns, at the King's Feet; and, whatever Order he ſhould pleaſe to make concerning her, or her Eſtate, ſhe would willingly obey it. The King receiv'd her into his Protection; gave her an Eſtate in *Balvany*, and married her to his Brother, the Earl of *Athole*, by the ſame Mother. The Wife of *Donald*, the *Iſlander*, followed her Example: She was the Daughter of *James Levingſton*, and was married to *Donald*, by her Grandfather, the Regent, by the perſwaſion of the King; that ſo he might a little ſoften the rugged Diſpoſition of the Man, and keep him firm to the King's Party: But then, her Kinſman being reſtor'd to the Favours and Graces they formerly had, and her Husband having joyned in with the *Douglaſſian* Faction, ſhe was every Day more and more deſpiſed by him; ſo that ſhe implor'd the King's Aſſiſtance againſt his barbarous Cruelty. There was no need of her making ſuch an Apology, in regard the King himſelf had been the Author of the Match; ſo that ſhe was nobly treated, and had a large Revenue ſettled upon her for her Life.

ABOUT the ſame time, *Patrick Thornton*, who had followed the Court a great while, yet was ſecretly of *Douglas*'s Faction, having got a convenient Opportunity, at *Dunbarton*, ſlew *John Sanderland* of *Caldar*, a young Man of about 20 Years of Age, and *Alan Stuart*, of Noble Families both, and eminent for their Loyalty to the King. But ſoon after, he himſelf was taken by the Clans of the adverſe Party, and executed for his Pains.

THIS Year was remarkable for the Death of many noble Perſonages; but eſpecially of *William Creighton*. He, tho' born of an Equeſtrian Family, yet, by reaſon of his great Prudence, Fortitude, and his ſingular Loyalty to the King, even to the laſt Day of his Life, left a great Loſs behind him to all Good Men. The next Year, the *Engliſh*, encouraged by their coming off with Impunity for former Injuries, made great Spoil in *Merch*, under the Command of *Henry Percy*, Earl of *Northumberland*, and *James Douglas*, the Exile. In order to put a ſtop to theſe

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Devaſtations, *George Douglas*, Earl of *Angus*, gather'd a Party of his Countrymen together, and made an Aſſault upon the Plunderers, and drove that Part of them, which he aſſaulted, in great Confuſion, back to their own Standards. The *Engliſh*, mov'd at this Indignity, march'd on their Army, before the reſt had recover'd their Colours; and the *Scots* were as ready to receive them.

The Fight was manag'd on both Sides, with greater Courage than Force, for a great while together: Neither did any Odds appear, till the *Engliſh*, who were ſcatter'd up and down the Country, by the Noiſe and Tumult, perceiving that the * Enemy was come, for fear of loſing the rich Booty they had gotten, haſted directly Home. Their departure gave an eaſier, but yet not unbloody, Victory to the *Scots*, there being almoſt an equal Number ſlain on both Sides; but many of the *Engliſh* taken in the Purſuit. The News of this Victory, being brought to the King, gave him ſome relief in Mind; which was oppreſt with Thoughtfulneſs, which way the fate of Arms would turn, between his own Subjects and the *Engliſh*. Afterwards, *Donald* the *Iſlander*, perceiving the ill Succeſs of his Affairs, was inforc'd to ſend Agents to the King, to intercede for a Peace. ** They, in an humble Oration, commemorated the King's Clemency ſhew'd to *Craford*, and the reſt of his Partiſans, in the ſame Cauſe. As for their own Crimes, they laid them on the fatality of the Times; but, for the future, they made large Promiſes, how Loyal and Obſequious *Donald* would be. The King ſeem'd to be a little affected with their Speech, yet gave them no abſolute Anſwer; neither quite pardoning *Donald*, nor utterly excluding all hopes of his Pardon. He told them, 'That his many Crimes were very evident, 'but he had diſcover'd no ſign of his Converſion; if he 'would have the Penitence, which he pretended in Words, 'to be believ'd as really True and Hearty, he ſhould make 'Reſtitution for the Loſs he had formerly caus'd; and re'ſtore their Eſtates to ſuch as he had outed from the Poſ'ſeſſion of them; and thus cancel the memory of his 'former Miſchiefs, by ſome eminent and loyal Service. 'Tis 'true (ſaid he) no Virtue becomes a King more than Cle'mency; but care muſt be had, leſt the Reins of Govern'ment be not let looſe by too much Lenity; and ſo evil Men 'rather made more inſolent, than good Men excited to their 'Duty by it: That he would give *Donald*, and his Party, time 'to manifeſt, by ſome Tokens, that they repented of their

* A Party of the *Engliſh* worſted in *Scotland*.
** *Donald* the Iſlander, ſubmits to the King.

Miſcar-

'Miſcarriages; and that they ſhould always find him acting 'towards them, juſt as their Actions and their Words ſhew'd 'they deſerv'd from his Hands; in the mean time, they need 'not fear; for *now* it was put into their own Power, whether 'they would, every Man be happy, or miſerable, for the 'future.

By this means, inteſtine Diſcords were either compos'd, or elſe laid a-ſleep: ſo that the King now bends all his Care againſt *England*. Whilſt he was conſulting about carrying on a War with them, and concerning their frequent Violations of Treaties, Ambaſſadors came, at that very Criſis, from the *Engliſh* Nobility, to deſire Aid againſt *Henry*, their King: for *Henry* had ſlighted the Nobles, and advanc'd Upſtarts; by whoſe Advice, his Wife, a Woman of a manly Spirit and Courage, ruled the Roaſt. And beſides, the King had incurr'd the Diſpleaſure of his Friends, becauſe things had not ſucceeded well in *Aquitain* and *Normandy*: for they, having loſt ſo many Provinces, and being now pent up within the antient Bounds of their own Iſland, murmuring, gave out, That the King's Sluggiſhneſs, and the Queen's Pride, were no longer to be endur'd. The Heads of the Conſpiracy were *Richard*, Duke of *York*, with the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Warwick*. When the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors had diſcours'd much concerning the Juſtneſs of their Cauſe to begin a War; and alſo concerning their own Power, and the cowardly Temper of their King, they crav'd Aid againſt him, as againſt a common Enemy; who was fearful in War, ſordid in Peace; and who had nouriſh'd civil Diſcords againſt the *Scots*, and had aſſiſted their Exiles. Withal, they promis'd, if they got the Victory, to reſtore the Caſtles and Countries, which were taken in former Wars from the *Scots*. The King, by Advice of his Council, made Anſwer, That he, before, knew the State of the *Engliſh* Affairs; and that he was not ignorant of the Right or Demands of either Side; but that he would not interpoſe himſelf as an Arbiter in another Man's Kingdom, unleſs he was choſen by both Parties to that Office. As to the War, he had long ſince determin'd to revenge the Injuries of the former Times; and, if he could not otherwiſe obtain the Places he had loſt, on the Occaſion of theſe Diſcords, he would recover them by Force; but, if the Duke of *York*, and his Party, would promiſe to reſtore them, then he would aſſiſt him againſt *Henry*. The Ambaſſadors agreed to the Terms, and ſo return'd Home. The King prepar'd his Forces, and was about to enter *England*; when, juſt in the nick of time, an *Engliſh* Impoſtor, ſent by *Henry*, met him. He had been a long time at *Rome*, and was well acquainted with the Speech and Cuſtoms of the *Italians*:

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His Habit and Train was all Outlandiſh, and he had counterfeit Letters, as from the *Pope*; whereby he was eaſily believ'd by Men, ſuſpecting nothing, but to be a * *Legate* ſent from him: And, to gain the greater Credit to his Impoſtures, he had a *Monk* with him, whoſe feigned Sanctity made the Fraud leſs ſuſpected. They were brought to the King, and in the *Pope*'s Name, commanded him to proceed no further with his Army; if he did, they threatened to Excommunicate him with *Bell*, *Book*, and *Candle*: For the *Pope* (ſaid they) is wholly intent upon a War againſt the common Enemy of *Chriſtendom*; and ſo would have the Differences compos'd all over *Europe*, that they might be free for that War; and that they were ſent before, to give him Notice of it; but there was a more ſolemn Embaſſy, which would ſhortly arrive, and which, they believ'd, was already come as far as *France*, to decide the civil Diſcords of *England*, and to give Satisfaction to the *Scots*, for the Wrongs they had ſuſtain'd. The King did not imagine any Fraud in the Caſe, and deſiring nothing more than an honourable Peace, in regard things at home were not quite ſettled to his Mind; obey'd the *Legate*, and disbanded his Army. He had ſcarce diſmiſs'd it, but he was adviſ'd from *England*, that this ſuppos'd Ambaſſador was a Cheat; ſo that he raiſed ſome Forces a-freſh; and, becauſe he could not joyn with the Duke of *York*, that he might keep off ſome of the King's Forces from him, and alſo revenge his own Wrongs, he march'd directly to *Roxborough*; the Town he took, and deſtroy'd it at his firſt coming: But, whilſt he was laying Siege to the Caſtle, Ambaſſadors came from *York*, and his Aſſociates, informing him, that their King was overcome, and the War ended in *England*. They gave him Thanks for his good Will, and his Deſire to aſſiſt them in the maintenance of their Lives and Honours; and that they would, in time, be mindful to requite the Courteſy; but, at preſent, they deſir'd him to raiſe the Siege, and draw off from the Caſtle; and likewiſe to forbear any other Act of Hoſtility againſt *England*; for otherwiſe they ſhould draw upon them a Load of Envy from the People, who cou'd hardly be ſatisfy'd, but that an Army muſt preſently march againſt the *Scots*. *James* congratulated this Victory; but ask'd the Ambaſſadors, Whether the Duke of *York* had given them nothing in Command, concerning the reſtoring the Places promis'd. He anſwer'd, Nothing. Then, (ſaid he) before your laſt Embaſſy came to me, I was determin'd to pull down that Caſtle, which is built upon my Land; neither, ſince that, am I ſo much obliged by

* He marches to their Aſſiſtance; but is diverted by a counterfeit *Legate* from *Rome*.

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the Courteſies of that Faction, as to give over an Enterprize, which is begun, and almoſt finiſh'd: As for the Threatnings either by the People, or by Them; let them look to it: Go you, and tell them, That *I will not be remov'd hence by Words, but by Blows.* Thus the Ambaſſadors were diſmiſs'd without their Errand. And, whilſt he did preſs upon the Beſieg'd with all the Hardſhips of War, *Donald*, the *Iſlander*, came into his Camp, with a great Band of his Country-men. He, to obtain the eaſier Pardon for his paſt Offences, and fully to atone and reconcile the King, promis'd him, that, if he would march forward into the Enemy's Countries, as long as he was there, he would march a Mile before the Royal Army, run the Hazard of the firſt Onſet, and ſtand the greateſt Shocks. But he was commanded to be near the King; yet ſome of his Troops were ſent out to prey upon the Country. It happen'd alſo, that, at the ſame time, *Alexander Gordon*, Earl of *Huntly*, brought in new Forces to the King. This Acceſſion of Strength made the King more reſolute to continue the Siege, tho' a ſtrong Defence was made by thoſe within: So that, whereas before it was a *Blockade* only, a well-laid and cloſe Siege was now made: When he had Soldiers enough, ſome preſently ſucceeded in the Places of others; inſomuch, that the Garriſon Soldiers (of whom many were ſlain, many wounded, and unfit for Service, the reſt tired out with continual Toil and Labour) were not ſo eager to run into the Places of moſt Danger, as before: And, to ſtrike the more Terror into them, the King gave command to batter part of the Wall with Iron pieces of Ordnance; which were then much us'd, and were very terrible: And, whilſt the King was buſy about one of them, to preſs on the Work, the Fire catch'd within it, and with its Force drove out a wooden Wedge or Plug, which immediately ſtruck the King ſtone-dead to the Earth, without hurting any Body elſe. Thoſe Courtiers that ſtood next him, tho' they were terrify'd at this ſudden Accident, yet they cover'd his Body, leſt, if his Death were divulg'd, the common Soldiers ſhould run away. The Queen, who that very Day came to the Camp, ſpent not the time in womaniſh Lamentations; but call'd the Nobles together, and exhorted them to be of good Courage; and that ſo many valiant Men ſhould not be ſo diſmay'd at the Loſs of One; as counting it diſhonourable to deſert a Buſineſs, that was almoſt ended. She told them, ſhe herſelf would ſpeedily bring them another King in the place of him that was ſlain; in the mean time, they ſhould preſs with might and main, upon the Enemy; leſt they might grow more reſolute, upon the News of the General's Death, and ſo imagin, that all the Courage of ſo many valiant Men was extinguiſh'd in the Fate of

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one Perſon only. The Officers were aſham'd to be exceeded in Courage by a Woman. They aſſaulted the Caſtle with ſuch Violence, that neither Party was ſenſible that the King was loſt. In the mean time, *James*, the King's Son, being about Seven Years of Age, was brought into the Camp, and ſaluted King. And 'twas not long after, before the *Engliſh*, quite tired out with Watching, and fatigued with continued Service, ſurrender'd up the Caſtle to the new King, upon Condition, to march away with Bag and Baggage. The Caſtle, that it might be the occaſion of no new War, was levell'd to the Ground. This End had *James* the Second, in the Year of *Chriſt*, 1460. a few Days before the Autumnal Equinox, In the 29th Year of his Age, and the 23d of his Reign. * He had been exercis'd always, even from his Youth, in Domeſtick or Foreign Wars: He bore both Conditions of Life, the Proſperous and the Adverſe, with great moderation of Mind: He ſhew'd ſuch Valour againſt his Enemies, and ſuch Clemency to thoſe that ſubmitted themſelves, that all Eſtates were much afflicted for his Loſs: And his Death was the more lamented, becauſe 'twas ſudden, and that in the Flower of his Youth too; after he had Eſcap'd ſo many Dangers, and when the expectation of his Virtues was at the higheſt. And he was the more miſs'd, becauſe his Son was yet immature for the Government; whilſt Men conſider'd, what Miſeries they had ſuffer'd theſe laſt 20 Years; the Aſhes of which Fire were hardly yet rak'd up: So that from a Remembrance and a Reflection of what was *paſt*, they ſeemed to divine the State of *future* Things.

* *James* II. his Character.

THE

James the 3d.
King of Scotland.

THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

Book XII.

JAMES II. as I have related, being ſlain in his Camp, to prevent all Controverſy concerning the Right of Succeſſion, (which had happen'd at other times) his Son *James*, a Child of about Seven Years Old, who was the younger of the Twins, and ſurviv'd his Brother, enter'd upon the Government in the Town of *Kelſoe*. Afterwards, when the Nobles, according to Cuſtom, had taken the Oaths of Allegiance to him, Eight Days after he began his Reign, he left his Army, and retir'd home to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, to be under the Care of his Mother, till an Aſſembly of the States could meet to determin the grand Affairs of the Kingdom. The Aſſembly was ſummoned later than ordinary, becauſe Matters were not compos'd in *England* and yet quiet in *Scotland*: So that the Nobility were of Opinion, That War was firſt of

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all to be thought on; that ſo they might revenge old Injuries, and puniſh the Enemies by ſome notable Loſs, who always lay upon the catch, to take Advantages of the Diſtreſſes of others. For this End they march'd into the Enemies Country, without any Reſiſtance; where they committed much Spoil, and demoliſhed many Caſtles, from whence the Enemy was wont to make many Incurſions; the chief of which was *Werk*, ſituate on the Banks of the River *Tweed*, formerly very injurious to the Country of *Merch*. The Army ravaged over the Enemy's Country, as far as they could, for the time of the Year; and, at the very beginning of Winter, returned Home.

THIS Year, *Henry*, King of *England*, was taken by the Duke of *York*, and brought to *London*; there a Form of Peace was concluded betwixt them; for *Henry* durſt not deny any thing; *That He, as long as he liv'd, ſhould bear the Name, and Enſigns, and Badges, of a King, but the Power of Government ſhould be in* York, *under the Name of a* Protector. *And, when* Henry *died, then the Name alſo of King, was to be transferred to* Richard, *and his Poſterity*. Whilſt theſe things were acted at *London*, News was brought, That the Queen was marching up with a great Army, to redeem her Husband out of Priſon. *York* went out to Engage her, with about 5000 Men, leaving the Earl of *Warwick*, and King *Henry* behind. He marched as far as *Yorkſhire*; and, leſt he, who in *France*, had defended himſelf againſt great Armies, not with Walls, but with Arms, ſhould now ſhun a Battel with a Woman; he fought againſt a far greater Number than his own; and, in the Fight, he, his youngeſt Son, and a great many Nobles, were ſlain. The Heads of the Commanders were ſet up as a Spectacle, upon the Gates of *York*. The Queen thus victorious, and marching on further, to deliver the King, the Earl of *Warwick* met her, bringing the King along with him, as if he would defend the Pact made concerning the Kingdom, under his good *Omen*. Both Armies met at St. *Albans*, which is thought to be the *Old Verulam*; where the Queen was again Victorious. She ſlew the Commanders of the adverſe Army, releaſed her Husband, and marched directly up for *London*: But conſidering that the Earl of *Pembroke* was ſent by her to gather Forces; as was alſo *York*'s Son by his Father; and that theſe two had a Fight in their March; wherein *Edward*, the Son of her Enemy, was Victorious; and withal knowing, what cruel Hatred the *Londoners* bore againſt her, ſhe withdrew towards *Northumberland*, becauſe ſhe looked on that part of *England*, as the Seminary, or Source, of her Strength. There ſhe was alſo overcome in a bloody Fight; more than 36000 valiant Men being reported to be ſlain, and the enemy preſſing upon her, and giving her

her no Time to collect her Forces, She, her Husband and Son, fled into *Scotland*.

THE Conqueror call'd himself *Edward* the *Fourth*, King of *England*. *Henry* desired Aid in his Distress, and, by the help of *James Kennedy*, Archbishop of St. *Andrews*, who then surpassed all in *Scotland* in point of Authority, and whose Prudence was held in the highest Esteem, he was entertain'd with a great deal of Honour and Respect; so that he had some Hopes of recovering his former Dignity; and, to nourish that Hope, by all the actual good Offices which he could, he restored the Town of *Berwick* to the *Scots*. (which the *English* had held ever since the Day's of *Edward* I.) The *Scots*, upon this Obligation, assisted *Henry's* Faction in all things, not only in piecing up the Relicks of his former Misfortunes, but promising him more Aid, in time, to recover his Own. And, that the Friendship now begun might be the more firmly established; the Two Queens, both of them of *French* Descent, began to treat concerning a Marriage between *James's* Sister, and *Henry's* Son, whom they called *Prince of Wales*, tho' neither of them, as yet, were above Seven Years old. *Philip* of *Burgundy*, Uncle to the Queen of *Scots*, but a mortal Enemy to the Queen of *England*, endeavoured by all means possible to hinder this Marriage; and he sent *Grathusius* a Nobleman, his Embassador, for that purpose: For *Philip* was at such deadly odds with *Renatus*, Grandfather to the Lady, by the Mother's side, that he sought all occasions to hinder his Family from increasing; so that in Favour of him the Matter was, at that time, rather delayed, than broke off. But the Fortune of *Henry* kept off the Event, which *Philip* of *Burgundy* feared. For, being something encouraged by the Kindness of the *Scots* towards him, and also by some comfortable Letters sent from his Friends out of *England*, he sent his Wife beyond Sea to *Renatus* her Father, to procure what Aid she could from her Foreign Friends. She prevailed so much in *France*, that her Faction was to have a safe Place of Retreat there, but her Adversaries were excluded; and, moreover, she obtained 2000 Men, as *Monstrelet* says, under *Warren* their General; but, as ours, and the *English* Writers, (to whom I rather assent) 500, commanded by *Peter Brice*, or, as some call him, *Brice*, a *Briton*, rather as Companions for her Journey, than as any Auxiliary Aid. With this small Band she returned into *Scotland*, and thought fit to attempt something, not doubting, but at the Noise of Foreign Assistance, her Countrymen would rise and join with her. Whereupon she made a Descent at *Tinmouth*; but this small Company, being dismayed at the Report of a great

* Which having obtained, she enters *Scotland* and *England* again.

Peace coming againſt them, returned to their Ships, without the Performance of any thing remarkable; where alſo, as if Fortune had croſſed them on all hands, they met with a dreadful Storm, which drove the greateſt Part of them, who followed the Queen to *Scotland*, into *Berwick*; but ſome of them were caſt upon the Iſle *Lindisfarne*, where they were taken by the Enemy, and put to the Sword.

BUT the Manly-ſpirited Queen was not at all diſcouraged at this Misfortune, but levies a great number of *Scots* to join with her own Soldiers, and reſolves to try her Fortune once again. Accordingly leaving her Son at *Berwick*, ſhe and her Husband entred *Northumberland*, where ſhe made great Devaſtation, by Fire and Sword, in all the adjacent Parts. At the Report of this new Army, ſome of the Nobles, as the Duke of *Somerſet*, and *Ralph Piercy*, and many of *Henry*'s old Friends beſides, who, for fear of the Times, had retired to King *Edward*, came in to them; but there was a far greater Confluence from the adjacent parts of *England*, of ſuch Perſons as had lived rapacious Lives, in hopes of ſome new Plunder. To appeaſe this Commotion, *Edward* made great Military Preparation both by Land and Sea; he commanded the Lord *Montague*, with a great part of the Nobility, to march againſt the Enemy, and he himſelf would follow with his whole Army. Both Armies pitched their Tents not far from *Hexham*; but the Common Soldiery, who came in only for Booty, beginning to deſert, *Henry* thought it beſt, in ſuch a deſperate Caſe, to put it to a Puſh; and accordingly a Fight began, wherein he was overthrown, his chief Friends were either ſlain, or taken Priſoners, and he himſelf made an haſty Retreat to *Berwick*; of the Priſoners, ſome had their Heads cut off preſently; and ſome, a while after. *Edward*, having thus got the Day by the Generals of his Forces, came himſelf to *Durham*, that ſo he might prevent the Incurſions of the *Scots* by the Terrour of his Neighbouring Army; and alſo, that, by his Preſence, he might quell any Domeſtick Inſurrections, if any ſhould happen. Whilſt he was there, he ſent out part of his Army under ſeveral Commanders to take in the places poſſeſſed by his Enemies, of which having taken many by Storm, or by Surrender, at laſt he laid Siege to the Caſtle of *Alnwick*, which was greater, and better fortified, than the reſt, and which was maintained by a Garriſon of *French*, who defended the Caſtle very well, in hopes of Relief from *Scotland*, which was ſo near at hand. But the *Scots* having lately had ill ſucceſs in *England*, an Army could not be ſo ſoon levied, as the preſent Exigence required, for the raiſing of the Siege; inſomuch, that whilſt others were backward, and delayed to give in their Opinion, *George*, Earl of *Angus*, with great Boldneſs and Bravery undertook

took the hazardous Attempt. He raiſed about 10000 Horſe, of his Friends, Vaſſals, and the Neighbouring Province, of which he was Governor; He came to the Caſtle, and furniſhed the *French*, that were in Garriſon, with ſome Horſes he had brought for that purpoſe, and ſo carried them off ſafe, even to a Man, into *Scotland*, whilſt the *Engliſh* ſtood and looked on, as amazed at the Boldneſs of his miraculous Enterprize; or, thinking that *Douglas* had help near at hand; or rather, hoping to have the Caſtle given up without a Battle, and ſo they would not put the Whole to an hazard, by joining in Fight with that ſmall, though ſelect, Party. *Edward* ſettled Guards at all convenient Places; that no rebellious Troops might march and counter-march; and then, as if he had quieted the whole Kingdom, he returned to *London*.

IN the mean time, Exiled *Henry*, either flattered into Hopes by his Friends, or elſe weary of his tedious Exile, determines to ſhelter himſelf privately amongſt his Friends in *England*. But Fortunes Malice followed him to the laſt; he was there known, taken, brought to *London*, and committed Priſoner to the *Tower*. And his Wife *Margaret*, diſtruſting her preſent Affairs, with her Son and a few Followers left *Scotland*, and ſailed over to her Father *Renatus*, into *France*.

TO return then to the Affairs of *Scotland*: The time for the Aſſembly, which was ſummoned to be held at *Edinburgh*, was come: where there was a full Appearance, but the Body of them was divided into Two Factions; Part of the Nobles followed the Queen; but the Major Part, by far, ſtuck to *James Kennedy*, and *George Douglas*, Earl of *Angus*, the Heads of the contrary Faction. The Queen lodged in the Caſtle; the Biſhop and the Earl lay in the Abby of *Holy-Rood-Houſe*, at the fartheſt part of the Suburbs, towards the Eaſt. The Cauſe of the Diſſention was, That the Queen thought it equal and juſt for her to have the Tutelage, or Guardianſhip, of her Son; the other Party judged it moſt fit, that One ſhould be choſen out of the whole Aſſembly, for that careful Work. The Queen pleaded very ſtrongly the Tenderneſs of the Mother, and the mighty Ties both of Intereſt and Blood. The Adverſe Party inſiſted on the old Law, confirmed by uninterrupted Cuſtom. In the Third day of the Aſſembly, the Queen came down from the Caſtle with her Followers, and cauſed her ſelf to be decreed *Tutoreſs of the King, and Governeſs of the Kingdom, by her own Faction*; and ſo returns into the Caſtle again. When *Kennedy* heard of this, he haſtned, with his Party, into the Market-place, and there, in a long Speech, he told the Multitude, which was thick about him, 'That he and his Aſſociates aimed 'at nothing, but the publick Good, and the Obſervation of

'their ancient Laws; but their Adverſaries were led, each one, 'by his private Advantage; And that he would evidently make 'appear, if he might have a Place allotted, and Freedom to 'diſpute the Point. This ſaid, he retired with his Followers to his Lodging; but was not gone far from the Market-place, before he heard that the other Party was coming down armed from the Caſtle. *Douglas* looked upon This as an intolerable thing, that valiant Men ſhould yield to the Threats of a few, and that their Retirement ſhould be looked upon, as a Flight; therefore was hardly kept in by *Kennedy*, from aſſaulting the adjoining Gate of the City; and, Weaponleſs, as he was, to attack armed Men; and, unleſs the three Biſhops of *Glaſgo*, *Galway*, and *Dumblane*, upon Noiſe of the Uproar had come in, his Indignation would not have been ſtopp'd, till they had come to Blows. But, by the Mediation of thoſe Biſhops, the Matter was ſo far compoſed, That a Truce was agreed upon, for one Month.

THOUGH the Chiefs of the Faction were thus quieted, yet the Multitude could not be reſtrained from expreſſing their Wrath and Indignation, in rough and cutting Language; as, That the Deſire of the Queen was diſhonourable to the Kingdom, and indecent for her ſelf. 'What (ſaid they) is the 'Valour of the old *Scots* at ſo low an Ebb, That, amongſt ſo 'many Thouſand Men, there is none worthy to govern the 'Affairs of *Scotland*, but a Woman muſt do it? What, was 'there no Man, that could Rule over the Nation? And that 'would live the greateſt part of his Life in Arms? What likelihood was there, that thoſe who had not been altogether 'tractable to their King, when weak, ſhould now yield Obedience to a Woman, and that a Stranger too? What, had 'they undergone ſo much Labour, and loſt ſo much Blood, 'theſe many Years, by Sea and Land, that Men, born and 'brought up in Arms, ſhould freely give up themſelves to 'the Servitude of a Woman? What, if the *Engliſh* ſhould 'invade them, as they had often done at other times, in revenge of their Loſſes, with a great Army? Who could (in 'that caſe) give, or accept, Terms of Peace or War?' Theſe were the Diſcourſes of the Commonalty in all their Clubs.

BUT, when the Month was expired, their Minds were a little calmer; and, the Truce being at an end, there was another Convention, where the Queen alledged this for her ſelf, in Juſtification of her Cauſe, 'That, ſince ſhe had not entred upon the Govern-'ment the Year before by Force, or againſt the Minds of the Nobility, but was choſen to that Dignity by their unanimous Conſent, ſhe had but uſed her own Right, and therefore ſhe took 'it amiſs to be degraded, and no Crime at all imputed, as to

her

'her Male-Adminiſtration. If, (ſaid ſhe) as it is uſual, Degrees
'of Affinity be regarded in Pupillages, there is none nearer than
'a Mother; if the Safety of the King was in their view, none
'could be more faithful; for, if the King ſhould die, other
'Men might have their various and diſtinct Hopes, but ſhe
'could hope for, or expect, nothing but being an unhappy
'Mother, deprived of a Child, and deliver'd up by the Hand of
'Fortune to Solitude and Woe. And, if they had reſpect to
'the Good of the Publick, ſhe was a Stranger, and concerned
'in no Intereſt of Feuds or Friendſhips; and that was what
'they ought to have a ſpecial eye to, who ſate at the Helm of
'the Government; that ſo their own Lives might not only
'be free from actual Vice; but alſo, that they might have as
'few Temptations, and Incitements as poſſible, to thoſe Luſts,
'which diſturb and hurry the Mind, and pervert right Judg-
'ment. Some had Aſſiſtance of Parents, Kinſmen, Allies, by
'whoſe Aid they might hope for an Excuſe of their Offences,
'or, at leaſt, an eaſier Pardon; Nay, ſometimes the Rulers were
'compelled to ſquare and accommodate their Actions to ſuch
'Mens Wills and Humours. As for her ſelf, her Hope of De-
'fence was in Innocency alone; She had but one Son to Re-
'gard, and both their Benefits and Advantages were cloſely
'joined and interwoven together. And, unleſs ſhe had re-
'ſpect to theſe things, ſhe would chooſe much rather to live
'a quiet and happy Life in Retirement, with the good liking of
'all, than to undergo the Enmity of evil Men, by puniſhing
'their Crimes; nay, and ſometimes to incur the Diſpleaſure
'of the good too. Neither was it a new thing for a Woman,
'to deſire the Regency of another's Kingdom, ſince not only
'in *Britain*, but even in the greateſt and moſt puiſſant King-
'doms of the Continent, Women have had the ſupreme Power,
'and their Reigns have been ſuch, that their Subjects never re-
'pented of their Government.

WHEN ſhe had thus ſpoken, many aſſented to her; ſome to prepoſſeſs a Place in her future Grace and Favour; others, in Hopes, that the Fruits of another's Envy would redound to their Advantage; Nay, there were ſome, who had an evil Jealouſy, that, if the Election ſhould be made out of All, they themſelves might be paſſed by, as leſs fit; and therefore, they rather deſired, that the Queen ſhould be made head over them all, than that others, of the ſame Order with themſelves, or even of a ſuperiour one, ſhould be preferred before Them.

HOWEVER, the more uncorrupted Part of the Nobility ſhewed both by their Countenance and Speeches, that they were highly diſguſted at the Queen's Oration; but that, which did moſt Vehemently affect the whole Aſſembly, was the Authority and the Speech of *James Kennedy*, who, as 'tis reported, ſpoke in this manner;

IT is my chief Deſire, Noble Peers, That they, whoſe Aims are at the Good of all, in general, might freely declare their Minds, without Offence to any one particular Perſon. But in our preſent Circumſtances, when the Senſe of things, delivered for the publick Good, is wreſted and turned to the Reproach of thoſe private perſons, who ſpeak them, it is a very difficult thing to obſerve ſuch a Mean between diſagreeing Heats, and different Opinions, as not to incur the Offence of one of the Parties. As for me, I will ſo temper and moderate my Diſcourſe, That no Man ſhall complain of me, without firſt confeſſing his own Guilt. Yet, I ſhall uſe the Liberty of Speech, received from our Anceſtors, ſo modeſtly, that, as on the one *ſide, I deſire to prejudice no Man; ſo, on the* other, *neither for Fear nor Favour, will I paſs by any thing, which is of uſe in the Debate before us; I ſee, that there are* two *Opinions which do retard and impede our Concord; The* one *is of thoſe, who judge, that in a matter relating to the Good of all, an Election out of all is to be made; and, as we all meet to give our Suffrages in a Buſineſs concerning the ſafety of the whole Kingdom; ſo, it is equal and fit, that no Man ſhould be Excluded from the Hopes of that Honour, who ſeeks after it by honeſt and virtuous Ways. The* other *is of ſuch, who count it a great Injury done to the Queen, who is ſo noble a Princeſs, and ſo choice a Woman, if ſhe be not preferred Before all others in the Guardianſhip of her Son, and the Adminiſtration of the Government of the Kingdom.*

Of theſe two Opinions, I like the former beſt, and I will ſhew you my Reaſons for it, bye and bye. In the mean time, I ſo far approve the deſign of the Latter, that they think it below the Queen's Grandeur, That any ſingle Perſon ſhould vye with her for this point of Honour, leſt her Authority, which ought to be, as it indeed is, accounted venerable, ſhould be leſſened by coping with Inferiours. And, indeed, I would be quickly of their Mind, if the Diſpute lay here, about the Honour of one, *and not the Safety of all. But, ſeeing that we are, this day, to make a Determination about That, which concerns the Lives and Fortunes of all private Men, and the Safety of the whole Kingdom too; it is highly requiſite, that all ſingle Intereſts, and Concerns whatſoever, ſhould ſtoop and give way to that; And therefore I earneſtly adviſe thoſe, who are of this Opinion, ſo to conſult the Dignity of the Queen, as not to forget at the ſame time the Reverence they owe to the Laws, to the old Cuſtoms,*

and

and to the univerſal Good of their Country; if they can ſhew, by any Statute, that it is lawful and publickly expedient, that the Guardianſhip of the King, and the Regency of the Kingdom, ought to be in the Queen's Hands, I will come into their Opinion. But, if their Orations be pernicious to the Publick, I hope the Queen, firſt, *and* next, *all good Men will pardon me, if (always ſaving the Majeſty of the Queen, as Sacred, ſo far as, by Law, and the Cuſtom of our Anceſtors, I may) I do not conceal my* Opinion, *or, rather, if I ſpeak out that, with Freedom, which it were the greateſt Impiety in me to conceal. To begin then with the Laws; There is a Law made* 500 *Years ago, by King* Kenneth, *a Prince no leſs eminent for his Wiſdom and Prudence, than for his military Performances; and it was aſſented and yielded to by all the Orders of the Kingdom; and approved of, even to this very Day, by the conſtant obſervance of ſo many Ages.* That, when the King was in his Minority, the Eſtates, or Parliament, of the Kingdom, ſhould aſſemble and chooſe ſome one Man, eminent for Wiſdom and Power, to be his Guardian, and to govern the Kingdom, whilſt he was yet unable to wield the Scepter, with his own Hands. *Tho' this Law be referred to* Kenneth, *as the Author of it; yet, it ſeems to me, That he did not ſo much Enact it* firſt, *as revive and confirm the* Ancient *Cuſtom of the* Scots *by a* New *Sanction. For our Anceſtors were ſo far from Committing the Supreme Power to the Hands of a Woman, that, if you look over our Chronicles, you ſhall not find ſo much as the Name of a* Woman Regent, *recorded among them all; for why, pray, ſhould they mention ſuch a Name, of which, they thought, they had no need, at preſent; and hoped, they ſhould never have any for the future? For thoſe Females, whom other Countries call* Queens, *we only call* Wives (*or* Conſorts) *of our Kings; neither do we entitle them to any Higher Name; for, I judge, our wiſe Anceſtors had This in their Eye, That, as often as they heard their Names mentioned with the Adjunct of* Husband, *they might remember, That they were ſubject to Men. And therefore, a Woman was never admitted to the Regency, or the Adminiſtration of publick Affairs to this very Day. The ſame Courſe hath been alſo conſtantly obſerved in leſs Magiſtracies, both as to their Appointments and Executions. For, tho' many Honours and ſome Seigniories amongſt them have come by Inheritance to ſome Women, by reaſon of their great Deſerts from their Country; and have alſo been allotted to them, as Dowries; yet it was never known, ſince the Memory of Man, That any Woman did ever preſide in any Publick Council, or in any Court of Judicature, or did ever take upon her any of thoſe Offices, which are appropriated to Men. And truly, ſince our Anceſtors, tho' not bound by Laws to it, did conſtantly obſerve this Cuſtom, only by the Impulſe of Nature; if we their Poſterity ſhould bring the Common-wealth into an*

apparent Danger, by oppoſing a Law, received by the Votes of all, and approved by ſo long an Uſage; Who will free us from the Brand (I will not ſay, of Raſhneſs, but) even of Madneſs it ſelf? Eſpecially, ſince we have been warned by Examples near at hand; For the Saxons, *juſtly urged and provoked to it by the Wickedneſs of one Woman,* viz. Ethelburga, *made a Law, That, after that Time, no Woman ſhould be called* Queen, *nor ſhould ſit in Publick, next the King, in any Seat of Honour. I beſeech you therefore, conſider ſeriouſly, how much they degenerate from their Prudence, who againſt a Law ſo ancient, and as advantageous to Women [illegible] honourable to Men, would put the Reigns of Government into Their Hands, to whom our Anceſtors never gave ſo much as a Royal Name; and from whom our Neighbours took it away, after they had given it to them. Other Nations, I grant, have been of another Opinion; with what Succeſs I ſhall declare, after I have firſt anſwered thoſe, who dare not calumniate this Law openly; but, in the Carpet-Conventicles of Women, do implead it, as unjuſt. But whoſoever he be, that finds fault with it, he ſeems to reprehend, not ſome Sanction only, appropriated by the Suffrages of Men, but even Nature it ſelf,* i. e. *That Primary Law, imprinted in our hearts by God himſelf; I ſay, Nature it ſelf, whom our Law-maker had, as a Guide, and Directreſs of all his Counſels, when he propoſed and enacted this Law. For Nature, from the beginning, hath not only diſtinguiſhed Men from Women by the ſtrength of Mind and Body, but hath alſo appropriated diſtinct Offices and Virtues to each Sex, the ſame indeed for Kind, but far different in Degree; For 'tis no leſs unbecoming a Woman to pronounce Judgment, to levy Forces, to conduct an Army, to give a Signal to the Battel, than it is for a Man to teiz Wool, to handle the Diſtaff, to Spin, or Card, and to perform the other Services of the weaker Sex? That which is Liberality, Fortitude, and Severity in Men, is Profuſion, Madneſs, and Cruelty in a Woman. And again, That which is elegant, comely, and ornamental in a Woman, is mean, ſordid, and effeminate in a Man. Do not They therefore that endeavour to confound and mix thoſe things, which Nature, of her own accord, hath diſtinguiſhed; do they not, I [illegible] ſeem to you, not only to diſturb, but alſo to overthrow, the State of the Kingdom, which is founded upon ſo good Laws and Cuſtoms? This they do, when they would obtrude on us the Government of a Woman, which our Anceſtors did not ſo much as once name. For the Maker of that Law (as I told you before) doth not ſeem ſo much to induce a new Sanction in the Enacting thereof, as only to commit to Writing the perpetual Uſage of our Anceſtors, that it might be tranſmitted to Poſterity; and, that which hath been always obſerved by the Guidance of Nature, in the making a King, to have conſecrated the ſame Thing to be obſerved by Publick Authority, in chooſing a Guardian for a King under Age. Whoever go about to under-*

mi[illegible]

mine and infringe this one Law, what do they, but endeavour to overthrow all the other Laws, Rites, and Cuſtoms of our Anceſtors? I ſpeak this, (that I may prevent all Calumny) not that I think all Laws are immutable, as if they were enacted to laſt for ever; No, Laws are of different Sorts and Kinds: Thoſe, which are accommodated to the Viciſſitude of Times, are ſubject to the Inconſtancy of Fortune; and are wont to laſt ſo long, as the Neceſſity doth, which impoſed them; and thoſe, which are obtruded on Men by the Wills of Tyrants, are commonly diſannulled and abrogated with their Authors. But, as for that Inſtinct or Impreſs of Nature, which is, as it were, a living Law, ordained by God, and deeply imprinted and engraven in Mens Hearts, that, the conſent of no Multitudes, nor any Mens Decrees can aboliſh. For (as an excellent Poet is reported to have ſaid) It was not born yeſterday or to day, but it grew up together with Dame Nature it ſelf, and lives and dies with it. *And, ſeeing the Law, of which we now ſpeak, is of that ſort, and a principal one too, he doth not oppoſe the Dignity of the Queen, who deſires, that ſhe, of her own accord, would preſcribe to herſelf thoſe Bounds, which Nature itſelf hath appointed, her Sex requires, Cuſtom allows, and the Laws, made by the conſent of almoſt all Nations, do approve: But they, who would have her forget her Sex and Station, do perſwade her to break thro' all Bonds of Law, and to diſturb the Order of things appointed by God; received by Uſe; and allowed in all well-govern'd Cities and Countries. And, certainly, whoſoever ſlights that Order, will be grievouſly puniſhed, not by Men only, but by God himſelf, who will revenge his own Law. For, if good Laws threaten a Man with Death, who ſhall cloath himſelf with a Woman's Apparel; and a Woman, if ſhe wear the Habit of a Man; what Puniſhment can be inflicted on them too great for their Offence, who, by a prepoſterous Flattery, would overthrow the whole Force of Nature, and the everlaſting Conſtitution of God himſelf? Will you underſtand, how theſe Flatterers do not ſpeak what they cordially mean? In a publick Aſſembly, to give a Vote; to be Preſident in a Court of Law; to enact, or abrogate a Law: Theſe are great things in themſelves; yet they are but a ſmall Portion of the Government. Why do they not bring their Wives hither to us, to conſult? Why do not theſe alſo preſide in Judicatures? Why do they not perſuade, or diſſuade, Laws? Why do they not themſelves look after their domeſtick Affairs, at home? And why do they not ſend their Wives abroad to the War? But, if they would impoſe thoſe Regents upon us, whom they themſelves dare ſcarcely truſt in the Management of their own Houſhold Affairs, much leſs think them fit for the leaſt part of any publick Buſineſs: Conſider, I pray, how they contradict themſelves; but, if themſelves are con-*

conſcious of their own Infirmity; if they ſpeak as they think, and ſo are reſtrain'd by Modeſty, rather than Judgment; yet, let them hope well of others, who both can, and will, perform their own, i.e. the Services proper for Men: But, if (as I rather judge) they think, by this kind of Complyance, to gratify the Queen, I adviſe and admoniſh them, to lay aſide that falſe Opinion of a Princeſs of ſo great Prudence, as ſhe is, and not believe her to be ſo ignorant of things, as to reckon, that an Increaſe and an Acceſſion of Dignity (to her) which would be the foulſt thing imaginable, in other Women. I enter upon this part of my diſcourſe very unwillingly; for, ſince our Noble Princeſs hath ſo well deſerved of the whole Kingdom, that it is fit ſhe ſhould hear nothing, which might juſtly offend her Ears and Spirit; I will not mention thoſe Things, which ill Men do commonly alledge, in contemning and undervaluing of the Sex; I ſhall rather inſiſt on thoſe Virtues which are proper to the Queen: And, tho' theſe are many, and eminently Illuſtrious, yet none of them have procur'd greater Praiſe and Commendation to her, than her Modeſty: For that is eſteemed ſo proper to her Sex, that, even in a private Perſon, it doth either cover, or, at leaſt, much extenuate, other Faults. But, in our Princeſs, none of whoſe Words or Deeds, in regard of the Eminency of her Stock and Condition, can be concealed; it doth ſhine out ſo illuſtriouſly, that all her other Virtues grow much more acceptable; and are more amply commended, merely for the ſake of this one Virtue. And therefore I ſhall need to ſay but a few Words in reference to her, ſave only to warn and encourage her, to perſiſt in that way to Glory and Honour, which ſhe hath already entred upon; and that ſhe would not give Ear to the Flatteries of any, ſo as to be forgetful of herſelf; but that ſhe would rather tread the ſure and experienced way to immortal Renown, than by running upon unſafe and craggy Precipices, to hazard the Splendor of her former glorious Life.

But my great Buſineſs is with you, my Lords, who, either out of Envy, are afraid that your Betters ſhould be preferr'd before you; or elſe, out of a wicked Ambition, are laying artfully, the Foundation of your future Favour with a good Princeſs. I will therefore, moſt noble Queen, under the ſhelter of your Prudence, ſpeak (and ſpeak freely) my Thoughts, in this Caſe: Such Perſons do not Accoſt, or Court You, but your Fortune; and, whilſt they think upon the Queen, they forget, that the ſame Perſon is a Woman. *When I name the Word* Woman, *(I do not uſe it reproachfully, but) I mean a Perſon to whom Nature hath given many Blandiſhments, and eminent Endowments; but withal, hath mingled them (as ſhe uſually doth, in the moſt uſual and precious things) with ſome Alloy of Infirmity; and therefore would have*

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her to be under the Guardianſhip of another; as not ſufficiently able to protect herſelf: So that ſhe is ſo far from having an Empire over others allotted to her, That the Laws, in imitation of Nature, do command Women to be under the perpetual Tutelage of their Parents, Brothers, or Husbands. Neither doth this tend to their Reproach, but is a Relief to their Frailty: For, that it keeps them off from thoſe Affairs, for which they are unfit: It is a Courteſy, which conſults, or makes proviſion for, their Modeſty; not a Scandal, detracting from their Honour. I will not call to remembrance, how difficultly they are reſtrained by the Authority of their Husbands, and the Authority of Parents: Neither will I mention, how far the Licentiouſneſs of ſome Women hath proceeded, when the Reins have been looſed on their Necks. I ſhall confine my Speech only to what the preſent Caſe offers; nay, what it doth exact and require; and which, without Damage to the Publick, cannot be concealed. If there be any thing of private Inconvenience in the Sex, let their Husbands and Kin look to that; I ſhall only briefly touch, what may be publickly prejudicial. Greatneſs of Mind was never requir'd in the Sex: It is true, Women have their other proper Virtues; but as for This, it was always reckoned amongſt Virile, *not* Female *Endowments: Beſides, by how much the more they are obnoxious to Commotions, Paſſions, and other efforts of Mind, by reaſon of the Imbecillity of their Nature; by ſo much, doth their Extravagancy, having once broke through the Reſtraints of the Law, ſtraggle farther away, and is hardly ever reduced, and brought back again within its due Bounds; in regard Women are alike impatient, both of Diſeaſes, and of their Remedies too. But, if any of them ſeem more valiant and courageous, they are ſo much the more dangerous; as being liable to more impetuous and vehement Paſſions: For they, who, out of tediouſneſs of their Sex, have put off the Woman, are very willing to extend their Liberty, even beyond the Precincts of manly Cares too. If you once exceed and paſs over the Mounds, and Limits, ſet by Nature, whatſoever is beyond is infinite; and there is no Boundary left, either for Deſire or Action. Moreover, there is a further Acceſſion to this Infirmity of Nature; for, by how much the leſs Confidence one hath in himſelf, ſo much the more eaſily he interprets the Words and Actions of others to his own Reproach; he is more vehemently angry, and hardly appeaſed. Such a Party doth alſo execute Revenge more immoderately, and doth puniſh his Deſpiſers with greater Hate. Now, that all theſe things are unfit for, nay, contrary to Magiſtracy, there is none of you ignorant. And, if any Man think, that I deviſe theſe things of my own Head, let him conſider, what great Diſturbances there were, not long ago, when* Joan *of* Naples *reigned. Look over the Hiſtories of ancient Times, I will not mention* Semiramis *of* Aſſyria; *nor* Laodice *of* Cappadocia;

docia; *thoſe were Monſters, not Women. I ſhall only mention, That* Zenobia Palmyrena, *ſo much ſpoken of, the Subduer of the* Parthians, *and Defender of the* Roman *Empire, was at laſt overcome, taken, and triumphed over: And ſo ſhe herſelf, and her Kingdom, which was enlarged, and increaſed by her Husband* Odenatus, *was loſt in a Moment.*

Neither may I paſs over in Silence, what is principally to be regarded in the management of other Men's Affairs: That the chief Command is not to be intruſted to ſuch ſort of Perſons, who are not accountable for their Male-Adminiſtration. I do not at all diſtruſt the Diſpoſition, Faithfulneſs, nor Care of the Queen; but, if any thing be acted a-miſs (as it often happens) by the Fraud of others; and Matters be carried otherwiſe than the Publick Good, or the Dignity of her Place doth require; what Mulct can we exact from the King's Mother? What Puniſhment can we require? Who ſhall give an account of Miſcarriages? The higheſt matters will then be managed in the Meetings of Women; in the Nurſery, or the Dreſſing-Room: You muſt there, *either each Man in particular, ſubſcribe to Decrees; or all in general make them; and ſhe, who you ſcarce now reſtrain, tho' ſhe be without Arms, and obnoxious to you by Laws and Cuſtoms; when you have, by your Authority, put Power into her Hands, you will certainly feel her womaniſh Wilfulneſs and Extravagance. Neither do I ſpeak this, as if I did fear any ſuch thing from our Queen, who is the choiceſt, and modeſteſt of all Women; but becauſe I think it baſe and unſeemly for us, who have all things, yet, in our own Hands and Power, to place the Hope of our Safety, which we may owe to our ſelves, only in another's Power; eſpecially, ſince both divine and human Laws, the Cuſtom of our Anceſtors, nay, and the Conſent of all Nations throughout the whole World, make for us. 'Tis true, ſome Nations have endured Women to be their chief Magiſtrates; but they were not elected to that Dignity, by their Judgement and Suffrage, but they were caſt upon them by their Birth and Nativity; but never any People, who had freedom of Vote, when there was plenty of able Men to chuſe, did ever prefer Women before them. And therefore, moſt eminent Patriots, I adviſe, and earneſtly intreat you, that according to the Laws of our Country, and the Cuſtoms of our Anceſtors, we chuſe one; or, if you think fit, more; the* BEST *out of the* Nobleſt *and* Beſt, *who may undertake the Regency, till the King arrive at that ſtrength both of Body and Mind, as to be able to manage the Government Himſelf. And I pray God to bleſs your proceedings in this Affair.*

THUS ſpoke *Kennedy*, and had the Approbation of an undoubted Majority of the Aſſembly: And the reſt, perceiving that it was in vain to oppoſe, went over to their Opinion.

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The matter was *thus* compoſed, that neither Party ſeem'd to have the better of the other. Two of each Faction were choſen for the Guardianſhip of the King, who were to manage all publick Affairs, with Fidelity; to collect, and expend the King's Revenue; and to undertake the Charge of the Royal Family: Of the Queen's ſide, *William Graham*, and *Robert Boyd*, then Chancellor: Of the other, *Robert*, Earl of the *Orcades*, and *John Kennedy*; all, on both ſides, the Chief of their Families. To theſe were added the two Biſhops of *Glaſgo* and *Caledonia*. The Queen was allowed to be preſent at the King's Education; but ſhe was not to touch any Part of publick Government. As for the other, which were Four, *viz.* *Alexander*, Duke of *Albany*, and *John*, Earl of *Mar*; and two young Females; ſhe had the Charge of their Educations herſelf.

MATTERS being thus compoſed at home, Ambaſſadors from *England* had their Audience, who deſired a Truce: which was granted for fifteen Years. The next Year, which was 1463. the King's Mother died, and had the unhappineſs to be not well ſpoken of in point of Chaſtity. The ſame Year, *Alexander*, the King's Brother, returning from his Grandfather, by the Mother's ſide, out of *France*, was taken Priſoner by the *Engliſh*; but freed ſoon after, in regard the *Scots* urged it as a Breach of the Truce, and threatned a War ſhould be the Conſequence of it.

PEACE being obtained abroad, it was not long, before inteſtine Commotions aroſe at home: For, when the Diſputes and Controverſies betwixt the Nobility, concerning the State of the Kingdom, were bruited abroad, and magnified by vulgar Rumours; and moreover, the King's Minority, together with the freſh Remembrance of the Licentiouſneſs of the late Times, were brought upon the Stage; all theſe Temptations put together, did eaſily let looſe the Reins to Men, who were turbulent enough in their own Nature. *Alan* of *Lorn*, a ſeditious Perſon, had a mind to enjoy the Eſtate of *John* his Elder Brother; and therefore, kept him Priſoner; intending there to detain him ſo long alive, till the Hatred of his cruel Practiſe did, with Time, abate, and ſo he yield to his Will and Pleaſure. When *Colen Campbel*, Earl of *Argyle*, hear'd of it, he gather'd a Band of his Tenants together, freed *John*, and caſt *Alan* into Priſon, in his room; reſolving to carry him to Court, that he might ſuffer Puniſhment for that, as well as for his other noted Robberies: But he prevented his Puniſhment by Death, whether voluntary, or caſual, is not known.

IN another part of the Country, *Donald*, the Iſlander, as being a more powerful Perſon, begin to make a far greater Commotion; for, after the King's Death, as free from Fear,

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and judging, that turbulent ſtate of things to be a fit opportunity for him to injure his Inferiors, and to increaſe his own Powers, came to *Inverneſs*, with no great Train; and was kindly invited into the Caſtle, by the Governor; who had no Thoughts, or ſo much as the leaſt Fear, of any Hoſtility from him. When he was entred, he turned out the Garriſon, ſeiz'd upon the Caſtle, and, gathering his Iſlanders about him, proclaim'd himſelf *King of the Iſlands*. He ſent forth Edicts into the neighbouring Countries, *That the Inhabitants ſhould pay Tribute to none, but himſelf; and that they ſhould acknowledge no other Lord or Maſter; denouncing a great Penalty to thoſe that did otherwiſe*. The News of it made Perſons, debauched in their Principles, flock to him from all Parts: So that, having made up an Army great enough, he entred *Athole*, with ſuch wonderful diſpatch, that he took the Earl of that Name, who was the King's Uncle, and his Wife, Priſoners, before they ſuſpected any ſuch thing. For the Earl, hearing the ſudden Tumult of a War, diſtruſted the Strength of his Caſtle of *Blare*, and went into the Church of St. *Brides*, near adjoyning, to defend himſelf there, as in a Sanctuary, by the Religion of the Place. Many alſo of his Vaſſals and Countrymen, being ſurprized at the ſudden Dangers, carried and laid up their beſt Goods there. That Church was venerated, in thoſe Parts, with great Ceremony; and it had remain'd inviolate, to that very Day, by reaſon of the great opinion of its Sanctity: But the conſideration of Gain was more prevalent with that ſavage and avaritious Perſon, than any ſenſe of Religion: For he violently pull'd out the Earl and his Wife from thence, and a great Number of Priſoners, beſides: And, after he had pillag'd the Church, he ſet it on Fire. And, when the Prieſts ſpoke to him, to deter him from that Sacrilege, he killed ſome of them, and ſent the others away; but not without having receiv'd ſome Tokens of his Barbarity. Then, having waſted the adjacent Countries, up and down, with Fire and Sword, he was returning home, with a great Booty; but a ſudden Tempeſt aroſe, which ſunk many of his Ships, and grievouſly diſtreſs'd the reſt; ſo that a few only of his Followers, were rather caſt up, than landed, on the Iſland of *Ila*. They, who ſurvived this Shipwrack, thought, that this Calamity happened to them by the manifeſt Anger of the Deity, becauſe they had violated the Church of St. *Bride*; and therefore they went barefooted, and cover'd only with a little Linnen Garment, in an humble manner, to carry Gifts to her, whom, a few Days before, they had ſo contumeliouſly abus'd. 'Tis reported, That, from that day forward, *Donald*, their Commander, fell out of his Wits, either for Grief, that he had loſt his Army and the Spoil

Spoil; or becauſe his Mind, though brutiſh, was at length gall'd with the Conſcience of his irreligious Sacrilege, and Contempt of Divine Worſhip. This Misfortune of their Commander occaſion'd his Kindred, to ſet the Earl of *Athole*, and his Children at liberty, and to atone St. *Bride* with many large and expiatory Gifts.

WHEN the News of it was brought to Court, it broke off their Conſultations, of making any Expedition againſt the *Iſlanders*. The firſt Tumults being thus appeas'd; the Adminiſtration of *Scotiſh* Affairs was carried on with ſo much Equity and Tranquillity, that the oldeſt Man, then alive, never remembred more ſecure, quiet, and halcyon Days; ſuch was the Prudence and Gravity of *James Kennedy*, (on whoſe Authority the Court did then principally depend,) and ſuch the Modeſty of the reſt of the Nobility, who did not grudge to yield Obedience to the wiſer ſort. For this *James Kennedy* had obtained ſuch Credit, by his many Merits and Services to his Country, and by his good Offices towards the former King; nay, he had procured ſuch a real Opinion of his Fidelity in all Matters, by reaſon of the Compoſedneſs of his Manners, and his near Alliance to the King, that the reſt of the King's Guardians, that were to ſucceed one another, two and two by turns, did willingly admit and ſuffer him, when-ever he came to Court, to be the ſole Cenſor and Superviſor of the Pains and Diligence they took in that Service. By this their Concord, the King's Education was carried regularly on; and his own Towardlineſs and Ingenuity being a Help to their Induſtry, all Men conceiv'd great Hopes of him.

THUS Matters were carried on, till about the Sixth Year of the King's Reign. There was then at Court *Robert Boyd*, the Chief of his Family, who, beſides his Perſonal Eſtate, was ally'd to many other Great and Noble Families: He had alſo a flouriſhing Stock of Children of his own, as *Thomas* and *Robert*. He had a Brother too, named *Alexander*, who was well inſtructed and vers'd in all polite Letters. This *Alexander*, at the Deſire of *John Kennedy*, his Kinſman, (who, by reaſon of his declining Age, was not ſo fit for youthful Services) and with the conſent of the reſt of the King's Tutors, or Guardians, was preferr'd to the King, to teach him the Rudiments of the Art Military; in the Knowledge whereof he was eſteem'd to exceed all his Equals. The *Boyds*, upon the account of theſe Advantages, were not content with that Place and Authority, tho' it was very great and honourable, which they had at Court; but farther ſought to tranſfer all publick Offices into their own Family. To accompliſh which, *Alexander* was deſired by them, to incline the King's Favour towards them He, having got the

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King, in the tenderneſs of his Age, when his Youth made him of a very pliant Nature, did ſo inſinuate into him, by his flattering Complaiſance, that he could do any thing he pleaſed with him. Being admitted into ſuch private Intimacy and Converſe, he would oft let words drop, before the King, That he was now fit to govern, himſelf; and that it was Time for him to be freed from the Servitude of old *Grey-Beards*, and to maintain a Company of Noble Military Youths about him; that ſo he might enter into thoſe Studies betimes; wherein, whether he would or no, he was likely to paſs the remaining part of his Life. Diſcourſes of this kind were eaſily entertain'd by a Youth, unskilful in matters, and in the ſlippery Part of his Age too; which was prone to Liberty: So that he began to be a little ſtubborn and headſtrong againſt his Governors: Some things he would do, without their Advice, and many againſt it; as ſeeking an opportunity to be delivered from the Severity of thoſe *Seniors*, as from a kind of Bondage and Captivity. Whereupon, being at *Linlithgow*, when he went a-hunting, unknown to *Kennedy*, whoſe turn it was then to wait; the old Man, being informed thereof, went forth to overtake him, not far from the Town; and, having done ſo, he took his Horſe by the Bridle, and endeavour'd to ſtop, and bring him back; alledging, that 'twas no convenient Time, nor was his Company fitting for ſuch an Exerciſe. Hereupon, *Alexander* ran in, and with the Bow, which he had in his Hand, ſtruck the old Man a Blow on his Head, tho' he deſerv'd better things at his Hands. *Kennedy* being thus beat off, as a troubleſome Hinderer of their Sport, they proceeded on to the Place, they intended to go to; while *Kennedy* returned, with a Wound, into the Town. And when *Robert Boyd* came again to Court, he did not diſapprove, what his Brother *Alexander* had done. By this Means, the Seeds of Enmity were ſown between the *two Factions*, which grew up, to the great Detriment of the Kingdom, and at length, to the total Deſtruction of one of them.

The Feud was firſt diſcover'd upon this Occaſion; The *Boyds* would have the King remov'd from that Place, to *Edinburgh*; but *Kennedy*, and his Party, would have *Sterlin* to be the Place of his Reſidence. The *Boyds* could then do moſt at Court; and ſo, without publick Conſent, they carry'd the King to *Edinburgh*, there to enter upon the Regal Government. The Attendants of the Journey, were, beſides their own Kindred, *Adam Hepburn*, *John Somerval*, and *Andrew Car*, all Heads of their reſpective Families. This was acted about the 10th of *July*, in the Year 1466. The *Kennedies*, having loſt the day in the Diſpute, departed ſeverally to their

their own Homes, *John* into *Carrick*, *James* into *Fife*; their Minds ſwelling with Anger, and reſolving to omit no Opportunity of Revenge. The *Boyds*, thus Conquerors, not contented with the Wrong they had done, ſent *John* an Ape, in a jeer, for the old Man to play and ſport himſelf with at home; thereby upbraiding him, as if he had doted for Age.

NOT long after, *James Kennedy* departed this Life, maturely enough for himſelf, if we reſpect his Age: But his Death was ſo lamented by all good Men, as if in him they had loſt a publick Father. For in that Man, beſides the Virtues above-mention'd, there was an high degree of Frugality and Continence at home; yet great Splendor and Magnificence abroad. He exceeded the preceeding Biſhops; nay, and all thoſe that ſucceeded him in that See, to this very Day, in Liberality to the Publick; and yet, notwithſtanding, his own Eccleſiaſtical Revenues were not great: For, as yet, the *Scots* had not arrived at the ill Cuſtom of heaping up Steeples upon Steeples; nor had learned to ſpend that *worſe* upon Luxury, which was before *ill* gotten by Avarice. He left one eminent Monument of his Munificence behind him; and that was the publick Schools at St. *Andrews*, which he built with great Expence, and endow'd with large Revenues, but iſſuing out of Church Incomes. He gave order, that a magnificent Monument ſhould be erected for himſelf there; which yet (ſuch was the malignity of Men) he was envy'd for, tho' he had deſerv'd ſo well privately of moſt Men, and publickly of all Men. They alledg'd, 'twas a thing of too much Vanity, to beſtow ſo much Coſt upon a Structure of no Uſe. His Death made his Virtues more illuſtrious, and increas'd Men's Deſire after him: For when he, who was a perpetual Cenſor, and Corrector of Manners, was once remov'd out of the way, the publick Diſcipline began, by Degrees, to grow weak and remiſs; and, at laſt, to be ſo corrupt, as to bring almoſt all things, with itſelf, to Ruin.

THE *Boyds* made uſe of Pretences in Law, to increaſe the domeſtick Power of their Family, and abate the Power of their Enemies. And firſt, *Patrick Graham* ſeem'd moſt pat for their purpoſe: He was the Brother of *James Kennedy*, by the ſame Mother; and was alſo Couſin by the Mother's ſide, to *Robert Boyd*. He, as the manner was in thoſe Days, was elected Biſhop of the Canons, in the room of his Brother *James*, but was hinder'd by the Court Faction, from having the King's leave to go to *Rome*: So that he went privately to the Pope, without any Train, and ſo was eaſily admitted into his Brother's Place: For, beſides the Nobleneſs of his Stock, and the great Recommendation of his high Virtues, he was alſo well

Learned, as for thoſe Times. And therefore, whilſt he ſtay'd at *Rome*, fearing the Power of the adverſe Faction; the old Controverſy concerning the Liberty of the Church of *Scotland* began to be revived: For the Archbiſhop of *York* pretended, that the Biſhops of *Scotland* were under his Juriſdiction: So that he endeavour'd to retain that Power in time of Peace, which had been uſurped in the licentious times of War. But a Decree made at *Rome*, in favour of the *Scots*; and *Graham* was not only made Primate of *Scotland*, but alſo was conſtituted the Pope's Legat there for three Years, to inquire into the dangerous Manners and Converſations of Prieſts; and to reſtore decay'd Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline to its priſtine Integrity and State: And yet, this great Man, tho' ſo illuſtrious for Endowments of Mind and Fortune; and having alſo the ſuperadded Authority of the Pope to back him, durſt not return home, till the Power of the *Boyds* was in a declining Condition at Court.

THE *Boyds* perceiving, that the Concourſe of the Nobility to them, was not ſo great as they hop'd; to avert the Accuſations of their Enemies, and provide for their own Security for the future, cauſed a publick Aſſembly, or Parliament, to be ſummon'd againſt the 13th Day of *October*. There *Robert Boyd*, the Elder, fell down on his Knees, before the King and his Counſellors of State; complaining, That his Service to the King, in bringing him to *Edinburgh*, was ill interpreted, and traduc'd by the malign Speeches of his Adverſaries, who gave out threatning Words, That the Adviſers to that Journey ſhould, one Day, ſuffer Puniſhment for the ſame; and therefore, he humbly beſought the King, That, if he had conceiv'd any Ill-will, or Diſguſt in his Mind againſt him, for that Journey, that he would openly declare it; that ſo the Calumnies of his Detractors might be either prevented, or allay'd. The King, having adviſ'd a little with the *Lords of the Articles*, made Anſwer, That *Robert* was not his Adviſer in it, but rather his Companion in that Journey; and therefore, that he was more worthy of a Reward for his Courteſy, than of Puniſhment for his Obſequiouſneſs and Compliance therein; and this he was willing to declare in a publick Decree of the Eſtates, ſo to put a ſtop to all invidious Diſcourſe. And, in the ſame Decree, Proviſion ſhould be made, that that Matter ſhould never be prejudicial to *Robert*, nor his Companions. *Boyd* deſir'd, that this Decree might be regiſtred amongſt the Acts of this Aſſembly; and that the ſame might be confirm'd alſo by Letters Patent, under the Great Seal. And accordingly the Decree was preſently regiſtred amongſt the Acts; and the Letters Patent were deliver'd to him ſoon after, *viz.* the 25th Day of the ſame Month.

Month. The ſame Day alſo, the King, by Advice of his Council, gave him other Letters Patent, wherein he was conſtituted Regent, and had the Safety of the King, his Brothers, Siſters, Towns, Caſtles and all the Juriſdiction over his Subjects, committed to him, till he himſelf came to 21 Years of Age: And he dealt ſo with the Nobles, then preſent, that they ſolemnly promis'd to be aſſiſtant to the *Boyds* in all their publick Actions; and, that they would be liable to Puniſhment, if they did not carefully, and with Faithfulneſs perform, what they now promis'd. To this Stipulation, or Promiſe, the King alſo ſubſcrib'd.

By this means, when the King was their Friend, part of the Nobility in League with them, and alſo the Adminiſtration of the whole Government put into their Hands, they thought themſelves ſufficiently ſecur'd for a long time: Nay, and to lay a Foundation alſo for the future Greatneſs of their Poſterity, they brought it about, that *Thomas Boyd*, the Son of *Robert*, ſhould marry the King's Eldeſt Siſter. That Marriage, as it was opulent, and ſeem'd a Prop and Eſtabliſhment of their Power, ſo it increas'd the Hatred of their Enemies; and gave occaſion to variety of Diſcourſe, amongſt the Vulgar. For, although by this means all Paſſage to the King's Ear ſeem'd to be precluded, and they alone made the ſole Arbiters of his Words and Actions; yet, they did not flouriſh ſo much in Favour at Court, as they were proſecuted with publick Hatred abroad; which, after four Years Concealment, did, at laſt, break out, to the Deſtruction of their whole Family. And the wiſer ſort of the adverſe Party did not much diſlike their ſudden Increaſe of Honour; for, they hoped, (as 'tis uſual) *That Arrogance would be the Companion of it, which would not endure a Superior, and would deſpiſe an Equal; nay, and trample upon an Inferior: And when the Bounds of a Subject's Condition are exceeded, it alſo awakens Kings, who are impatient of Corrivals, to overthrow ſuch ſuſpected Perſons.* The Noiſe of this Diſcord, betwixt ſuch potent Factions, let looſe the Reins to popular Licentiouſneſs: For the People accuſtom'd to Robberies did, by Intervals, more eagerly return to their former Trade. The Seeds of Hatred, which were ſuppreſt for a time, did now bud forth again with greater Vigour; and the Seditious willingly laid hold on theſe Occaſions for Diſturbances; ſo that there was a general Liberty taken to do what Men liſted, in hopes of Impunity.

Neither were the *Kennedy's* wanting to the Occaſion, who partly ſpread abroad Rumors to inflame the People, and to caſt all the cauſe of their Diſturbance and Miſeries upon the *Boyds*; and partly alſo, (as ſome thought) they were not much

from the Deſign of the Seditious, but ſlily and ſecretly threw Fewel into the Fire. This was plain and evident by their very Countenances, that this troubleſome State of Affairs was not unpleaſant or unacceptable to them. There ſeem'd but only one thing wanting, utterly to ſubvert the flouriſhing Power of their Enemies, and that was, to make the King of their Party: For they had Strength enough, or too much; they knew, that the *Commonalty, who affect Innovations, and love every thing more than what is preſent*, would crowd in to their Party. Upon this they agreed to try the King's Mind, by ſome crafty Perſons, who ſhould pretend themſelves to be Lovers of the *Boydian* Faction.

IN the *Interim*, Embaſſadors were appointed to go to *Denmark*, to deſire * *Margarite*, the Daughter of that King, as a Wife for *James*; and that they ſhould take all the care they could, that the old Controverſy concerning the *Orcades* and the Iſles of *Schetland*, which had coſt both Nations ſo much Blood, might be accorded: The Chief of the Embaſſy was *Andrew Stuart*, Son to *Walter*, who was then Chancellor of *Scotland*. The *Danes* eaſily aſſented to the Marriage, and they quitted all their ** Right which their Anceſtors claim'd over all the Iſlands about *Scotland*, in the Name of a Dowry; only the private Owners of Eſtates, in thoſe Iſlands, were to enjoy them upon the ſame Terms, as they had formerly done. Some write, that they were made over in a Mortgage, till the Dowry was paid, but that afterward, the King of *Denmark* gave up all his Right in it for ever to his Grandſon *James*, who was newly born.

WHEN the Chancellor had inform'd the King, that all things were finiſh'd according to his deſire, the next Conſult was, to ſend an handſom Train of Nobles to bring over the New Queen. And here, by the Fraud of his Enemies, and Inadvertency of his Friends, *** *Thomas Boyd*, Son of *Robert* Earl of *Arran*, was choſen Embaſſador, his very Envyers purpoſely commending his Aptneſs for that Imployment, by reaſon of his Valour, Splendor and Eſtate, fit for ſuch a Magnificent Errand: He judging all things ſafe at Home, in regard his Father was Regent, willingly undertook the Imployment; and, at the beginning of *Autumn*, with a good Train of Friends and Followers, he went a Ship-board.

* *James* by his Ambaſſadors deſires *Margarite*, Daughter of the King of *Denmark*, for a Wife.

** The King of *Denmark* reſigns up the *Orcades* and *Schetland* to the King of *Scots*, as a Dowry.

*** *Thomas Boyd*, ſent Ambaſſador to bring the new Queen from

IN the mean time, the *Kennedy's* had looſened the King's Affection to the *Boyds*; and, whereas they thought to retain his Good Will by Pleaſures and Vacation from Publick Cares; thoſe very Baits they imputed as Crimes to them, and by magnifying their Wealth, though Great in it ſelf, yet as too bulky, and even dangerous to the King himſelf; and withal alledging, what a great Advance would accrue to his Exchequer, from the Confiſcation of their Eſtates, upon their Conviction, they put ſtrange Scruples into the weak Mind of the King, who was naturally inclin'd to Suſpicions and Avarice. And the * *Boyds* on the other ſide, though they endeavour'd by their obſequious Flatteries, and their hiding the publick Miſeries from him, to baniſh all melancholy Thoughts out of his Mind; yet the Complaints of the Vulgar, and the Solitarineſs of the Court, both which were, of ſet purpoſe, contriv'd and increas'd by their Enemies, could not be hid. And beſides, there were ſome, who, when the King was alone, diſcourſed him freely, concerning the Publick Calamities, and the Way to remedy them; nay, the King himſelf, as if he were ſomewhat awakened to manly Cares, declared, That what was ſometimes acted abroad, did not pleaſe him. but the *Boyds*, though they perceiv'd that the King was every Day leſs and leſs tractable to them, than formerly; and withal, that popular Envy roſe higher and higher againſt them, yet remitted nothing of their former Licentiouſneſs, as truſting to the King's former Lenity, and to the Anneſty, which they had for what was paſt.

WHEREUPON the contrary Faction, having ſecretly wrought over the King to their Party, and *Thomas*, Earl of *Arran*, being ſent packing Ambaſſador into *Denmark*, from whence he was not expected to return, till late in the Spring, becauſe thoſe *Northern* Seas are tempeſtuous and unpaſſable, for a great part of the Year; upon theſe accounts, they thought it a fit ſeaſon, to attempt the *Boyds*, who were old and diſeaſed, and therefore came ſeldom to Court; and beſides, were deſtitute of the Aid of many of their Friends; who were gone away in the Train of the Embaſſy. The firſt thing they did was, to perſuade the King to call a Parliament, which had been much long'd for a great while, to meet at *Edinburgh* on the Twenty Second Day of *November*, in the Year 1469. Thither the *Boyds*, Two Brothers, were ſummoned to come, and make their Appearance; where Matters were variouſly carried in reſpect of them, juſt as Hatred directed ſome, or Favour directed others. But they were ſo aſtoniſhed at this ſudden Blow, as having made no great Proviſion againſt ſo imminent a Danger; that their Minds were quite dejected, not ſo much becauſe of the Power of the adverſe Fa-

* The *Boyds* undermined in the Abſence of *Thomas*.

ction, as by reaſon of the ſudden Alienation of the King's Mind from them; ſo that *Robert*, in Deſpair of his Safety, fled into *England*; but *Alexander*, who by reaſon of his Sickneſs could not fly, was call'd to his Anſwer. The Crime objected to both the Brothers was, That they had laid Hands on the King, and by private Avarice had carried him to *Edinburgh*. *Alexander* alledged, That he had obtained his Pardon for that Offence in a publick Convention, and therefore he humbly deſired, that a Copy of that Pardon might be tranſcrib'd out of the Parliament Rolls: but this was denied him. What his Accuſers objected againſt that Pardon, the Writers of thoſe Times do not Record, and I, though a Conjecture be not very difficult to be made in the caſe, yet, had rather leave the whole Matter to the Reader's Thoughts, than to affirm Uncertainties for Truths. *Alexander* was condemn'd on his Tryal, and had his Head cut off. *Robert*, a few Years after, dy'd at *Alnwick* in *England*, the Grief of Baniſhment being added to the Pains of his old Age. His Son, though abſent, and that upon a publick Buſineſs, was declar'd a publick Enemy, without being granted a Hearing; and all their Eſtates were confiſcated. Thus ſtood the matter of Fact: but I ſhall not conceal, what I have heard ſome good Men, and not ignorant of the Hiſtory of thoſe Times, affirm. They ſay, that the Anneſty, given to the *Boyds*, was thus worded in the Records, that the King forgave them all the Prejudice and Rancour of Mind, (as they then phras'd it) which he might have conceiv'd againſt them; which they, who were willing to gratify the King, did interpret (according to the Diſtinction then celebrated, amongſt Divines, concerning the Remiſſion of the Fault, and of Puniſhment) after this manner, that, though the King forgave them his perſonal Reſentment, yet they were not exempted from the Puniſhment of the Law. *Thomas Boyd*, when he heard of the Calamity of his Family, though ſome put him in hopes of Pardon, in a time of publick Rejoycing, yet durſt not come aſhore; but being inform'd by his Wife, who upon the firſt News of the Approach of the *Daniſh* Fleet, made immediately to him, that there was no Hopes of Re-admiſſion to the King's Favour, his Enemies having ſtopt all Paſſages thereunto, ſail'd back into *Denmark*; whence he came, and ſo travelled through *Germany* into *France*, where he, in vain, endeavour'd to obtain the Mediation of *Lewis* the Eleventh, (who then had turn'd the Legitimate Empire of the *French* into a Tyranny) for his Reconciliation; and therefore he went to *Charles* of *Burgundy*, where he behav'd himſelf valiantly, and did him much faithful Service in the Wars, for which he was well rewarded by him with Honour and Profit. There he lived a private, yet honourable, Life; and his Wife bore him

a Son,

a Son, called *James*, and a Daughter called *Grekin*, of which in their place.

THE Marriage of *James* the Third, and Queen *Margarite*, was celebrated with a great Concourſe of the Nobility, on the Tenth Day of *July*, in the Year of our *Lord* 1470. There was born out of that Marriage, Three Years after, on St. *Patrick*'s Day in *March*, *James*, who ſucceeded his Father in the Kingdom.

IN the *Interim*, the King, not yet ſatisfy'd with the Miſery of the *Boyds*, writes over into *Flanders*, to recal his Siſter home; but knowing that ſhe bore ſo great a Love to her Husband, that ſhe would hardly be induc'd to part from him; he caus'd others to write to her, giving her ſome Hopes, that the King's Anger might, in time, be appeas'd towards her Husband; and that no doubt was to be made, but ſhe her ſelf might prevail much with her Brother, for his Relief; but that ſhe muſt come to plead for him in Preſence, and not to commit his Apology to others. Upon theſe Hopes ſhe return'd, and was no ſooner arriv'd in *Scotland*, but the King tranſacts with her about a Divorce; and accordingly he affix'd publick Libels and Citations, atteſted by many Witneſſes, at *Kilmarnock*, (which was the chief Houſe of the *Boyds*, before their Fall,) wherein *Thomas* was commanded to appear in ſixty Days, though all Men knew, that, though the publick Faith had been given him; yet he would hardly have return'd; he not appearing at the Day, the former Marriage was pronounc'd *Null*, and a Divorce made, though the Husband were abſent and unheard; and ſo *Mary*, the King's Siſter, was compell'd, againſt her Will, to marry *James Hamilton*, a Man rais'd but a little before, and much inferiour to her former Husband, in Eſtate and Dignity; yet ſhe bore him a Son, named *James*, and a Daughter called *Margarite*. The Children ſhe had, by her former Husband, were alſo recall'd by the King. And he himſelf lived not long after. He died at *Antwerp*, and having no Kinſmen there to claim his Eſtate, *Charles* of *Burgundy* caus'd a magnificent Monument to be erected for him, with the Money, which he had munificently beſtow'd upon him in the Church of . . . . . wherein an Honourable Epitaph was inſcribed. Thus the Family of the *Boyds*, which then was the moſt flouriſhing one in all *Scotland*, within a few Years, grew up, and was cut down, to the great Document of Poſterity, *What ſlippery things the Favours of young Kings are.*

THEIR Ruin did not only amaze their Friends, but it alſo kept off, and damp'd, their very Enemies; ſo that none would adventure to aſpire to that Dignity, from whence they were caſt down; partly, upon the account of the Inſtability of human Affairs; and partly, in conſideration of the King's ſudden Re-

Pentance, for beſtowing of his Graces and Favours, and his Continu'd Perſeverance in his Hatred, when once begun. This is certain, that they who were erected to great Hopes of Preferment, by this change of publick Affairs, found themſelves much miſtaken: For the King, who, before that time, had uſed himſelf to Domeſtick Eaſe, and ſeldom appear'd in Publick, being now alſo newly married, ſpent a great Part of his Time in the Pleaſures of his Palace; he excluded the Nobility, and was wholly govern'd by a few of his Servants; for, being of an eager and fervid Diſpoſition, he could not well bear the being contradicted in his Opinion; ſo that he avoided the Liberty which the Nobles would take, in adviſing him, and had only thoſe about him, who would not reprehend, but rather approve of, what he did; that ſo by avoiding any occaſion of Offence, and by uſing all the Flattery they could, they might curry his Favour. Amidſt theſe Manners of the Court, the Eccleſiaſtical State was not much better; for, though the Miniſters of the Church had been given, for many Years, to Luxury and Avarice, yet there was ſtill ſome ſhadow of ancient Gravity remaining; ſo that ſome Encouragement was given to Learning, and Advantage to ſuch as were good Proficients therein. For the Biſhops were choſen by the Colleges of Canons, and the Abbats by their reſpective Sodalities; but then the Paraſite Courtiers perſuaded the King, (for they only, had his Heart and Ear) that it would be very advantageous to him; and that thoſe, with whom he was to deal, would not be able to hinder his Deſign, if he recalled and aſſumed the Deſignation of ſuch Offices to himſelf, and not ſuffer a Matter of ſo great Advantage to reſt in the Hands of ſuch a dronith Generation of People, and unfit for any publick Buſineſs, as Eccleſiaſticks were. The King was eaſily perſuaded to it, in regard, they alledg'd, That, by this means, beſides other Advantages, he might have opportunity to curb the Contumacious, to oblige Neuters, and to reward the well deſerving; but (ſaid they) in our preſent Circumſtances, Promotions and Honours are in the Hands of the Dregs of the Vulgar, who are as parſimonious in caſe of publick Neceſſities, as they are profuſe in their private Pleaſures; but it was fit, that, in ſuch Caſes, all Men ſhould depend upon the King alone, that ſo he might have the ſole Power of puniſhing, pardoning, and rewarding.

By theſe and the like flattering Arguments, they perſuaded the King to their Opinion, for his Mind was not yet confirm'd by Ripeneſs of Years; beſides, 'twas weaken'd by ill Cuſtom, and not fortify'd againſt the Temptations of Money-Matters. And moreover, he was naturally prone to Liberty. Hereupon, a new Face of Things preſently appeared throughout the whole Kingdom, and all Matters, both Sacred and Profane, were brought to Court, to be huckſter'd and ſold, as in a Publick

Fair. But *Patrick Graham* was the only Man, who endeavour'd to ſtop the precipitous Ruin of the Church; when his Enemies ſway'd all at home, he ſtaid at *Rome* ſome Years; but being there inform'd, by his Friends, in what ſtate things were, he, truſting in his Alliance to the King, being the Son of his Great Aunt, reſolv'd to return home; but, that he might make ſome Eſſay of the Minds of Men before; he ſent the Bull, which he had obtained from the Pope, for his *Legantine Power*, and caus'd it to be proclaim'd and publiſh'd in the Month of *September*, the Year of our Lord, 1472. which rais'd up much Envy againſt him. For they, that had bought Eccleſiaſtical Honours at Court, were afraid to loſe both their Prey and Money too: And they, who thought to make advantage by this Court-ſale, were griev'd to be thus diſappointed: Nay, that Faction did no leſs ſtorm, that had mercenarily obtain'd Eccleſiaſtical Preferments from the King, in order to ſell them to others. Their fear was, that this gainful Practice would be taken out of their Hands. All theſe made a Conſpiracy againſt *Patrick*, and, in his Abſence, loaded him with Reproaches. They came to Court, and complain'd, that their ancient Laws, as well as the King's late Decrees, were violated; and that the *Romaniſts* were carrying on many Matters, very prejudicial to the Kingdom; and, unleſs the King did ſpeedily oppoſe their Exorbitance, they would quickly bring all things under their Power; nay, make the King himſelf bend under them.

To prevent this Danger, there were ſome ſent, by Order of Council, to *Patrick*, before he had ſcarce ſet his Foot on Shore, to forbid him to execute any part of his Office, until the King had heard the Complaints made againſt him; and a Day was appointed him to appear, which was the firſt of *November*, at *Edinburgh*, in order to an Hearing.

In the mean time, when his Friends and Relations aſſured him, that the King would do what was equitable in ſo juſt a Cauſe; the adverſe Faction, hearing of it, did ſo engage the King, and his Courtiers, by the Promiſes of great Sums of Money, that *Patrick* could never have a fair Hearing afterwards. When he was come to the Aſſembly, he produc'd the Pope's Bull and Grant, wherein he was conſtituted Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, Primate of *Scotland*, and the Pope's Legate for three Years, to order Eccleſiaſtical Affairs. The Inferior ſort of Prieſts were glad of the thing, that an Office ſo neceſſary was put into the Hands of ſo pious and learned a Man; but they did not dare to ſpeak it out, for fear of ſome powerful Perſons, who had got the Ear of the King and his Counſellors. His Adverſaries made their Appeal to the Pope, who alone could be Judge in the Caſe; which they did on purpoſe to create delay; that ſo the favour of the People towards

Patrick

Patrick might in time abate. He himſelf was ſent back by the King to his Church, but forbid to wear the Robe of an Archbiſhop, till the Cauſe was determin'd: Neither was he to perform any Office, but what the former Biſhops had done before him.

Whilſt theſe things were acting, *William Sivez* roſe up, a new Enemy, againſt *Patrick*, but the bittereſt of all the reſt; and that upon a light Occaſion. He was a young Man of a ready Wit, and had lived ſome Years at *Lovain*, under the Tutorſhip of *John Sperinc*, a Man well skill'd in the ſtudy of Phyſick and Aſtrology; in both which Faculties he was very famous: And, returning home, he quickly inſinuated himſelf into the Favour of the Courtiers; partly upon the account of his other Accompliſhments; and partly becauſe of his noted skill in Aſtrology. This Endowment won him great Reſpect from the Court, which was then addicted to all ſorts of Divinations, even to a madneſs: So that this *Sivez* being of a fluid Wit, and in great Favour at Court, was ſoon made Arch-Deacon of St. *Andrews*: But the Biſhop would not admit him to that Office. Upon this, he entred into a Conſultation with *John Loce*, Rector of the publick Schools there, and a back Friend of *Patrick*'s; and they two together plotted his Overthrow. The Rector, having a Grant from the Pope, whereby he was privileg'd and exempted from *Patrick*'s Juriſdiction, pronounced the Sentence of Excommunication againſt him. But he ſo ſlighted this Commination from one of an inferior Order to himſelf; that, tho' it was twice or thrice ſerv'd upon him, yet he went on in his ordinary courſe of Life: Whereupon his Enemies (as is uſual in Caſes, where Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures are contemn'd) implored the Aſſiſtance of the King, and got *Patrick* excluded from all the Churches. Officers of the Exchequer were ſent to, to take an Inventory of his Goods. His Retinue was commanded, under an heavy Penalty, to depart; and a Guard was ſet upon him, to obſerve, that he did nothing contrary to the Edict. The reſt of the Biſhops, that they might not ſeem ungrateful towards ſo benevolent a King, levied a great ſum of Money, which they had violently extorted out of ſmall Benefices, and preſented him with it. The King being Maſter of ſuch a Sum, ſeem'd to deal more mildly with *Patrick*, as if he took Pity on him; and accordingly he ſent the Abbat of *Holy-Rood*, and *Sivez*, to him. Whereupon the Biſhop was reconcil'd to the King; and alſo *Sivez* and the Biſhop were made Friends: but his Mony was gather'd up before, and carried to the King. Now *Patrick* ſeem'd to be freed of all his Troubles, and ſo he retir'd to his Mannor-Houſe of *Monimul*, and prepar'd himſelf for the Execu-

tion

tion of his Office, both publickly and privately: When, behold, the *Roman Mony-mongers* were ſent in upon him, by his Adverſaries; and, becauſe he had not paid his Fees for the Pope's Grant (or *Bull*, as they call it) they likewiſe Excommunicated him. The Man was reduced to extreme Poverty; for his Revenues, both before and after his return, were, for the moſt part, garner'd up by the King's Collectors, and brought into his Exchequer; and whatever his Friends could make up, was given to the King and his Courtiers. And when the King's Officers were again ſent to take Poſſeſſion of his Eſtate, Guards were ſet upon him by the King; his Houſhold Servants were diſcharg'd, and he was kept Priſoner in his Caſtle, and ſo was depriv'd even of the Advice of his Friends. *William Sivez*, his capital Enemy, was firſt impos'd upon him by the King, as his Coadjutor, as they call him, as if he had been beſides himſelf. The Pope too, afterwards, approving of the Man for the Service, the aforeſaid *Sivez* was made Inquiſitor, by the Power of the adverſe Faction, to inquire into his Life and Converſation; many trifling, and many ridiculous, and incredible things were objected againſt him; and amongſt the reſt this was one, *that he had ſaid Maſs thrice in one Day*; whereas, in that Age, there was hardly a Biſhop who did the ſame in three Months. Thus his Enemy being his Judge, and the Witneſſes againſt him hired, he was turned out of his *Biſhoprick*; and *Sivez*, who carried the Decree to the Pope, was made Biſhop in his room. Neither were his Enemies contented with this Miſchief they had done him; but, perceiving he bore all their Contumelies with much greatneſs of Spirit, they made an Order, that he ſhould be ſhut up in ſome deſolate Monaſtery, under four Keepers: *Inch-Colm* was choſen to be the Place, a Rock, rather than an Iſland: From whence, three Years after, he was remov'd to *Dunferlin*, for fear of the *Engliſh* Fleet; betwixt whom and the *Scots*, a War had then broke forth. And from thence he was again carried to the Caſtle, which lies in *Loch Leven*; where, being worn out with Age and Miſeries, he departed this Life. He was a Man guilty of no known Vice; and in Learning and Virtue, inferior to none of his Age. The other good Men, terrify'd by his Calamity, and perceiving no Hopes of any Church-Reformation, went all about their own private Affairs. In the Court, Church Preferments were either ſold, or elſe given away to Flatterers, and Panders, as a Reward for their vile and filthy Services.

Tho' theſe things were acted at different times, yet I have put them all together in my Diſcourſe, that ſo the Thread of my Hiſtory might not be broke too often; and alſo, that by one memorable Example, we might have an entire View

of

of the Miſeries of thoſe Times; for one may eaſily imagine how vitious the ordinary ſort of Men were, ſince a Man, that was ſo eminent for all kind of Virtue; and beſides, had the advantage to be allied to the King, and to many Noble Families beſides, was, by a few Scoundrels of the loweſt ſort, expos'd to the Reproach and Cruelty of his Enemies. But to return to the other Occurrences of thoſe Times.

In the Year 1476, there was a publick Decree made againſt *John*, Lord of the *Iſlands*, who had ſeiz'd upon ſome Provinces, and had done great Spoil on the Maritime Coaſts; inſomuch, that the King reſolv'd to march againſt him by Land, and commanded the Earl of *Craford* his Admiral, to meet him by Sea. Hereupon, *John* perceiving, that he was too weak to withſtand ſuch Preparations, by the Advice of the Earl of *Athole*, the King's Uncle, came, in an humble manner, to Court, and ſurrendred up himſelf to the King's Mercy. The Provinces, which he had forcibly enter'd upon, were taken from him, as *Roſs*, *Kintire*, *Cnapdale*: But he was ſuffer'd ſtill to continue in the Command of the *Iſlands*. The ſame Year, the Diſpute with the *Engliſh*, which was juſt about to break out into a War, was decided. The Occaſion was this; *James Kennedy* had built a Ship, the biggeſt that ever ſailed upon the Ocean: At that time as ſhe was at Sea, a Tempeſt caſt her upon the *Engliſh* Shore, and her Lading was rifled by the *Engliſh*: Reſtitution was often ſought for, but in vain. This bred a Diſguſt betwixt the Nations for ſome Years. At laſt, the *Engliſh* ſent Ambaſſadors into *Scotland*; the chief of which were the Biſhop of *Durham*, and *Scroop*, a Noble-man. By theſe Ambaſſadors, *Edward*, who had been toſt by the Inconſtancy of Fortune, and whoſe Exchequer was drain'd by continual Wars, deſir'd a treaty of Peace; which was eaſily renew'd, upon Condition, that a due Eſtimate might be made of the Ship that was rifled, and its Lading, by indifferent Perſons, and juſt Satisfaction made.

The ſame Year, Ambaſſadors were ſent to *Charles*, Duke of *Burgundy*, in behalf of the Merchants, who were diſturb'd in their Trade. When they came into *Flanders*, they were honourably receiv'd by him. But one *Andreas* a Phyſician, and a great Aſtrologer too, being occaſionally invited by them to Supper, underſtanding the Cauſe of their coming, took them aſide, and told them, That they ſhould not make too much haſt in their Embaſſy; for, in a few Days, they ſhould hear other News of the Duke. And accordingly, his Prediction was fulfilled; for within three Days after, his Army was overthrown by the *Switzers*, at the City of *Nants* in *Lorain*; where he was kill'd. Hereupon, the Ambaſſadors return'd, without effecting their Buſineſs. And when they came to the King,

King, and told him how highly skill'd that *Andrews* was, in predicting Things to come, they perſuaded him, who of himſelf was inclinable to thoſe Arts, to ſend for the Man, upon promiſes of a good Reward: And accordingly he came; was well receiv'd, and gratify'd with a rich Parſonage, and other Boons. He, (as 'tis reported) told the King, that he ſhould ſpeedily be deſtroy'd by his own Subjects. And that Speech agreed with the Vaticinations of ſome wizardly Women, (to which the King was immoderately addicted) who had prophecy'd, *That a Lyon ſhould be killed by his Whelps.* Hereupon, from a Prince, at firſt, of great Ingenuity, and good Hopes, and as yet not wholly depraved; he degenerated into a fierce and cruel Tyrant; for, when his Mind had entertain'd, and was ſtuft with, Suſpicions, he accounted even neareſt Kindred, and all the beſt of the Nobility, as his Enemies: And the Nobles were alſo diſguſted at him, partly by reaſon of his Familiarity with that raſcally ſort of People; but chiefly, becauſe he ſlighted the Nobility, and choſe mean Perſons to be his Counſellors and Adviſers. The chief of them were *Thomas Preſton*, one of a good Family, but who reſolv'd to humour the King in all things; *Robert Cockrain*, a Man endued with great ſtrength of Body, and equal Audacity of Mind; he came to be known to the King, by a Duel which he fought with another; and preſently, from a Tradeſman, came to be made a Courtier, and was put in a fair way of riſing to ſome greater Advancement; for, having perform'd ſome lighter Matters, intruſted to him, with Diligence; and alſo accommodating himſelf to the King's Humour, he was ſoon admitted to adviſe concerning the grand Affairs of the Kingdom; inſomuch, that *Preſton* choſe him out to be his Son-in-law. The Third was *William Rogers*, an *Engliſh* Singing-Man, or Muſician, who coming into *Scotland* with the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors, after the King had heard him once or twice, he was ſo taken with him, that he would not ſuffer him to return, but advanced him to Wealth and Honour; and in a ſhort time made him a Knight. The reſt of his Intimates were the moſt deſpicable ſort of the meaneſt Tradeſmen, who were only known by their Improbity, had nothing to recommend them, but Boldneſs. Whereupon, the Nobility had a Meeting, wherein the King's Brothers were chief, to purge the Court from this ſort of Cattle: And ſome notice of it being divulg'd abroad, *John*, the youngeſt of the Brothers, more unwary than the reſt, ſpeaking a little too boldly, and raſhly, concerning the State of the Kingdom, was ſeiz'd upon by the Courtiers, caſt into Priſon, condemn'd by the King's privy domeſtick Council, and put to Death, by having a Vein opened, till he expired his laſt. The cauſe of his Death

was

was given out amongſt the Vulgar, to be, becauſe he had conſpir'd, with Witches, againſt the King's Life: And to make the Matter more plauſible, twelve Witches of the loweſt condition, were try'd and burnt. The Death of *John* did rather ſtifle, than diſſipate the Conſpiracy, which ſeem'd almoſt ready to break forth.

Alexander, the next, as in Blood, ſo in Danger, tho' he endeavour'd to avert all Suſpicion from himſelf, as much as he could; yet the King's Officers thought they could never be ſecure, as long as he was alive; and therefore they preſently clapt him up Priſoner in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*; where he was ſtrictly kept by thoſe who judg'd his Power would be their Deſtruction: and ſeeing he could not appeaſe the King's Wrath by the Mediation of his Friends, he began to think of making an Eſcape: He had but one of his Servants left to wait upon him in his Chamber. Him, and none elſe, he acquainted with his Deſign; who hired a Veſſel for him, to be ready fitted in the adjoining Road; then he ſuborn'd Meſſengers to make frequent Errands to him from the Court, who ſhould tell him Stories before his Keepers, (for he was forbid to ſpeak with any Body, but in their Preſence) that the King was now more reconcileable to him, than formerly; and that he would ſpeedily be ſet at Liberty. When the Day appointed for his Eſcape approach'd, he compos'd his Countenance to as much Mirth, as, in that calamitous Condition, he was able to do; and told his Keepers, that, now, he believ'd, by the Meſſages ſent him from the King, that he was reconcil'd to him; and that he hop'd he ſhould not be held much longer in Durance. Accordingly he invited them to a noble Supper, and himſelf drank freely with them, till late at Night; then they departed; and being all full of Wine, fell into the ſounder Sleep. Thus left entirely to himſelf, he made a Rope of the Linnen Blankets of his Bed, long enough, as he thought, for the height of the Wall; and firſt, to make a trial, he made his Servant ſlide down by it; but perceiving, by his Fall, that 'twas too ſhort, he lengthened it out, as well as he could, in thoſe Circumſtances, and himſelf ſlid down too, and took up his Servant, who had broke his Leg by his Fall, upon his Shoulders, and carry'd him about a Mile to the Veſſel, where they went aboard, and having a fair Wind, they ſailed to *Dunbar*; then he fortify'd the Caſtle againſt any forcible Aſſault, and, with a ſmall Retinue, went over into *France*. In his abſence, *Andrew Stuart*, the Chancellor, was ſent with an Army to take the Caſtle: They beſieg'd it cloſely ſome Months, and 'twas defended as bravely: But, at laſt, the Garriſon, for want of Neceſſaries, were forced to get Veſſels, and, in the Night, to depart privately for *England*;

land: So that, in the Morning, the empty Caſtle was taken by the Beſiegers. Some Men of Note, of the Beſiegers, were ſlain there.

MUCH about this time it was, that the Kings both of *England* and *Scotland*, weary'd out with Domeſtick Troubles, had each of them a Deſire to make Peace; and an Embaſſy was appointed to compleat it; which was kindly received: And the Peace was not only agreed upon, but an Affinity accorded to confirm it; that *Cecilia*, the Daughter of *Edward*, ſhould be married to *James* his Son, as ſoon as they were both marriageable. Part alſo of the Dowry was paid, on this Condition, that *if, when they came to Years, the Marriage were not conſummated, the Dowry ſhould be paid back to the* Engliſh. And Hoſtages were given for Performance of Conditions; which were ſome *Burghers* of Towns. But this Peace laſted not long, for, by reaſon of the old Grudges remaining ſince the laſt Wars, Incurſions were made, Plunders committed, and Villages burnt: So that, by theſe mutual Injuries, broke out at laſt into an open War. And beſides, each King had other peculiar Provocations. *Douglas*, the old Exile, and *Alexander*, the King's Brother, who was newly baniſhed, ſtirred up to it. For *Alexander*, as I ſaid before, going into *France*, married the Daughter of the Earl of *Bulloign*; but not being able to procure Aid from *Lewis* the XIth, then King of *France*, for the Recovery of his own, he ſailed over into *England*, hoing, from thence, to make ſome attempt upon *Scotland*. As for *James* of *Scotland*, *Lewis* of *France* egg'd him on for a War, having ſent *Robert Ireland*, a *Scots-man*, and Doctor of the *Sorbon*, with two *French* Knights, to him, on that Errand. Thus the Peace came to be violated: And, altho' the *Scotiſh* Affairs, in regard ſome of the Country was waſted, were in none of the beſt States and Conditions; nay, and tho' an Army alſo was decreed to be ſent againſt *Scotland*, by the *Engliſh*, under the Command of the Duke of *Gloceſter*; yet the King, and thoſe, who were about him, did levy Forces, but indeed they did it very unwillingly: For the Upſtarts, (ſuch they lately were, and very poor too,) whoſe Greatneſs was founded on the Calamities of others, and who had been the Authors of ſuch deſperate Counſels to the King, fear'd nothing more than the frequent Aſſembly of the Nobility. When he came to *Lauder*, a Town near the Borders of *Merch* and *Teviotdale*, Countries either waſted by the Enemy, or elſe by Force, neceſſitated to ſubmit to him; the King yet proceeded on in his wonted Courſe of Exactions from them: He diſtruſted the Nobility, and manag'd all by his Cabinet-Council. The Nobles would indure the Indignity no longer; and therefore, in the

the third Watch, they met in a Church in the Town, where, in a full Aſſembly, *Archibald Douglas*, Earl of *Angus*, is reported to have declar'd the Cauſe of their Meeting, in this manner.

'I think it not neceſſary, *Noble Peers*, to make a long Oration concerning the ſtate of the *Scotiſh* Affairs, you your ſelves partly remember it, and you partly ſee it now before your Eyes; the chief of the Nobility, are either baniſhed, or elſe compelled to ſuffer intolerable, and to act nefarious, things; and you, in whom the ſtrength of the Kingdom reſts, are left without an Head, as a Ship without a Steers-man, ſubject to all the Storms and Tempeſts of Fortune; Your Lands are burnt, your Eſtates plunder'd; the Husbandman either ſlain, or elſe, perceiving no other Remedy, no other Relief, hath ſubmitted to the Enemy. And the King, if he was Himſelf a Man of ever ſo generous a Spirit, and of ever ſo ſingular Prudence, yet carried away by poyſonous Inſinuations, refers all things, as pertaining to the Good of the Common-wealth, as to Peace, War, and the like, not to an Aſſembly of the Nobles, but to inferiour Upſtarts. Theſe Men conſult Sooth-ſayers and Wizards, and ſo carry their Anſwers to the King, whoſe Mind is infirm and ſick, and eaſily taken with ſuch vain Superſtitions; and thus Decrees are made under the Influence of ſuch Authors, concerning the Safety of us all; for they, knowing, that they are deſervedly hated by all, do perſecute all out of an equal hatred; and their endeavour is, not only to undermine your Authority, but to cut you all off, by all the poſſible Arts and Practices, they can; they have remov'd ſome of us by Death, others by Baniſhment; neither do they aſcend gradually to play their Pranks, as inferior Perſons, when they are promoted, are wont to do; but theſe immediately pitch upon the Royal Blood, to exerciſe the Tryals of their Cruelty and Avarice upon: One of the King's Brothers they have moſt inhumanly put to death; they have robb'd our Country of the other, by baniſhing him, and ſo have given him as a General to our Enemies. Theſe being thus taken out of the way, their next work, is, to deal with the Nobility: For, being of low Eſtate and Condition themſelves, they would have no Men of Excellence, none of high Birth to ſurvive them. All thoſe, that have either Riches to ſatisfy their Avarice, or Power to reſiſt their Audaciouſneſs, them they account as their Enemies; and yet, in the mean time, we are undertaking a War againſt the *Engliſh*, as our Publick Enemy, as if any Enemy were more deadly than that, who is never ſatisfy'd, in point of Covetouſneſs, with your Eſtates, nor, in point of Cruelty, with your Blood. Now to make it clear to

you,

you, that this inteſtine Plague is more dreadful than that foreign one; ſuppoſe, (which God forbid) that the King of *England* ſhould conquer us, doubtleſs he would remember old Grudges, and, in purſuance of that Conqueſt, what End of his Succeſſes would he propound to himſelf? or, what Reward of his Victory? Would he aim at the Life of the King, his Enemy, or at your Lives? I think, at neither. For the Diſpute between us is (not for Life, but) for Glory and Empire; and a generous Mind, as 'tis vehement and eager againſt thoſe that reſiſt it, ſo 'tis eaſily mitigated and inclin'd to Lenity by Submiſſion and Obſequiouſneſs, even upon the account of remembring the Inſtability of all human Affairs: But ſuppoſe, that the Enemy's Rage ſhould aim at the King's Life and Deſtruction, I pray, which of the two do act more mercifully; either he that, together with Life, takes away all Senſe of Miſery; or they, that reſerve him, whom they ought principally to love and reverence, next to God, to a daily Butchery and Execution? Who arm his Mind, already poſſeſt with Witch-crafts, to the Deſtruction of his Friends? who keep the King, now almoſt encompaſs'd by the Arms of his Enemies, in the nature of a Priſoner, and do not ſuffer him to ſee the Faces of his Friends, that he may underſtand their Affection to him, and experience their Loyalty? They are not ſo much Enemies, who pitch Camp againſt Camp, and ſo openly profeſs their Hoſtility, as they, who, at home, do treacherouſly contrive our Deſtruction. They alienate the King's Mind from his Friends, and betray him to his Enemies; and thus they deprive us of our Commander, and expoſe us as a Prey to our Enemy's Arms, by whom if your Lives are given you, after you are conquer'd, yet you will fall into Shame and Servitude; and, if you overcome them, yet you will not procure Quiet to your ſelves, Strength to your Country, nor Glory to your King, but a greater Liberty to your Enemies, to play their Pranks at preſent, and that in ſecurity, for the future; and thus we ſhall bring a Plague and Miſery on our ſelves, and a ſtricter Servitude on our King; ſo that Victory will not free us from Foreign Miſeries, but will increaſe our Domeſtick Ones. And therefore, in ſhort, my Opinion is, That we ſhake off the Yoke at home, before we venture to engage the Enemy; For, otherwiſe, we ſhall all be made Slaves to the Luſts of a few Men, we ſhall ſtrengthen the Enemy, and betray the Common-wealth; God bleſs your Conſultations, in this matter.

After

AFTER *Douglas* had ended his Speech, there followed (not a Debate but) a confus'd Noiſe, over the whole Aſſembly, crying out, *To your Arms againſt the Publick Enemy*; for the Minds of all preſent were ſo inflam'd, that, though they had none to lead them, yet they were about to break in upon the King's Quarters. But the graver Sort, who, by reaſon of their Honour and Authority had a great Intereſt in the reſt, appeas'd the Tumult; for they fear'd, leſt, in an impetuous Aſſault of the People, the King himſelf ſhould come to ſome harm: And therefore they agreed, that the principal Commanders ſhould take a ſmall number of their chiefeſt Confiders, and, without any general Remove of the whole Army, ſhould go to the King's Pavilion, and ſeize the Offenders, who had the Management of things, and then bring them forth to be judged before the whole Army, that ſo they might ſuffer condign Puniſhment, according to the Laws.

WHILST theſe things were in agitation, News was brought to the Court, that the Nobles were aſſembled, before day, in the Church; for what, 'twas not known; but it muſt certainly be ſome great Matter, which ingag'd ſuch Perſons to aſſemble, unknown to the King and his Counſel'ors. The King was waked, and roſe in great Fear out of his Bed, and ask'd thoſe about him, *What was beſt to be done?* In the mean while, he ſends *Cockran* before, to obſerve, what was a doing, and to bring him certain word. Juſt as this *Cockran* was got pretty nigh the Church with a ſmall Retinue, he meets with the Chief of the Nobility coming to Court. *Douglas* preſently laid hands upon him, and took him by a Maſſy-Gold-Chain, which he wore about his Neck, whereby he ſomewhat ſtrain'd his Throat, and gave him up a Priſoner to the *Marſhal*, and then he went directly to the King's Bed-Chamber. They, who were there, made no Oppoſition, either becauſe they were aſtoniſhed at his ſudden Coming, or elſe, out of Reverence to the Man; ſo that there the reſt were ſeiz'd upon, who were thought to have corrupted the King by their wicked Counſels; only one Young man hung about the King's Neck, and he deſired them to pardon him, his Name was *John Ramſy*, of a good Family; who, being excus'd, upon the account of his Age, was diſmiſs'd. Whilſt the reſt were led on to their Tryals, there was a Tumult and Noiſe rais'd over the whole Army, crying out, *Hang them, Rogues*, whereupon they were preſently hurry'd away, and ended their Lives in an Halter; nay, the Army in general was ſo intent upon their Execution, that, when they wanted Ropes, upon ſo ſudden an Occaſion, they all offer'd the Reins of their Horſe-Bridles and their Baggage-Horſe Tackle for that Uſe; and they ſtrove much, who ſhould have the honour to offer his own firſt.

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This Court-Faction had committed many Injuries againſt private Perſons; but their Wrongs to the Publick lay chiefly here; They had been the Authors of coining new Braſs-Money, which the common People did call by the invidious Name of *Black-Money*. Upon this Project, there firſt enſued a Dearth of all things, and afterwards a Famine; for the Sellers had rather ſuffer their Commodities to be ſpoil'd at Home, than, under a pretence of Sale, to give them away to the Buyers. But, that all Commerce might not wholly ceaſe amongſt the People, this one Remedy was found out for Bargainers and Chap-men, that they ſhould mention, in their Contracts, in what ſort of Money the Payment ſhould be made. 'Tis true, ſome of our former Kings had coin'd that ſort of Money, but 'twas more for the neceſſary uſe of the Poor, than for their own Gain: And alſo Proviſion was made by a Law, appointing ſuch a Sum, beyond which Sellers ſhould not be compell'd to take it in payment. And thus the buyers of ſmall Commodities had a Benefit: And alſo it ſeem'd ſufficiently caution'd by the Law, that the richer ſort ſhould have no Damage by this way of change or Sale. It was alſo objected againſt them, that they had alienated the King's Heart from the Nobility, and had ſet him a-gog upon *Magick*, and had hurried him on to the Deſtruction of his own Kindred. But that, which made *Cockran* moſt envy'd, was his Earldom of *Merch*; which Country and Title the King had given to him, or elſe, had committed to his Truſt, upon the Death of the youngeſt Brother.

WHEN thoſe Evil Counſellors were remov'd out of the way, the King had no great great Confidence in the Soldiery, nor the Soldiery in him; ſo that the Army was diſmiſt, and return'd Home: And the King, tho' for the preſent, he ſuppreſs'd his Anger, and made many large and fair Promiſes to the Nobility, yet his Heart inwardly boiled with Blood, Slaughter, and Revenge. And therefore, as ſoon as he thought himſelf at Liberty, he retired, with ſome few of his Confidents, into the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*; and the Nobility, not knowing what to think of it, had alſo their Conſultations a-part. The King of *England* gathor'd Forces in the Winter-Seaſon, by the perſuaſion of *Alexander* chiefly, who inform'd him of the Diſſention betwixt the King and his Nobles in *Scotland*; and alſo aſſur'd him, that, as ſoon as ever he enter'd *Scotland*, great numbers of Horſe and Foot would come in to him: Whereupon he made *Richard*, his Brother, Duke of *Glocester*, General; and commanded him to march into *Scotland*. He began his March when it was about *Midſummer*; and, underſtanding in what condition the *Scottiſh* Affairs were, he turn'd aſide to *Berwick*. He was receiv'd immediately into

the Town, and left 4000 Men to beſiege the Caſtle; and with the reſt of the Army he march'd directly to *Edinburgh*, making a dreadful Devaſtation in all Places, where he came. But *Alexander* leading them on, they enter'd the City, without committing any Rapine; and, by a publick Proclamation made in the Market-place, he adviſ'd *James*, (ſeeing he could not ſpeak with him) Firſt, to perform what he had promiſ'd to *Edward*; and then, that he would cauſe Satisfaction to be made for all the Wrongs and Injuries he had offered to the *Engliſh*; and, unleſs he would do ſo, *Richard*, Duke of *Gloceſter*, would perſecute him and his Country with Fire and Sword. But *James* perceiving at preſent, that he was not able to perform what was requir'd; and, on the other ſide, that he was as unable to withſtand the Power of the Enemy; return'd no Anſwer at all, either by Writing or Meſſage. But the Nobles of *Scotland*, being thus forſaken of their King, that they might not be wholly wanting to the publick Safety, levy'd another Army, and form'd a Camp at *Hadington*: And, that they might ſomewhat alleviate the imminent Danger and Preſſure, and ſtop the Enemy in his Career of Victory, they ſent Agents to the Duke of *Gloceſter*, to deſire, *That the Marriage, ſo long promis'd, might be conſummated.* They were alſo to declare, that it ſhould not be their fault, if the Agreements made between the Nations, were not punctually perform'd. The *Engliſh* General knew, that the *Scots* would not put things to the hazard of a Battle, in regard part of their Strength was with him upon the account of *Alexander*, a popular Man, and that the reſt were divided into ſeveral Factions; and therefore he made this Anſwer, That he did not know what his King reſolv'd in reference to that Marriage; but he thought it fit, that the Money, paid to *James* upon the account of the Dowry, ſhould be preſently repaid to him; and, if they would have Peace, they ſhould promiſe to ſurrender up the Caſtle of *Berwick*; or, if they could not do that, then to make a ſolemn Promiſe, that they ſhould not attempt to relieve the Beſieged, nor to hinder the Beſiegers, until it was either taken by Storm, or ſurrendred upon Conditions. The *Scots* return'd anſwer by their Ambaſſadors, that 'twas not their Fault, the Marriage was not conſummated; but it happen'd, becauſe both Bride and Bridegroom were under Ages; that the Money was not yet due, becauſe the Day of Payment was not yet come, and if there were not ſufficient Security given for the payment thereof, they would give more; but the Caſtle of *Berwick* was built by the *Scots*, and that in the *Scotiſh* Soil and Being; and for many Ages, having been under their Juriſdiction, they could not part with it; and, tho' the *Engliſh* had poſſeſs'd it ſometimes by Force, yet their Injury did not preju-

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dice the ancient Right of the *Scots*. But *Gloceſter*, who was ſuperior in Strength, reſolv'd to carry the Point, and to admit of no legal Diſpute in the Caſe. The ſame Day, *Calen Cambel*, Earl of *Argyle*; *Andrew Stuart*, and the Biſhops of St. *Andrews* and *Dunblane*, ſent to *Alexander*, who was in the *Engliſh* Camp at *Lethington*, a *Chart*, ſign'd with their Hands and Seals, promiſing him, if he would be Loyal to the King in the next Aſſembly, they would take care that his Eſtate ſhould be reſtor'd, and an *Anneſty* given for what was paſt; of which, they ſolemnly interpos'd their Faith. *Alexander* acquainted *Gloceſter* with the Thing, who was very friendly, and diſmiſs'd him upon it; and ſo he return'd into his own Country; where, in the next Aſſembly of Eſtates, he was made *Regent*, by an unanimous Conſent; and preſently a Propoſition was made concerning raiſing the Siege of *Berwick*. The wiſer ſort were of opinion, that in ſo dangerous a time, when things were thus unſettled by reaſon of Domeſtick Seditions; that, if the Enemy were quiet, yet Storms would ariſe amongſt themſelves; that it was beſt to clap up a Peace upon any terms; for they ſaw plainly, that if they ſhould have the better of ſo powerful an Enemy, yet it would rather provoke, than diſhearten him; but, if they themſelves were overcome, it was uncertain, how an Enemy, fierce by Nature, and farther elevated by Succeſs, would uſe his Victory. Some that were more hot-ſpirited than they had then any Reaſon for, oppoſed this Opinion; yet it was carried in the Parliament. After many Conditions were canvaſt to and fro, at length 'twas agreed, That on the 26th of *Auguſt*, 1482, the Caſtle of Berwick ſhould be ſurrender'd up to the *Engliſh*; and a Truce was made for a few Months, till they could have more time to treat of a Peace. Thus *Berwick* was loſt, after it had been enjoy'd by the *Scots* 21 Years, ſince they laſt recover'd it. Then the Duke of *Gloceſter*, having made a proſperous Expedition, return'd in Triumph Home.

Edward, by the Advice of his Council, judg'd it more for the Advantage of *England*, to diſannul the Marriage; for he fear'd, that the inteſtine Diſcords of the *Scots* were ſo great, that *James*'s Iſſue might be in Danger of loſing the Crown; and, if *Alexander* ſhould be made King, he hoped to have a conſtant and faithful Ally of him, in regard of the great Kindneſs he had receiv'd at his Hands. Hereupon an Herald was ſent to *Edinburgh*, to renounce the *Affinity*, and to demand the Repayment of the Dowry. When he had declar'd his Errand publickly on the 25th of *October*, the *Scots* obtain'd a Day for the payment thereof, and reſtor'd it to a Penny; and withal, they ſent ſome to convoy the Herald, as far as *Berwick*. *Alexander*, that he might extinguiſh the Remains of the old Hatred of his Brother

againſt him, and ſo obtain new Favour by a new Courteſy, brought him out of the Caſtle, and reſtor'd him to the free Poſſeſſion of his Kingdom. But the memory of old Offences prevail'd more with his proud reſtleſs Spirit, than this of his late Courteſy: Moreover, beſides the King's old Jealouſies, there were thoſe who did daily calumniate him, and buz into the King's Ear his too great Popularity; as if now 'twas very evident, that he affected the Kingdom: He, being adviſed by his Friends, that Miſchief was hatching againſt him at Court, fled privately into *England*, and gave up the Caſtle of *Dunbar* to *Edward*. In his abſence, he was Condemn'd. The Crimes objected againſt him, were firſt, That he had often ſent Meſſengers into *England*; and then, that he had retir'd thither himſelf, without obtaining a Paſs-port from the King; and that there he joined in Council againſt his Country, and his King's Life. All the other of his Partizans were pardon'd, and, amongſt the reſt, *William Creighton*, who was accus'd not only to be an Abetter of his Deſigns againſt his Country, but alſo the chief Author that urged him on to them. But, when he had obtain'd Pardon for what was paſt, he was again accus'd of encouraging *Alexander*, by his Advice and Counſel, after he was condemn'd; (frequent Letters paſſing between them, by the means of *Thomas Dickſon* a Prieſt) and of cauſing his Caſtle of *Creighton* to be fortified againſt the King, and commanding the Garriſon Soldiers not to ſurrender it up to the King's Forces. Wherefore, he was ſummon'd to appear the 13th Day of *February*, in the Year, 1484. But he, not appearing, was outlaw'd, and his Goods confiſcated. Theſe were the Cauſes of his Puniſhment, mentioned in our publick Records. But 'tis thought, that the Hatred the King had conceiv'd againſt him, upon a private Occaſion, did him the moſt Miſchief of all. It was this, *William* had a very beautiful Wife, of the Noble Family of the *Dunbars*; When her Husband found, that the King had had the uſe of her Body, he undertook a Project, which was raſh enough in itſelf, but yet not improper for a Mind ſick of Love, and alſo provok'd by ſuch an Injury as his was; for he himſelf lay with the King's young Siſter, a beautiful Woman, but ill ſpoken of for her too great Familiarity with her Brother; and on her he begat *Margarite Creighton*, who died not long ſince. In the interim, *Creighton's* Wife died at his own Houſe; and the King's Siſter, whom, as I ſaid, the King had vitiated, was ſo much in Love with *William*, that ſhe ſeem'd ſometimes to be out of her Wits for him. The King, partly by the Mediation of *William's* Friends, and partly being mindful of the Wrong he himſelf had done him, of the like ſort, and being willing alſo to cover the Infamy of his Siſter, under a pretext

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of Marriage, permitted *William* to return Home again to Court, upon Condition, that he would Marry her: *William* was perſuaded by his Friends; and, for want of better Counſel, eſpecially ſince *Richard* of *England* was dead, came to *Inverneſs*, where he had a Conference with the King, not long before both their Deaths; and great Hopes were there given of his Return. His Sepulchre is yet there to be ſeen. Theſe things were done at ſeveral times, but I have put them together, that ſo the Thread of my Hiſtory might not be diſcontinued and broken off. Let us now return to what was omitted before.

Edward of *England* died in the Month of *April*, next after *Dunbar* was delivered to him, in the Year 1483, leaving his Brother *Richard* Guardian to his Sons. He was firſt content with the Name of *Protector*, and under that Title govern'd *England* for two Months: But afterwards, having, by ſeveral Practiſes, engaged a great part of the Nobility and Commonalty to his ſide, he put his Brother's two Sons in Priſon; the Queen, and her two Daughters being forced to retire into a Sanctuary near *London*. But the next *June* he took upon him the Name and Ornaments of a King.

Alexander of *Albany*, and *James Douglas*, being willing to try how their Countrymen ſtood affected towards them, came with 500 ſelect Horſe to *Loch-Maban*, on *Maudlins* Day, becauſe a great Fair uſed that Day to be there held. There a Skirmiſh began between the Parties, with enraged Minds on both ſides, and the Succeſs was various, as Aid came in out of the neighbouring Diſtrict, either to this or that Party. They fought from Noon till Night, and the Iſſue was doubtful; but at laſt the Victory inclin'd to the *Scots*, tho' it was a bloody one, as having loſt many of their Men. *Douglas* was there taken Priſoner, and ſent away to the Monaſtery of *Lindors*: *Alexander* was ſet on a Horſe, and eſcap'd, but ſtaid not in *England* long after that. In the mean time, many Incurſions were made to to the greater loſs of the *Engliſh*, than benefit of the *Scots*. *Richard* was uncertain of the Event of things at home, and withal fear'd his Enemy abroad; for many of the *Engliſh* favour'd the Earl of *Richmond*, who was an Exile in *France*, and had ſent for him over, to undertake the Government of the Kingdom: So that *Richard* was mightily troubled. Neither was he leſs vext with the Guilt of his own Wickedneſs; and, becauſe he could not quell Domeſtick Seditions, as ſoon as he hoped, therefore he thought it beſt to oblige Foreigners by any Conditions whatſoever; that ſo, by their Authority and Power, he might be ſafer at home, and more formidable abroad. For this Cauſe, he ſent Ambaſſadors into *Scotland*, to make Peace, or,

or, at laſt, a Truce for ſome Years. There he found all things more eaſy than he could have hoped for: For *James*, who, for his many and notable Crimes, was grievouſly hated by his own People, as well as *Richard* was by his, willingly gave Ear to his Ambaſſadors; for, he hoped, that, if once he had Peace with *England*, that he could revenge his Wrongs at home at leiſure, when *England* could not be a Refuge to his Oppoſers. For theſe Reaſons, eſpecially, both Kings ſent ſome of their Confidents to the Borders; where, after many and long Diſputes concerning Compenſation for Loſſes, ſeeing Peace could not be made, by reaſon of the multitudes of Complainants, and the weakneſs of their Proofs, they made a Truce for three Years.

And, becauſe Matters could not then be adjuſted, for the Difficulties above-mentioned, and alſo the ſtraitneſs of Time; Arbiters were appointed on both ſides, who, together with the Commanders of the Borders, ſhould ſee all things done according to Equity. One Condition, in the Truce was ſet down very intricately, about the Caſtle of *Dunbar* to be reſtor'd to the *Scots*; for the *Engliſh* interpreted it, that they might keep it; and the *Scots*, that they might reduce it by Force, notwithſtanding the Truce: For, when the *Scots*, after the expiration of ſix Months allotted, ſent Ambaſſadors to demand the Caſtle, *Richard*, by his Letters, made them Promiſes of his good Will, but he delay'd the Reſtoration of it (alledging ſometimes this, and ſometimes other things, as an Obſtacle in the way) till his Death, which follow'd not long after. He was ſlain by his Countrymen; and *Henry* the 7th not yet fully in the Throne, when *James* laid Siege to the Caſtle in a very ſharp Winter. The Garriſon Soldiers, ſeeing that they were not like to have Relief from *England*, in regard of the preſent Diſtractions, ſurrender'd it up. But *Henry*, being troubled with many Cares, that he might cut off the occaſion of foreign Wars, and extirpate the Seeds of old Hatred, came to *Newcaſtle* upon *Tine*; from thence he ſent Ambaſſadors to Scotland, either to make a perpetual League, or, at leaſt, a long Truce with them; for he, being a Man of great Prudence, and having experienc'd many Viciſſitudes of things in his Life, judged it highly conducing to the Eſtabliſhment of his Kingdom, to make Peace with his Neighbours, and eſpecially with the *Scots*; becauſe commonly, thoſe two Kingdoms lay upon the Catch for Advantages againſt each other, and protected rebellious Fugitives; and entertained thoſe who were exiled; and maintain'd Sedition, by giving the Authors of it hope of Refuge and Supply. And, as for *James*, he deſir'd nothing more, than to be free from the fear of Foreigners, that ſo he might puniſh his own diſobedient

Subjects

Subjects as he pleased. And therefore, he kindly receiv'd the Ambassadors, and told them, that he desir'd nothing more than a Peace; but his Opinion was, that his Subjects would not yield to it, that either there should be a perpetual Peace, or any long Truce betwixt them; partly because 'twas forbid by an ancient Law; lest, when all fear of an Enemy was remov'd, their Minds might languish in Idleness, and the Sinews of their Industry be remitted; and partly, because they could not so suddenly lay down that fierceness of Spirit, which they had acquir'd, by so long use of Arms: But, if they could be brought to this, to yield to a Truce for 6 or 7 Years, he would not have them refuse it: But as for himself, he was willing to maintain a firm and inviolate Peace with them, as long as he liv'd; and he would also take care, that the Truce should be renewed, before the Date of it was quite expired; but he earnestly desired the Ambassadors, not to divulge abroad the Discourse, which they had in Secret with him, lest his Nobility should be more backward from coming into a Peace, if they saw him partial in the Case. When this was told *Henry*, who knew in what a tumultuous plunge the Affairs of *Scotland* were, and how convenient it was for the King to have a Peace; imagining likewise that he spoke really, and from his Heart, he accepted of the Truce for seven Years, and so retir'd back to *York*. In the mean time, the Queen of *Scots* died, a Woman of a singular Beauty and Probity too; and, by her good Graces, she was thought, sometimes, to have moderated the unbridled Appetites and Efforts of her Husband. *Alexander* also, the King's Brother, died in *France*, leaving two Sons behind him, *Alexander*, by his first Wife, the Daughter of the Earl of the *Orcades*, and *John* by his second, who was afterwards the Regent King of *Scotland* for some Years.

James, having thus settled Peace abroad, and at home being freed from two troublesome Interrupters of his Designs, return'd to his own disorderly Nature: He excluded almost all the Nobility, and had none but Upstarts about him: Upon them he bestow'd great Honours and Preferments; the Care of all publick Affairs, and the Ways and Means of raising Money, were wholly and solely left to them, whilst he himself lay as it were drown'd in Voluptuousness. The chief of this Court Faction was *John Ramsy*, who was preferr'd at *Lauder*, by the King's Request, and then escap'd Punishment. He was grown so insolently proud, that, not content with the *Stewardship* of the *Household*, (a place of prime Honour amongst the *Scots*) which the King had given him, and many rich Lordships besides; he obtained an Edict, that *none but he, and his Retinue*

should

ſhould wear a Sword, or other Weapon, in thoſe Places where the King lodg'd; that ſo, by this means, they might ſtrengthen themſelves, and their Retinue, againſt the Nobility, who kept their diſtinct and frequent Meetings, by themſelves; and walk'd up and down guarded, by reaſon of the Terror of their Arms. But that Edict made People hate *Ramſy* more than fear him: For now they had nothing but the Image of perfect Slavery before their Eyes. In the mean time, the King meditated nothing more, than how to ſatisfy himſelf with the Blood of thoſe Men, who were believ'd to be the Authors of Rebellion againſt them. And, ſeeing he could not do it by open Force, he thought to effect it by Subtilty; and therefore he feign'd himſelf to be reconcil'd to this, and to the other Man; and entertain'd them ſo courteouſly, that 'twas even below the Dignity of a Prince ſo to do. To others, who were eminent in Power, he gave Honours and Largeſſes. He made *David Lindſy* Earl of *Craford*, Duke of *Montroſs*; endeavouring to win him by that means, being ſo powerful a Man in his Country. As for *George*, Earl of *Angus*, he had him frequently about him; and, as if he had been wholly receiv'd into his Favour, he acquainted him with his private Deſigns; yet none of his Rewards and Flatteries could perſuade Men that he was ſincere. For they, that knew his Diſpoſition, did not at all doubt, that his ſimulation of Benevolence and Reſpect, tended to no other End, but that he might either apprehend the Nobility one by one, a-part, or elſe, might ſet them together by the Ears, one with another; which his aſſembling the chief of the Nobility at *Edinburgh*, made more plainly appear: For he called *Douglas* to him into the Caſtle, and told him, that he had now an eminent Opportunity to revenge himſelf; for, if the Leaders of the Faction were apprehended, and put to Death, the reſt would be quiet; but, if he omitted this Opportunity, which was ſo fairly put into his Hands, he could never expect the like again.

Douglas, who knew, that the King's Mind was no more reconcil'd to himſelf than to others, did craftily reaſon with him, concerning ſo cruel and ſo ruinous a Deſign; alledging, that Men would judge it to be a baſe and flagitious Act, if he ſhould hurry ſo many Noble Perſons to Death, without any Hearing or Tryal, to whom he had pardon'd their former Miſdemeanours; and now they alſo reſted ſecure, in that they had the publick Faith given them for their Safety. For the fierce Minds of his Enemies would not be broken by the Death of a few; but rather, if his Faith ſhould be once violated, all Hope of Concord would be cut off; and, if once Men deſpair'd of Pardon, their Anger would be turn'd into Rage; and from thence a greater Obſtinacy, and Contempt both of the King's Authority,

thority, and of their Lives too, would infallibly enſue. But if you will hearken to my Counſel, (ſaid he) I will ſhew you a Way, whereby you may ſave the Dignity of a King, and yet revenge your ſelf, too. For I will gather my Friends and *Clans* together, and ſo openly, and in the day-time, I will lay hold upon them, and you may try them where you will, and inflict what Puniſhment you pleaſe, upon them. This Way will be more creditable, and alſo much more ſafe, than if you ſhould ſet upon them ſecretly and by Night; for then 'twould look, as if they were murder'd by Thieves. The King thought the Earl had been real in what he ſpake; (for he knew, that he was able to perform what he had promiſed) and therefore he gave him many Thanks, and more promiſes of great Rewards, and ſo diſmiſs'd him. He preſently acquainted the Nobility with their imminent Danger, and adviſ'd them to withdraw themſelves, as he himſelf alſo did. The King perceiving that his ſecret Projects were diſcover'd, from that Day forward would truſt no Body: But, after he had ſtaid a while in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, he ſailed over into the Countries beyond the *Forth*; for they, as yet, remain'd firm in their Obedience to him, and there levied a conſiderable Force. And the Nobles, who, before, had ſought his Amendment, not his Deſtruction, now, ſeeing all Hopes of any agreement were cut off, manag'd all their Councils for his utter Overthrow and Ruin; Only there was one thing which troubled them, and that was, who ſhould be their General, that after the King was ſubdu'd, might be Regent, or *Vice-King*, who might be acceptable to the People; and, on the account of the Honour of his Family, would load the Faction with as little Envy as might be. After many Conſultations in the Caſe, at laſt they pitch'd upon the King's Son. He was enticed to it by the Superviſors and Tutors of his Childhood; and he did it out of this Fear, that, if he refus'd, the Government and Command would be made over to the *Engliſh*, the perpetual Enemies of their Family.

The King, by this time, had paſt over the *Forth*, and pitch'd his Tents by the Caſtle of *Blakenes*; and his Son's Army was not far off, ready for the Encounter; when, lo! the Matter was compos'd by the intervention of the Earl of *Athole*, the King's Uncle; and *Athole* himſelf was given up as an Hoſtage for the Peace, to *Adam Hepburn*, Earl of *Bothwel*; with whom he remain'd till the King's Death: But Suſpicions increaſing on both ſides, the Concord laſted not long; however intercourſe of Meſſengers paſſed between them;

them; and, at laſt, the Nobility gave this Anſwer; 'That, 'ſince the King acted nothing ſincerely; therefore a certain 'War was better than a treacherous Peace: There was but 'one *Medium* left, upon which they could agree; and that 'was, that the King ſhould reſign the Government, and his 'Son be ſet up in his Place; and, if he would not conſent to 'this, 'twas in vain for him to give himſelf the trouble of any 'more Meſſages or Diſputes." The King communicated this Anſwer to his Ambaſſadors, which he ſent to the *French*, and to the *Engliſh*, making it his Requeſt to them, that they would aſſiſt him againſt the Fury of a few of his rebellious Subjects, by their Authority; and, if need were, by ſome Auxiliary Forces, that ſo they might be reduc'd to their Obedience; for they ought to look upon it as a common Fortune; and that the Contagion, by this Example, would quickly creep to the Neighbour-Nations. There were alſo Ambaſſadors ſent to *Eugenius* the Eighth, Pope of *Rome*, to deſire him, that out of his Fatherly Affection to the *Scotiſh* Name, he would ſend a Legat into *Scotland*, with full Power, by Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures, to compel his rebellious Subjects to lay down Arms, and obey their King. The Pope writ to *Adrian* of *Caſtell*, then his Legat in *England*, a Man of great Learning and Prudence, to do his endeavour for compoſing the *Scotiſh* Affairs: But theſe Remedies came too late: For the Nobles, who were not ignorant what the King was a doing, and knew, that he was implacable toward them, reſolv'd to put it to a Battle, before any more Forces came in to him. And, tho' they had the King's Son with them, both to countenance their Matters with the greater Grace amongſt the Vulgar; and alſo to ſhew, that they were no Enemies to their Country, but only to their miſled King: Yet, leſt the Hearts of the People might be weakned by the approach of Foreign Ambaſſadors, they were ſolicitous Night and Day, how to decide it by a Battle. But the King's Fearfulneſs was an hindrance to their haſty Deſign; who, having levied a great Strength in the Northern Parts of the Kingdom, reſolv'd to keep himſelf within the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, till thoſe Aids came to him. However, he was taken off from that Counſel and Advice, tho' it ſeem'd the ſafeſt for him, by the Fraud, or, at leaſt, the Simplicity of ſome about him; for in regard of the frequent *Waſhes* and *Firths*, which gave delay to thoſe who were coming in to him, they perſuaded him to go to *Sterlin*, the only Place of the Kingdom fit to receive Aids, coming from all Parts thereof. And there he might be as ſafe, as he was in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, ſeeing his Enemies were unprovided of all Materials, requiſite for the form-

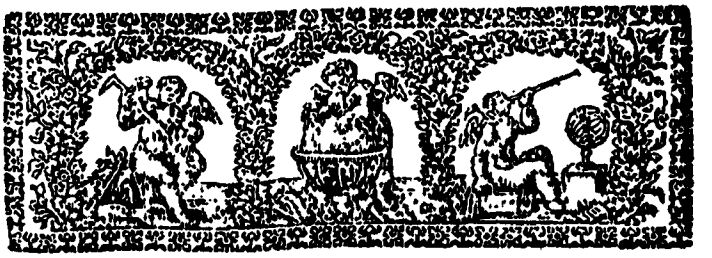
ſtorming of Caſtles, and alſo he might have his Fleet, which he had out againſt all Hazards, to ride in ſome convenient Harbour near adjoining. This Counſel ſeem'd both faithful, and alſo ſafe; if *James Shaw*, Governor of the Caſtle, being corrupted by the contrary Faction, had not refus'd to give him Entrance; ſo that the Enemy was almoſt at his Heels; and before he knew where to betake himſelf, he was forced, with that Strength which he had, to run the hazard of a Fight. At the beginning, they fought ſtoutly; and the firſt Ranks of the Nobility's Army began to give Ground; but the Men of *Annandale* and the neighbouring Parts, inhabiting the Weſt of *Scotland*, came boldly up, and, having longer Spears than the adverſe Party, they preſently routed the King's main Forces: He himſelf was weakned by the fall of his Horſe, and fled to ſome Water-Mills near the Place where the Battle was fought. His Intent was (as is ſuppos'd) to get to his Ships, which lay not far off; here he was taken, and a few more with him, and ſlain. There were three that purſued him very cloſe in his Flight, *i. e. Patrick Grey*, the Head of his Family, *Sterlin Car*, and a Prieſt named *Borthwick*. 'Tis not well known, which of them gave him his Death's-Wound. When the News of his Death, though as yet not fully certain, was divulged through both Armies, it occaſion'd the Conquerors to preſs leſs violently upon thoſe who fled away; ſo that there were the fewer of them ſlain: For the Nobles manag'd the War againſt the King, not againſt their Fellow Subjects. There was ſlain of the King's Party *Alexander Cuningham*, Earl of *Glencarn*, with ſome few of his Vaſſals and Kindred: But there were many wounded on both ſides.

THUS *James* the Third came to his End, a Man, not ſo much of a bad Diſpoſition by Nature, as corrupted by ill Habits, into which he was brought by vicious Acquaintance. For, having at firſt given forth a *Specimen* of great and notable Ingenuity, and of a Mind truly Royal, he degenerated by degrees, the *Boyds* being the firſt occaſion of it, into all manner of Licentiouſneſs. When the *Boyds* were taken off, then Perſons of the loweſt ſort were his Adviſers to all kind of Wickedneſs; and beſides, the corruption of the Times, and the ill Examples of his Neighbour Kings, contributed not a little to his Overthrow and Ruin: For *Edward* the Fourth in *England*, *Charles* in *Burgundy*, *Lewis* the Eleventh in *France*, *John* the Second in *Portugal*, had all of them likewiſe laid the Foundations of Tyranny, in their reſpective Kingdoms. And *Richard* the Third exerciſed it to the higheſt degree of Cruelty in *England*. His Death was alſo branded with this Ignominy,

miny, that, in the then next Aſſembly, the whole Parliament voted, that he was juſtly ſlain; and Proviſion was made for all that had born Arms againſt him, that neither they, nor their Poſterity, ſhould be prejudic'd by it. He died in the Year of our *Lord*, 1488. and in the Twenty-eighth Year of his Reign, and the Thirty-fifth of his Age.

THE

James the 4th
King of Scotland.



THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

Book XIII.

JAMES the Third being thus ſlain, near *Sterlin*, in or about the Month of *June*; they, who were his Oppoſers, being, as yet, uncertain what was become of him, retreated to *Linlithgo*. There word was brought them, that ſome Boats had paſſed to and fro, from the Ships to the Land; and that they had carried off the wounded Men. Upon this a Suſpicion aroſe amongſt them, that the King himſelf alſo was gone a Shipboard; which occaſioned them to remove their Camp to *Leith*: From thence, the Prince (for that's the Title of the King of *Scot*'s eldeſt Son) ſent ſome Agents, to require the Admiral of the Fleet to come a-ſhoar to him. His Name was *Andrew Wood*; he was a Knight; and

and, being mindful of the King's Kindneſs towards him, remained conſtant in his Affection to him, even after he was dead; but he refuſed to come a-ſhoar, unleſs Hoſtages were given for his ſafe return. *Seaton* and *Flemming*, two Noblemen, were appointed as Hoſtages. When he landed, the King's Council asked him, if the knew where the King was? and who were they that he carried off to his Ships after the Fight? As for the King, he told them, he knew nothing of him, but that he and his Brothers had landed out of their Boats, that ſo they might aſſiſt the King, and all his good Subjects; but, having endeavoured, in vain, to preſerve him, they then returned to the Fleet. He added, if the King were alive, they reſolved to obey none but him; but, if he were ſlain, they were ready to revenge his Death. He uttered alſo many Reproachful Speeches againſt the Rebels; yet nevertheleſs they ſent him away in ſafety to his Ships, that ſo their Hoſtages might not ſuffer. When the Hoſtages were returned, the Inhabitants of *Leith* were called up to the Council, and preſſed by promiſes of great Reward, to rig out their Ships, and ſubdue *Andrew Wood*. They all in general made Anſwer, That he had two Ships ſo fitted with all things for a Fight, and ſo well furniſhed with able and valiant Seamen; and withal, that he himſelf was ſo skilful in Naval Affairs, that no ten Ships in *Scotland* were able to cope with his two: So that that Conſultation was put off, and they went to *Edinburgh*. There they were fully informed of the King's Death, and appointed a magnificent Funeral to be made for him, at *Kambus-Kenneth*, a Monaſtry near *Sterlin*, on the 25th Day of the Month of *June*.

JAMES *the Fourth*.

IN the interim, an Aſſembly was ſummoned, about creating a new King. There were few who came together to perform this Service, and thoſe were moſtly of the Party, that had conſpired againſt the former King. The new King, juſt after his Acceſſion, ſent an Herald to the Governor of *Edinburgh* Caſtle, for him to ſurrender it; which he accordingly did; and then he marched to *Sterlin*; and that Caſtle was alſo deliver'd up to him by the Garriſon. When it was noiſed all over *England* how great the Troubles in *Scotland were*, five Ships were choſen out of that King's Fleet, who entred into the *Firth* of *Forth*, and there plunder'd the Merchantmen, and them of their Goods, and made many Deſcents on both Shores, extremely infeſting the Maritime Parts; for they expected greater Diſturbances on Land, by the *Scots* going into Parties

one

one againſt another. For, ſeeing the adverſe Party were rather ſhattered than broken in the late Fight, in regard they were not all there, and of thoſe that were, there were but few ſlain, they thought a fiercer Tempeſt would have ariſen from Minds, which yet continued to be inflam'd with Hatred and Envy, and which were elevated by Confidence in their own Strength. And it encreaſed the Indignation, that now the Power over ſo many noble and eminent Perſons was ſo eaſily fallen, not into the King's, but a few particular Mens Hands: For, tho' the King might retain the Name and Title of a King, yet, being but a Youth of 15 Years old, he did not govern, but was himſelf governed by thoſe that killed his Father: For the whole Management of Matters would center in the Hands of *Douglas*, *Hepburne*, and *Hume*: And their Confidence was the more encreaſed, becauſe all the Shores were infeſted with the two Fleets, the *Scotiſh* and the *Engliſh*. To obviate this Difficulty, firſt of all, the new King endeavoured to reconcile the Naval Forces to himſelf, leſt, when he was abſent in the farther Parts of the Kingdom, to ſettle Matters there, they ſhould raiſe new Commotions, or pave a Way for the *Engliſh* to penetrate far into the Dominions, and ſo ſpoil the Mid-land Countries. When the old King's Death came to be publickly divulged abroad, the new one thought, that *Andrew Wood* would grow more flexible, and therefore he ſent for him, giving him the publick Faith for his Security. When he was a-ſhoar, he told him, what a great Diſhonour, Loſs, and publick Shame, it was to the whole Nation, that a few *Engliſh* Ships ſhould, in ſpite of them, ride under their very Noſes; and by that means he drew over *Andrew* to his Party, and ſet him forth, in good Equipage againſt the *Engliſh*. Many adviſed him, that he would equip an equal number of Ships, at leaſt, againſt the Enemy, whoſe Veſſels were more, and bigger than his. No, ſays he, *I'll have only my own two*. And, as ſoon as the Wind ſerved, he made directly toward the *Engliſh*, who rode before *Dunbar*; He fought them bravely, took, and brought them all into *Leith*, and preſented their Commanders to the King. *Andrew* was liberally rewarded by the King; and his Skill in Engagements at Sea, with the ſingular Valour of his Soldiers and Seamen, was highly magnified. And yet there were not wanting ſome of thoſe ſort of Creatures, who always admire the Atchievements of Kings, whatſoever they be; and, if they be great, yet they view them in a multiplying Glaſs; who foretold, that this Victory did but precede a greater. Mean while the adverſe part of the Nobility ſent Meſſages into all Parts of the Kingdom, to perſuade the Country to riſe, and not to endure the preſent State of things, nor to ſuffer ſo many valiant Men to be illuded by ſuch

lick Parricides, who had murdered one, and made a Captive of another; nay, who accuſed the Defenders of the King's Life, as Traytors; whereas they, who were indeed Violators of all divine and human Laws, gave out themſelves to be the only Aſſerters of the Rights of their Country, and the ſole Maintainers of its Liberty: amongſt whom, the King himſelf was not a Free-man, in regard he was forced by them to take Arms againſt his Father, and the King too; and, after the Monarch fell a Sacrifice to Impiety, he was compelled to proſecute, by a nefarious War, thoſe who were the Friends of his Father, and the Defenders of his Life. Many ſuch Diſcourſes they ſpread abroad amongſt the Vulgar. And, to excite a greater Flame of Indignation and Hate, *Alexander Forbes* chief of a Noble Family, carried the King's Shirt upon a Spear, (all over bloody and torn, with the Marks of the Wounds he received) through *Aberdeen*, and all the chief Towns of the adjacent Country; and, as if it had been a publick Proclamation, he excited all Men, by the Voice of an Herald, to riſe in Arms to revenge ſo black a Deed. And *Matthew Stewart*, Earl of *Lenox*, a Man of great Wealth and Power, and who, by an honeſt kind of Popularity, was equally dear to high and low; was as active in the Countries on this ſide the *Forth*; for he raiſed up the Earls that were his Neighbours, and with a good Force endeavoured to paſs over the Bridge at *Sterlin*, to join his Aſſociates; but, that Bridge being poſſeſt by the King's Forces, he tryed to paſs a Ford, not far from the riſe of the River, at the Foot of Mount *Grampias*. His Deſign was diſcovered to *John Drummond*, by *Alexander Mac alpin*, his Vaſſal, who had joined himſelf to the Enemy; by whom alſo Information was given, that things were ſecure and ill-guarded in the Enemies Camp; that every one ſtragled up and down, as they pleaſed; that they had no Watch ſet in convenient Places, nor uſed any Military Diſcipline at all. Upon theſe Advices, *Drummond*, with ſome Voluntiers, who came in to aſſiſt him *, ſet upon them as they were a-ſleep. Many were killed in their ſleep, the reſt run headlong away, without their Arms, and ſo returned from whence they came: Many were taken Priſoners, but a great part of them diſmiſſed, by their Friends that knew them: Thoſe only were ſeverely dealt with, who had either written or ſpoke more contumelioufly than others.

The Joy for this Victory was increaſed by the News of another, at the ſame time, which *Andrew Wood* had got over *Stephen Bull*, in an Engagement at Sea. For *Henry*, King of *England*, hearing, that five of his Ships were taken by two of

* But are Overthrown

the

the *Scots*, and thoſe much leſs than his, was willing to blot out the Infamy of the Thing, and yet could find out no juſt Pretence for a War; yet he called his ableſt Sea-Commanders together; he offered them what Ships and War-like Proviſions they pleaſed; and ſo he perſuaded them to avoid the Ignominy caſt on the *Engliſh* Name; promiſing them great Rewards, if they could bring *Wood* to him, alive or dead. But when thoſe, that knew the Valour of the Man, and his proſperous Succeſſes, made ſome delay in the Caſe, *Stephen Bull*, a Knight of known Courage, undertook the Expedition: And Opportunity ſeem'd to favour his Deſign, becauſe he knew that *Wood* was ſhortly to return out of *Flanders*; and he thought it would be a matter of no great difficulty to attack him at unawares in the Paſſage: For this End, he pitch'd upon three Ships out of the Royal Navy, and equipped them well in all points, and ſo ſtood for the Iſle of *May*, an Iſland uninhabited, in the Bay of *Forth*; chooſing that Place for the Conveniency of it, becauſe in every ſide of the Iſland there is ſafe riding, and Harbour for Ships; and there the Sea alſo grows ſo narrow, that no little Veſſel could paſs by, without being diſcovered. Whilſt he rode there, he continually kept ſome of his skilfulleſt Mariners abroad in Fiſher-boats, to watch, and to diſcover to him, his Enemy's Ships. He had not rode at Anchor there many Days, when *Wood's* Ships appeared with full ſail making towards him. *Bull* knew them, and preſently weighed Anchor; and, as Victor already in his Mind, he prepared himſelf for the Fight: *Wood* ſtay'd no longer but till his Men had armed themſelves, and ſo made up to him. Thus did theſe two valiant Commanders engage, as if they had had the Courage of mighty Armies, and they fought obſtinately, till Night parted the Fray, the Victory inclining to neither ſide. The next Morning each of them encouraged their Party, and renewed the Attack with redoubled Fury. They threw grapling Irons into one another's Ships, and ſo fought Hand to Hand, as if they had been at a Land Fight, and that with ſo much eagerneſs, that neither of them took notice of the falling back of the Tide, till they came to the Heaps of Sand at the mouth of the River *Tay*. There, the Water being ſhallower, the great Ships of the *Engliſh* could not be ſo eaſily managed, but were forced to ſurrender; and ſo they were tow'd up the Stream of the *Tay* to *Dundee*, where they ſtay'd till the dead were buried, and the wounded were placed under the Hands of Surgeons for their Cure. This Battel was fought the 10th Day of *Auguſt*, in the Year of our Redemption, 1490

A few Days after, *Wood* went to the King, and carried with him *Stephen Bull*, with the other Commanders of the Ships, and

the moſt noted of his Soldiers, whom he preſented to him. *Wood* was highly commended by the King for this Exploit, and was honourably rewarded. The King freely diſmiſſed the Priſoners and their Ships, and ſent them back to their King, with an high Commendation of their Valour: For, in regard they fought for Honour, not for Booty, he therefore would ſhew, that Valour ought to be honoured, even in an Enemy.

KING *Henry*, tho' he was highly concerned *for the loſs of his Men* in this unhappy Fight, yet gave the King of *Scots* Thanks, and told him, that he gratefully accepted his Kindneſs, and could not but applaud the Greatneſs of his Mind.

ABOUT this time a new kind of Monſter was born in *Scotland*; in the lower part of its Body it reſembled a Male Child, not much differing from the ordinary Shape of a humane Body newly born; but, above the Navel, the Trunk of the Body, and all the other Members, were double, repreſenting both Sexes Male and Female. The King gave ſpecial order for its careful Education; eſpecially in Muſick, in which it arrived to an admirable degree of Skill: And, moreover, it learned ſeveral Tongues; and ſometimes the two Bodies did diſcover ſeveral Appetites, diſagreeing one with another; and ſo they would quarrel, one liking *this*, and the other *that*: And, yet ſometimes again, they would agree and conſult (as it were) in common, for the good of both. This was alſo memorable in it, that, when the Legs or Loins were hurt *below*, both Bodies were ſenſible of this Pain in common; but, when it was pricked or otherwiſe hurt *above*, the Senſe of the Pain did affect one Body only; which Difference was alſo more perſpicuous in its Death; for one of the Bodies died many Days before the other; and that which ſurvived, being half putrified, pined away by degrees. This Monſter lived twenty-eight Years, and then died, when *John* was Regent of *Scotland*. I am the more confident in relating this Story, becauſe there are many honeſt and credible Perſons yet alive, who ſaw this Prodigy with their Eyes.

WHEN the People of the North of *Scotland* heard of this Naval Victory, they gave over all thoughts of War, and return'd each to his own Home. This Tumult and Broil being ſo eaſily quieted, the King applied his Mind, not only to quell all Seditions for the *preſent*, but alſo to prevent all Occaſions of them for the *future*. He ſummoned his firſt Parliament to be held at *Edinburgh*, the 6th day of *November*: There many wholſom Laws were made for the eſtabliſhing of publick Concord; and, to the End that Peoples Minds might the better agree in general, the Fault was caſt but upon a few particular Perſons; and the Puniſhments were either very eaſy, or elſe wholly remitted.

When

When a Diſpute aroſe concerning the Lawfulneſs of the War, *John Lyon*, Lord *Glames*, roſe up, and ſhewed ſeveral Heads of Articles, which the *Nobles* had formerly ſent to the King, in order to a Pacification, to which *James* the Third had often both aſſented and ſubſcribed; and that indeed he had ſtruck up a Peace with his Nobles upon thoſe Terms, unleſs ſome evil Counſellors had drawn him away from it, and ſo perſwaded him to call in the old Enemy to fight againſt his own Subjects. And, by reaſon of this his Inconſtancy, the Earls of *Huntly*, *Arrol*, Earl of *Marſhal*, and *Lyon* himſelf, with many other Noble Perſons, had forſaken him at that time, and had ſet up *James* the 4th his Son, as being a Lover of the publick Peace and Welfare. After a long Diſpute, at laſt, they all conſented to a Decree, wherein thoſe that were ſlain in the Battle of *Sterlin*, were affirmed, to have been cut off by their own Default, and that their Slaughter was juſt; and that they, who had taken up Arms againſt the Enemies of the Publick, tho' covering their hidden Fraud under honeſt Pretences, were guilty of no Crime, nor conſequently liable to any Puniſhment. All, who had Votes in the Aſſembly, ſubſcribed to this Decree, that ſo they might give a better Account of the Fact to foreign Ambaſſadors, of whoſe coming they had had an Information. Many other Statutes were then alſo made, to reſtore to the Poor what had been taken violently from them; to inflict ſmall Fines on the Rich; and to indempnify both Parties: That their taking up of Arms at that time, might never turn to the prejudice of them or their Poſterity. This moderation of Spirit was highly commended in a young King, of but fifteen Years old, and who was alſo a Conqueror, and had the Command of all: But it was further heightened by his Benignity and Faithfulneſs in performing his Promiſes. To this we may add a thing (which commonly takes moſt with the Vulgar) that he was of a graceful well-ſet Body, and alſo of a lively and quick Apprehenſion. So that by his uſing this Victory, neither with Avarice nor Cruelty, and by his real pardoning of Offenders, in a ſhort time there grew up a great Concord amongſt both Factions, both of them equally ſtriving to ſhew their Love and Duty to the King; a few only, who were moſt obſtinate, were puniſhed with a ſmall Fine, or with the Loſs of part of their Eſtates, but none at all were deprived of their whole Patrimony; neither were the Fines brought into the King's Exchequer, but applied to defray the Charges of the War. This his Royal Clemency was the more grateful, becauſe Men did yet retain freſh in their Memories, upon what ſlight occaſions in the former King's Reign, many eminent Men were outed of All; and how much inferior to them thoſe were, who came in their Places. Moreover, to engage the chief Leaders of the contrary Faction to a

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greater Fidelity, he joined them in Bonds of Affinity to himſelf; for, whereas his Aunt had two Daughters, by two ſeveral Husbands, he married *Gracina Boyd* to *Alexander Forbes*, and *Magaret Hamilton* to *Matthew Stuart*. Thus in a ſhort time the Minds of all were reconciled, and a happy Peace and Tranquillity did enſue: Nay, as if Fortune had ſubmitted herſelf to be an Hand-maid to the King's Virtues, there was ſo great an Increaſe of Grain and Fruits of the Earth, as if a *golden* Spring had ſuddenly ſtarted up, out of a more than *Iron Age*. Thus, after the King had ſuppreſſed Robberies by Arms, and other Vices by the Severity of the Laws, leſt he might ſeem a ſharp Avenger of others, but indulgent to himſelf, and withal, to make it appear, that his Father was ſlain againſt his Will, he wore an Iron Chain about his Waſte as long as he lived, and every Year he added one Link more to it: And, tho' this Practice might give an Umbrage to thoſe that were the Inſtruments of his Father's Death; yet they had ſuch Confidence, either in the Gentleneſs of the King's Diſpoſition, or, in their own Power, that it occaſioned no Inſurrection at all.

AMIDST this publick Jubilee, and alſo the private Rejoycings of particular Perſons, about the ſeventh Year of the King's Reign, *Peter Warbeck* came into *Scotland*. But, before I declare the Cauſe of his coming, I muſt fetch things farther back.

Margaret, the Siſter of *Edward* the Fourth, King of *England*, having married *Charles*, Duke of *Burgundy*, endeavoured all the ways ſhe could, if not to overthrow, yet at leaſt to vex *Henry* the Seventh, the Leader of the contrary Faction: In order to this, ſhe raiſed up *Perkin Warbeck*, as a Competitor for the Kingdom. He was a youth born of mean Parentage at *Tornay*, a City of the *Nervii*; but of ſuch Beauty, Ingenuity, ſtature of Body, and manlineſs of Countenance, that he might eaſily be believed to have been deſcended of a Royal Stock. And, by reaſon of his Poverty, he had travelled up and down in ſeveral Countries, (ſo that he was known but by few of his own Relations); and there he had learned ſeveral Languages, and had hardened himſelf to all kind of bold and arrogant Behaviour. When *Margarite* (who was intent on all occaſions, to diſturb the Peace of *England*) had got this Youth, ſhe kept him a while privately by her, till ſhe had informed him with what Factions *England* laboured at that time; what Friends, and what Eneſhe had there: In a word, ſhe made him acquainted with the whole Genealogy of the Royal Progeny, and what Happineſs or Misfortunes had attended each of them. When things ſeemed thus to be ſomewhat ripe, ſhe was reſolved to try Fortune, and gave private orders that he ſhould be ſent, with a decent Equipage, *firſt* into *Portugal*, *then* into *Ireland*: There he had

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a great concourſe of People flock'd about him, and was received with huge Applauſe, as the Son of K. *Edward* of *England*; either becauſe his own Diſpoſition, aſſiſted alſo by Art, was inclined to Diſſimulation; or, becauſe being there amongſt wild *Kerns*, he was ſoon likely to raiſe great Commotions. When a War ſuddenly broke out betwixt the *French* and the *Engliſh*, he was called for out of *Ireland* by *Charles* the Eighth, and had great Promiſes made him; ſo that, coming to *Paris*, he was there honourably received in the Garb and Equipage of a Prince, and had a Guard appointed him: Nay, the *Engliſh* Exiles and Fugitives, who were numerous at that Court, put him in ſure hope of the Kingdom. But, that Quarrel between the Crowns being made up upon Terms, he departed privately out of the Court of *France*, for fear he ſhould have been delivered up; and ſo retired to *Flanders*, where he was highly careſſed by *Margaret*, as if it was the firſt time that ever ſhe had ſeen him; and was diligently ſhewed to all the Courtiers; and ſeveral times, when there were enow to make a large Audience, he was deſired to relate the Story of all his Adventures. *Margarite*, as if this was the very firſt time ſhe had ever heard it, ſo accommodated her well-diſſembled Affections, in compliance with each part of his Diſcourſe, both when he related his Succeſſes, and alſo his Misfortunes, that every Body thought, ſhe believed, what he had ſpoken, to be certainly true.

AFTER a Day or two, *Perkin* was peſtred to go abroad in the Habit of a Prince, and had thirty Men to be his Guard, wearing a *white Roſe* (which is the Badge of the *York Faction* amongſt the *Engliſh*) and ſo was every where declared as the undoubted Heir of the Crown of *England*. When theſe things were divulged, firſt in *Flanders*, afterwards in *England*, the Minds of Men were ſo ſtirred up, that a great Concourſe of People flock'd in to him; not only of thoſe who lurked in Holes and Sanctuaries for fear of the Laws, but even of ſome Noble-men, whom their preſent State did not pleaſe, or who deſired Innovations: But, when a longer Delay, which *Perkin* hoped would bring in more Forces to him, was likely to abate his preſent State, if he was diſcovered to be Counterfeit, he determined to try his Fortune in a Fight: ſo that, having gotten a pretty great Party together, he landed ſome few of them in *Kent*, to try the Affections of the *Kentiſh*-men, but in vain. All thoſe, who landed, were taken; ſo that he was forced to ſteer his courſe for *Ireland*; and there alſo, he met not with the entertainment he hoped for; ſo that he ſailed over into *Scotland*, well-knowing that Peace between *Scotland* and *England* never uſed to continue very long. He, being admitted into the King's Preſence, made a lamentable Complaint of the ruin of the *York* Family,

and what miſerable Calamities he himſelf had ſuffered; and therefore he earneſtly beſought him, to vindicate Royal Blood from ſuch Contumely and Shame. The King bid him be of good Heart, and promiſed he ſhould ſhortly find, that he had not deſired help, in his Diſtreſſes, in vain. A few Days after a Council was called, where *Perkin* made a ſad Story of his Misfortunes, That he being born of a King, the moſt flouriſhing of his Time, and that of the higheſt Hopes too, was left deſtitute, by the untimely Death of his Father, and ſo was like to have fallen into the tyrannical Hands of his Uncle *Richard*, before he was ſenſible, almoſt, what Miſery was. That his elder Brother was cruelly murdered by him; but that he himſelf was ſtolen away by his Father's Friends; ſo that now he durſt not live, no not a poor and precarious Life, even in that Kingdom, of which he was the lawful Heir: That he had lived ſo miſerably amongſt foreign Nations, that he preferred the Condition of his deceaſed Brother before his own, in regard he was ſnatch'd away from all other Calamity, by a ſudden and violent Death: That he himſelf was reſerved as the Ridicule of Fortune; and that his Sorrow had not that Alleviation, that he durſt bewail his miſerable State amongſt Strangers, to incline them to pity him; for, after he had begun openly to profeſs what he was, Fortune had aſſaulted him with all her Darts; and, to his former Miſeries had added a daily fear of Treachery; for his crafty Enemy had ſometimes tampered with thoſe who entertained him, to take away his Life; and ſometimes he had privily ſuborned his Subjects, under the name of Friends, to diſcover his ſecret Deſigns, corrupt his *true* Friends, and to find out his *ſecret* ones, and to calumniate his Stock and Pedigree, by falſe Accuſations amongſt the Vulgar; to reproach his Aunt *Margaret*, and thoſe Engliſh Nobles that owned him; and yet not withſtanding, that ſhe, being ſupported by a good Conſcience againſt the Revilings of Enemies, and alſo out of compaſſion to her own Blood, had ſupported him in low Eſtate with her Aſſiſtance. But at laſt, when he perceived that he could not have Aid enough from her to recover his Kingdom, (being a Widow, and old too) he had ſollicited neighbouring Kings and Nations, deſiring them to reſpect the common Chances of Man's Life, and not to ſuffer Royal Blood to be oppreſſed by tyrannical Violence, and ſo himſelf to pine away with Grief, Fear and Miſery: And that he, tho' for the preſent afflicted with great Evils, yet was not ſo dejected in his Mind, but that he hoped, the time would come, that being reſtored to his Kingdom by the Aid of his Friends, (of whom he had many both in *England* and *Scotland*) he ſhould be able to conſider every particular Man's Service, and reward

him

him accordingly; eſpecially if the *Scots* would join their Forces with his: and, if ever he was reſtored to his Kingdom by their Arms, they ſhould ſoon underſtand, that they had won a faſt Friend; and that, at ſuch a time too, when the Trial of true Friendſhip is wont to be made; for he, and his Poſterity, would be ſo gratefully mindful of the Obligation, that they would ever acknowledge, that the Acceſſion of his better Fortunes was due to them alone. Beſides, he added many things in Praiſe of the King, part of them true, and part accommodated to their preſent Condition.

HAVING thus ſaid, he held his Peace: But the King called him up to him, and bid him take heart, for he would refer his Demands to the Council, whoſe Advice, in grand Affairs, he muſt needs have; yet, whatever they determined, he promiſed him faithfully, that he ſhould not repent that he made his Court his Sanctuary. Upon this, *Perkin* quitted the Aſſembly, and the Matter being put to a Debate, the wiſer Sort, who had moſt Experience in State-Affairs, thought it beſt to reject the whole Buſineſs, either becauſe they judg'd he was a Counterfeit; or elſe, that they foreſaw there would be more Danger by War, than Advantage by the Victory, tho' they were ſure of it. But the major Part, either through Unskilfulneſs in Affairs, or Inconſtancy of Spirit, or elſe to gratify the King, argued, that *Perkin's* Cauſe was moſt juſt, and that they greatly pitied the Man: They added alſo, that now Matters were in ſome Confuſion in *England*, and Men's Minds were yet fluctuating, after the Civil War, and therefore it was good to lay hold of this Opportunity; and that, ſince the *Engliſh* were wont to do the like to them, they themſelves ought to try, for once, to make uſe of the Enemy's Diſtractions for their own Advantage; nay, they foretold a Victory, preconceived in their Minds, before they had put on their Armour; eſpecially, if great Forces of *Engliſh* came in to join them; nay, if they ſhould not come in in ſuch Numbers as they hoped, yet one of theſe two things muſt neceſſarily follow, that either they ſhould conquer *Henry*, and ſo ſettle this new King on the Throne, who, in recompence for ſo great a Benefit, muſt needs grant them all that they deſired: Or, if they could end the Matter without Blows, yet *Henry*, upon the quelling Domeſtick Tumults, not being yet fully ſettled in his Throne, would ſubmit to what Conditions they pleaſed: But, if he refuſed ſo to do, when War was once begun, many Advantages might offer themſelves, which now were unforeſeen.

THIS was the Opinion of the major Part; and the King himſelf inclined to them, and his Vote drew in the reſt. And, after this, he treated *Perkin* more honourably than before, gave

him

him the Title of Duke of *York*; and, as ſuch, ſhewed him to the People. And not contented with that, he gave him *Katharine Gordon*, Daughter to the Earl of *Huntly*, to Wife, a Woman of as great Beauty as Nobility of Stock; and by this Affinity put him in full hopes of Succeſs. He therefore, by Advice of his Council, levied an Army, and marched for *England*; firſt of all carrying it warily, and having his Troops ready to engage, if any ſudden Aſſault ſhould be made upon him. But afterwards, when he underſtood by his Spies, that the Enemy had no Army in the Field, he ſent out Parties to Plunder, and in a ſhort time pillaged almoſt all *Northumberland*, and the Countries thereabout. He ſtaid ſome days in thoſe Parts, and not an *Engliſh*-Man ſtirred, in behalf of *Perkin*: And, it being told him, that an Army was levying againſt him in the adjacent Counties, he thought it dangerous to venture his Soldiers, who were laden with Booty, againſt the new and freſh Forces of the *Engliſh*; and therefore he reſolved to return into *Scotland*, and there to leave their Booty; and, as ſoon as the time of the Year would permit, to undertake a new Expedition. Neither did he fear that the *Engliſh* would follow him in his Retreat, for he knew that new-raiſed Soldiers would not be long kept together, neither would they make after him, if they could, through a Country ſo lately haraſſed and made quite deſolate by the Wars; eſpecially, having no Proviſions prepared beforehand. And beſides, *Perkin* was afraid, becauſe none of the *Engliſh* came to him, as he hoped, that, if he ſtaid any longer in his Enemy's Country, his Cheat would be diſcovered; ſo that he himſelf ſeemed to approve of the King's Reſolution, came cunningly to him, and compoſing his Speech and Countenance ſo, as might beſt move Compaſſion, he humbly repreſented to him, That he would not make ſuch Havock in a Kingdom that was his own by Right; and that he would not ſo cruelly ſhed ſo much Blood of his Subjects, for no Kingdom in the World was of ſo much worth to him, as to have ſo many Peoples Blood ſpilt for the ſake of it, and his Country ſo waſted with Fire and Sword, to procure it. The King began now to ſmell out and underſtand, whither this unſeaſonable Clemency tended; and therefore told him, That he feared he would preſerve that Kingdom, in which not a Man did own him as a Subject, much leſs as a King, not for himſelf, but for his capital Enemy; and ſo by common Conſent they returned Home, nd the Army was dibanded.

HENRY, being made acquainted with the Invaſion, and alſo the Retreat of the *Scots*, appointed an Expedition againſt them the Year after, and in the mean time levied a great Army; and

that

that he might not be idle in the Winter-time, he ſummoned a Parliament, who approved of his Deſign to make War with *Scotland*, and granted a ſmall Subſidy upon the People for that end. That Tax raiſed up a greater Flame of War upon him at Home, than that which he deſigned to quench Abroad. For the Commonalty complained that their Youth and Soldiery were exhauſted by ſo many Wars, and Impreſsments, which had been made within theſe few Years, that their Eſtates were impaired, and ran very low: But the Nobles and Counſellors to the King, were ſo far from being moved with theſe Calamities, that they ſought to create new Wars in a time of Peace, that ſo they might impoſe new Taxes on them, who were already in great Want and Neceſſity, and thus, whom the Sword had not conſumed, Famine and Poverty would. Theſe were the publick Complaints of all the Commons: but the *Corniſh* were more enraged than all the reſt, for they, inhabiting a Country which is in great part barren, are wont rather to gain than loſe by Wars: And therefore, that warlike People, having been accuſtomed rather to encreaſe their Eſtates by military Spoils, than to leſſen them by paying Taxes and Rates, firſt of all roſe againſt the King's Officers and Collectors, and ſlew them; and then, being conſcious that they had engaged themſelves in ſo bold an Attempt, that there was no retreat, nor hopes of Mercy, the Multitude flocking in daily more and more to them with Arms in their hands, they began their march towards *London*. But 'tis not my Buſineſs to proſecute the Story of this Inſurrection, it is enough for my purpoſe to tell you, that the King was ſo buſied this whole Year by the *Corniſh*, that he was forced to employ the Army againſt them, which he had deſigned againſt *Scotland*.

IN the mean time, *James*, foreſeeing, That *Henry* would not let the Injuries of the former Year paſs unrevenged, and being alſo informed from ſecret Intelligence, that he was raiſing great Forces againſt him; He, on the other ſide, levied an Army, to the intent, That if the *Engliſh* invaded him firſt, he might be in a Poſture to defend himſelf; if not, then he himſelf would make an Inroad into his Enemy's Country, and there ſo waſte and deſtroy the bordering Counties, that the Soil (poor enough of it ſelf) ſhould not afford ſufficient Neceſſaries, even for the very Husbandman. And hearing of the *Corniſh* Inſurrection, he preſently began his march, and entered *England* with a great Army, dividing his Forces into two parts; one went towards *Durham* to ravage that Country; and with the reſt he beſieged *Norham*, a ſtrong Caſtle ſituated on a very high Hill, by the River *Tweed*. But neither here nor there was there any thing

conſiderable done: For *Richard Fox*, Biſhop of *Durham*, a very prudent Perſon, foreſeeing, that the *Scots* would not omit the Opportunity of attempting ſomewhat during the civil Broils in *England*, had fortified ſome Caſtles with ſtrong Garriſons, and had taken care that the Cattle, and all other kinds of Proviſions and Prey ſhould be conveyed into places, either ſafe by Nature, or elſe made ſo by being guarded on its Sides with Moors and Rivers. Moreover he ſent for the Earl of *Surrey*, who had great Forces in *Yorkſhire*, to aſſiſt him; and therefore the *Scots* only burnt the Country, and not being able to take *Norham*, which was ſtoutly defended by thoſe within, raiſed the Siege, and without any conſiderable Action returned Home. Not long after the *Engliſh* followed them, and demoliſhed *Aytown*, a ſmall Caſtle, ſeated almoſt in the very Borders, and then they returned out of their Enemy's Country alſo, without any memorable Performance.

AMIDST theſe Commotions, both foreign and domeſtick, *Peter Hialas*, a Man of great Wiſdom, and, as Times were then, not unlearned, arrived in *England*; he was ſent by *Ferdinand* and *Iſabel*, King and Queen of *Spain*. The Purport of his Embaſſy was, That *Katharine*, their Daughter, might marry *Arthur* King *Henry*'s Son, and ſo a new Affinity and Friendſhip might be contracted betwixt them. The *Engliſh* willingly embraced the Affinity, and therefore were deſirous to bring the War with *Scotland* to a Concluſion; and, becauſe *Henry* thought it was below his Dignity to ſeek Peace at the *Scots* Hands, he was willing to uſe him as a Mediator. *Peter* willingly undertook the Buſineſs, and came into *Scotland*; there he plied *James* with ſeveral Arguments, and at laſt made him inclinable to a Peace; and then he wrote to *Henry*, That he hoped a good Peace would be agreed upon without any great Difficulty, if he pleaſed to ſend down ſome eminent Perſon of his Council, to ſettle the Conditions. *Henry*, as one that had often tried the Inconſtancy of Fortune, and that the Minds of his Subjects were grown fierce by theſe late Tumults, as being rather irritated than wholly ſuppreſſed, commanded *Richard Fox*, who reſided in his Caſtle at *Norham*, to join Counſels with *Hialas*. Theſe Two had many Diſputes about the Matter with the Embaſſadors of *Scotland*, at *Jedburgh*, and, after many Conditions had been mutually propoſed, they could agree upon nothing. The chief Impediment was the Demand of *Henry*, that *Perkin Warbeck* ſhould be given up to him; for he judged it to be a very reaſonable Propoſition, in regard he was but a Counterfeit, and had been already the Occaſion of ſo much Miſchief. *James* peremptorily refuſed ſo to do; alledging, That it was not honourable in him to ſurrender

der up a Man of the Royal Progeny, who came to him as a Suppliant; whom he had alſo made his Kinſman by Marriage; to violate his Faith, and let him be made a Laughing-ſtock by his Enemies. And thus the Conference broke off; yet the hopes of an Agreement were not altogether loſt, for a Truce was made for ſome Months, till *James* could diſmiſs *Warbeck*, upon honourable Terms, according to his Promiſe.

FOR now, by the Conference with the *Engliſh*, and other evident Indications, it plainly appeared, that the Tale concerning *Perkin's* State and Kindred was a mere Falſity; and therefore the King ſent for him, and told him, what ſingular good Will he had born him, and how many Courteſies he had beſtowed upon him, of which he himſelf was the beſt Witneſs; as firſt, That he had undertaken a War againſt a Potent King for his ſake; and had now managed it a ſecond Year, to the great Inconvenience of his Enemy, and the Prejudice of his own Subjects. That he had refuſed an honourable Peace, which was freely offered him, merely becauſe he would not ſurrender him up to the *Engliſh*; and thereby he had given great Offence, both to his Subjects and his Enemy too; ſo that now, he neither could, nor would any longer withſtand their Deſires. And therefore, whatever might enſue, whether Peace or War, he deſired him to ſeek out ſome other and fitter Place for his Baniſhment, for he reſolved to make Peace with the *Engliſh*; and, when it was once ſolemnly made, to obſerve it as religiouſly; and to remove from him whatſoever might be an Impediment to ſo great and good a Work: Neither ought he to complain, that the *Scots* had forſaken him, ſince the *Engliſh* had done ſo firſt, in confidence of whoſe Aſſiſtance the *Scots* had begun the War: And yet, notwithſtanding all theſe Circumſtances, he was reſolved to accommodate him with Proviſions, and other Neceſſaries, to put to Sea.

Warbeck was mightily troubled at his unexpected diſmiſſion; yet he remitted nothing of his diſſimulated Height of Spirit, but in a few Days ſailed over into *Ireland* with his Wife and Family: From whence ſoon after he paſſed into *England*, and there joined himſelf with the Remnant of the *Corniſh* Rebels: but after many Attempts, being able to do no Good, he was taken; and having confeſſed all the Artifice and Pageantry of his former Life, he ended his Days in an Halter.

THE Seeds of War between *England* and *Scotland* being almoſt extinguiſhed, and a great likelihood of Peace appearing, on a ſudden there aroſe violent Animoſities of Spirit, upon a ve-

* A War like to ariſe on a ſmall Occaſion betwixt *England* and *Scotland*; but accommodated by *Fox* Biſhop of *Durham*.

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ry light Occaſion, which was very near breaking out into a moſt bloody War. Some *Scotiſh* Youths went over to the Town of *Norham*, which was near the Caſtle, (as they us'd to do frequently in Times of Peace) there to recreate themſelves in Sports and Paſtimes, and to junket together with their Neighbours, as if they had been at Home, for there was but a ſmall River, which divided them. The Garriſon in the Caſtle, out of the Rancour, yet lodging in their Breaſts ſince the former War, and being alſo provok'd by ſome paſſionate Words, accuſed thoſe *Scots*, as Spies, and ſo from Words they came to Blows; many were wounded on both ſides, and the *Scots*, being fewer in number, were forced to return home with the Loſs of ſome of their Company. This Buſineſs was often brought upon the Carpet in the Meetings, between the *Lords* of the *Marches*; and at laſt *James* was very angry, and ſent an Herald to *Henry*, to complain of Breach of Truce, and how Inconſtant the *Engliſh* were in keeping Covenant; and, unleſs Satisfaction was given, according to the juſt Laws, which were made by general Conſent, about Reſtitution betwixt the Borderers, he commanded him to declare War againſt him. *Henry* had been exerciſed by the Violence of Fortune, even from his Cradle. and was therefore more inclined to Peace: his Anſwer was, That whatever was done of that kind, was againſt his Will, and without his Knowledge; and, if the Garriſon-Soldiers had offended in this Caſe by their Temerity, he would iſſue out proper Orders for an Examination, and that, the Leagues being kept inviolate, the Guilty ſhould be puniſhed. But this was carry'd on ſlowly, and *James* looked upon the Anſwer, as dilatory, and that the Aim was to give the Reſentment time to cool, by putting off the Puniſhment. which was rather a Provocation than a Satisfaction. But *Richard Fox*, Biſhop of *Durham*, who was Owner of the Caſtle, being much troubled that any of his Tenants ſhould give any occaſion of breaking the League, did, in order to prevent it, ſend ſeveral Letters to *James*, full of great Submiſſion, Modeſty and Civility, which ſo inclined the Mind of *James*, that he wrote him Word back, that he would willingly ſpeak with him, not only about the late Wrongs done, but alſo about other Matters which might be advantageous to both Kingdoms. *Fox* acquainted his King herewith, and, by his Conſent, he waited upon *James* at *Mulroſs*, where he then was. There *James* made a grievous Complaint of the Injury at *Norham*; yet by the prudent and grave Diſcourſe of *Fox* he was ſo pacified, that for Peace-ſake, of which he ſhewed himſelf very deſirous, he remitted the Offence. Other Things were acted privately betwixt them; but it appear'd afterward, that the Sum of them was this, That *James* did not only deſire a Peace, but

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(both before, and alſo now) an Affinity with *Henry*, and a ſtricter Bond of Union: And, if *Henry* would beſtow his Daughter *Margaret* upon him in Marriage, he hoped that the Thing would be for the Benefit of both Kingdoms; and if *Fox*, whoſe Authority he knew to be great at home, would but do his Endeavour to accompliſh the Affinity, he did not doubt but it would be ſoon effected. He freely promiſed his Endeavour, and coming to the Court of *England*, acquainted the King with the Propoſition, and thereupon gave hopes to the *Scots* Embaſſadors, that a Peace would eaſily be agreed upon betwixt the two Kings. Thus at length, three Years after, which was *Anno*, 1500, even about one and the ſame Time, *Margaret*, *Henry's* Eldeſt Daughter, was betrothed to *James* the Fourth, and alſo *Katharine*, Daughter to *Ferdinand* of *Spain*, to *Arthur*, *Henry's* Eldeſt Son, and their Marriages were celebrated with great Pomp the next Year after.

After the Marriage, all Things were quiet, and the Court turned from the Study of Arms and Sports to Paſtimes; ſo that there was nothing but Masks, Shews, Feaſtings, Dancings, and Balls; it was as a continu'd Jubilee, and upon that Account, every Day was an *Holy-Day*: There were alſo frequent Tilts, and Tournaments, moſtly according to the *French* Mode, betwixt which (as Tragical Acts) ſome, who were wont to live upon Spoil, came upon the Stage, and challeng'd one another; which Sport the King was pleas'd to behold, becauſe he judg'd that the killing of them was a gain to him. When the Noiſe of theſe Tournaments came to Foreign Nations, many Strangers, and eſpecially from *France*, came daily over to ſhew their Proweſs, who were all liberally entertain'd by the King, and as bountifully diſmiſs'd. Neither did he reſt in theſe ludicrous Exerciſes, but he laid out a great deal of Money upon Building, at *Sterlin*, *Falkland*, and ſeveral other Places, and eſpecially in building of Monaſteries; but his Coſt about Ships was greateſt of all, for he built three ſtately ones of a great Bulk, and many alſo of a middle Rate; one of his great ones was to Admiration, the biggeſt that ever any Man had ſeen ſail on the Ocean, it being alſo furniſh'd with all manner of coſtly Accommodations. Our Writers have given a Deſcription of it (which I paſs over) and the Meaſure of it is kept in ſome Places: But the Greatneſs of it appear'd by this: That the News thereof ſtirr'd up *Francis* King of *France*, and *Henry* the 8*th* King of *England*, each of them to build a Ship in Imitation of it, and each endeavouring to out-vie the other; when the Ships were finiſh'd and fitted with all Neceſſaries for ſailing, and brought to Sea, they were ſo big, that they ſtood there like unmoveable Rocks, unfit for any Uſe.

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THESE Works, being very expenſive, exhauſted *James* his Treaſure; ſo that he was forc'd to deviſe new Ways and Means to get Money, and, amongſt the reſt, he pitch'd upon one, by the Perſuaſion, as it was thought, of *William Elphinſtone*, Biſhop of *Aberdeen*, which was very diſpleaſing to all the Nobility. Amongſt the Tenures of Land in *Scotland*, this is one by which the Owner holds what he buys; or elſe is given him, on theſe Terms, that if he die and leave his Son and Heir under Age, the Wardſhip of him ſhould belong to the King, or to ſome other Superior Lord; nay, all the Revenue is to be receiv'd by him, till the Heir come to the Age of 21 Years. There is alſo another Badge of Slavery annex'd to this Tenure, that, if an Owner do ſell *above half* his Eſtate, without the Conſent of the chief Lord, then he is to forfeit the *whole* to him. This Law was introduced by Court-Paraſites, to advance the King's Exchequer: But, being look'd upon as unjuſt, had laid dormant a long Time; but the King, being inform'd that Money might be got out of thoſe who broke thro' it, commanded it to be put in Execution: That *Proceſs* they call *Recognition*. This Way of raiſing Money by the King, tho' it outed no Man of his whole Eſtate, yet was a greater Grievance to the Country, than his Father's Covetouſneſs had been, for the Wrong redounded to very many, and to the worthieſt People moſt; becauſe under the two laſt Kings, by Reaſon of their foreign, and alſo of their civil Wars, the Memory of that Law was almoſt quite aboliſh'd; and ſo by Reaſon of this new Project, they were forc'd either to redeem their Lands from the Officers of the King's Exchequer, or elſe to relinquiſh Part of them. And yet the Love of the Subjects towards their King was ſo great, that, tho' they ſuffer'd great Inconvenience by it, his other Virtues procur'd him ſuch Reverence amongſt them, that their Indignation did not proceed to an actual Inſurrection.

BUT, as the King ſet no Bounds to his Expences, and there were not Flatterers (a perpetual Miſchief to the Courts) wanting, who cover'd this vitious Exceſs under the plauſible Names of Splendor and Magnificence; he at laſt determin'd to undertake a Voyage into *Syria*, that ſo he might put an End to his vaſt Expence, (which he could not continue without Shame) and ſo, by his Abſence, to abridge it. He made an honeſt Pretence for his Journey, that it was to expiate the Fault he had committed in bearing Arms againſt his Father. And indeed he had given ſome Evidence of his Penitence (whether true, or pretended) upon this Account, from the very Beginning of his Reign, (as I ſaid before) and he would often ſpeak of it in his common Diſcourſe. He had rigg'd a Navy for this

Voyage,

Voyage, and had nominated the chief of his Retinue; and had acquainted his Neighbour-Kings, by his Ambaſſadors, of his Intent; and many of his Followers, as if they had obliged themſelves by the ſame Vow, ſuffered the Hairs of their Heads and Beards to grow to a length; and, it was thought, he would immediately have taken Ship, if ſome Obſtacles had not intervened, even whilſt he was moſt intent on his Journey: *For, at that time, there aroſe a vehement ſuſpicion of a War like to enſue betwixt *France* and *England*; for *Henry* did not like the Succeſſes of the *French* in *Italy*; and, beſides, he was ſollicited by *Julius* the Second, then Pope, and by *Ferdinand* of *Spain*, his Father-in-law, to join with them; and with the *Venetians*, *Swiſs*, and *Maximilian* too (tho' he commonly regulated his Councils according to Events:) For it was likely, that the junction of ſo many Nations, in Alliance againſt *France*, would almoſt ſwallow it up.

The King of *England*, being in the prime of his Age, and ſenſible, and proud of the Power of his Kingdoms, and in his Nature very forward for Action, had a mighty mind to enter into this Alliance, but wanted a fair Pretence to fall out with *France*. Both of them ſoon knew one another's Minds by their Spies; and when *France* could not be perſuaded to deſiſt from carrying on the War againſt the *Pope*, who was *Henry*'s Friend, at length an Herald was ſent into *France*, to demand *Normandy*, *Aquitain*, and *Anjou*, (as the old Poſſeſſions of the *Engliſh*) in *France*. But, as *France* was not moved by theſe Threats neither, to intermit the Wars in *Italy*, *Henry* immediately declared War againſt him, and ſent an Army into *Biſcay*, to join his Father-in-law *Ferdinand*; and he himſelf prepared for an Expedition into *France*.

Now, *James* of *Scotland*, tho' he reſolved to reſide with neither of them, yet, as more inclinable to the *French*, he ſent his Navy afore-mentioned, as a Preſent to *Ann*, Queen of *France*, that ſo it might ſeem rather a mark of his Friendſhip, than any real Aſſiſtance for military Action. And moreover, the *Scots* Clergy, who were uſed to the handling of *French* Gold, were willing to ſhew themſelves in behalf of *Lewis* of *France*: And, ſince they durſt not openly do it, they ſought out proper Occaſions to alienate the King's Mind from the *Engliſh*.

In order to this, *Andrew Forman*, then Biſhop of *Murray*, one of their Faction, and a Friend to *Lewis*, was ſent into *England*, to demand a vaſt ſumm of Gold and Silver; the greateſt part of it conſiſted in Womens Jewels and Ornaments, which were reported to be given, by Will, by *Arthur*, *Henry* the

* The execution of it prevented, and how.

VIIIth's elder Brother, to his Siſter *Margaret*, now married to *James*, as I related before. *Henry*, (as 'tis probable) looked upon this Demand only as a Pretence for a Quarrel; and therefore he anſwer'd *James* very mildly, That, if any thing was due to him, he would not only pay it, but, if he wanted a greater Sum, or any other Aſſiſtance, he would not fail to ſupply him. When *James* received this Anſwer, he reſolved to aſſiſt *Lewis* in any other way, but by no means to invade *England*: And he ſent over the ſame *Forman* into *France*, to acquaint *Lewis* with it. Mean while, becauſe he had heard, that great Naval Preparations were making on both ſides, he reſolved to ſend the Fleet afore-mentioned to *Ann* immediately, that ſo it might arrive there before the War actually broke forth: He made *James Hamilton*, Earl of *Arran*, Admiral of it, and cauſed him to ſet ſail the firſt Opportunity. But *Hamilton*, tho' a Man good enough, yet was more ſkill'd in the Arts of Peace than War; and therefore, either out of fear of Danger, or elſe out of his Babitual backwardneſs, left his Voyage for *France*, and turned for *Knockfergus*, a Town in *Ireland*, ſituate over-againſt *Galway* in *Scotland*; which place he pillaged and burnt: And afterward, as if he had been a mighty Conqueror, he hoiſted ſail for *Air* (in *Scotland*) a Port-Town in *Kyle*. When the King heard of his return, he was very much exaſperated againſt him, and could not forbear to expreſs his Reſentments againſt the Man: And he was the more inraged againſt him, becauſe he had received a Letter from Queen *Ann* out of *France*; the Tendency of which, was to cajole him into a War againſt *England*. And he had alſo other Letters from *Andrew Forman*, which informed him, that he was generally upbraided with the Promiſe of ſending the Fleet, which they now looked upon as vain, in regard no ſuch thing was done. The King was willing to obviate this Miſchief, as well as he could; and therefore, ſeeing *Hamilton* had broke off the Courſe, he was commanded to take, and had deſtroyed a Town, that had never been an Enemy to the *Scots*, and was then alſo in Alliance with them; and ſo had made War upon his Friends, without making any Declaration of it beforehand; he caſhiered him from the Admiralſhip, and order'd him a Summons to appear before him. *Archibald Douglas*, Earl of *Angus*, was deſign'd to ſucceed him in that Command; and *Andrew Wood* was ſent with him to take the Fleet into his Care: But *Hamilton* had Notice, by his Friends, before their coming, of the King's Diſpleaſure againſt him, and therefore preſently hoiſted Sail, reſolving rather to commit himſelf to the wide Sea, than to an enraged King. He was a long time ſailing for *France*, his Ship being toſſed with contrary Winds, and ſore Storms in the Way; ſo

that

that he arrived not there till the *French* had laid aſide the thoughts of any naval Preparations; and then he landed in *Baſe-Britain*, where the Ship, which coſt ſo much Money and Labour to build, had her Tackle taken out, and ſo rotted in the Harbour of *Breſt*.

IN the interim, other cauſes of Diſcord aroſe at Home, which wholly alienated *James* from *Henry*. In the Reign of *Henry* the VIIth, there was one *Robert Carr*, a worthy Knight, ſo much in *James*'s Favour for his excellent Virtues, that he made him his chief Cup-bearer, and Maſter of his Ordnance, and Lord Warden of the middle Borders or Marches. He was a ſevere Puniſher of all Robbers; which more and more procured him the King's Affection, but increaſed the Hatred of the Borderers. So that both *Engliſh* and *Scots*, whoſe Licentiouſneſs he reſtrained, by putting the Laws in Execution againſt them, jointly ſought all occaſions to take away his Life: And, at length, at a ſolemn Meeting of *Scots* and *Engliſh*, which uſed to be kept, to adjuſt and recompenſe Damages received, a Quarrel began, and three *Engliſhmen*, bold Fellows, *John Hern*, *Lilburn*, and one *Starhed*, ſet upon him; one came behind, and ran him through his Back with a Lance; and, when he was wounded, the other two diſpatched him quite. This Buſineſs was likely to create a War; but *Henry*, as he was juſt in other things, ſo in this was as angry as *James*, at the Foulneſs of the Fact; and therefore he cauſed *John Hern*, the Brother of the other *John*, Lord of *Foord*, and Governor of the * *Engliſh* Borders, to be delivered up to the *Scots*, with *Lilburne*; for the other two had made their eſcape. They were ſhut up in ** *Faſt-Caſtle*, and there *Lilburne* died. And, for the Expiation of ſo manifeſt a Crime, it was decreed, That in future Aſſemblies of that kind, the *Engliſh* ſhould firſt crave the publick Faith for their Security, and ſo enter *Scotland*, and have their Meetings there; and the Ambaſſadors of *England*, by many ſolemn Proteſtations and Ceremony of Words, ſhould declare, That the Publick was not concerned, as guilty of that particular Murder. The other two Murderers lurked in the inland Parts of *England*, till the Reign of *Henry* the VIIIth; and yet they went not unpuniſhed; for, when they had got a young King, fierce and potent, and raw, that he was willing to ſhew the greatneſs of his Strength, they ventured out of their Retirements. *Hern*, by the Mediation of his Kindred, lived openly at his own Houſe, and privately ſent in Robbers to *Scotland*, to diſturb the publick Peace; hoping that, if a War were once begun, he ſhould obtain In-

* In *Northumberland*.
** Standing on a Rock above the *Firth* of *Forth*.

demnity for his *old* Offences, and even a freedom to commit *new* with Impunity. But *Starhed* got a Place to live in, about 90 Miles from the Borders; thinking to be ſafe, by reaſon of the remoteneſs of his Habitation: But *Andrew Carr*, the Son of *Robert*, who ſaw, that the Seeds of Hatred, which would ſoon break out into a War, were then ſown, and fearing that, if once they entred into Arms, he ſhould loſe the avenging of his Father's Blood, perſuades two of his Tenants, of the Family of the *Tates*, to diſguiſe themſelves, and kill *Starhed*. They undertook to do it; and ſo entred his Houſe ſecurely in the Night; (for living ſo far from the Borders, he thought he needed no Watch); where they killed him, cut off his Head, and brought it to *Andrew*: He, in teſtimony of his deſired Revenge, ſends it to *Edinburgh*, and ſets it up there, upon an high and conſpicuous Place. Of *Hern* I ſhall ſpeak in due time.

Juſt upon the Heels of this *old* Injury, ſucceeded a *new one*; which awakened the Anger of the King of *Scots*, that was rather a-ſleep, than extinguiſhed, before. At that time, there was one *Andrew Breton*, a *Scots* Merchant, whoſe Father had a Ship rifled by the *Portugueſe*, and was himſelf barbarouſly murder'd: *Andrew* got the Cauſe heard in *Flanders*, (becauſe there the Murder was committed) where the *Portugueſe* were caſt; but they, not paying what was adjudged, and their King, tho' *James* ſent an Herald to him for that end, not compelling them ſo to do, *Andrew* obtained Letters of Mart from *James*, to ſatisfy himſelf for the Damages and Murder; and it was directed to all Princes and Cities lying near the Sea, That they ſhould not account him as a Pirate or Robber, if, by open Force, he revenged himſelf on the *Portugueſe*, who were ſuch violators of common Right and Equity: So that in a few Months he did much Miſchief to the *Portugueſe*. Their Ambaſſadors, in the height of the War the *French* made againſt Pope *Julius* the Second, and which was ſoon like to break out againſt the *Engliſh*, as ſiding with *Julius*, came to *Henry*, and told him, That this bold and impudent Fellow, *Andrew*, who had done to them ſo much Miſchief, who were the ancient Allies of the *Engliſh*, would aſſuredly be his Enemy, when he warred againſt *France*; but now he was ſecure, and might eaſily be ſubdued and cut off; and, if the Fact happen'd to be condemned as illegal, it might be excuſed, under a pretence of his exerciſing Piracy. That, if he would do this, he might prevent the Loſſes of his own Subjects, and alſo gratify their King, his Friend and Ally, very much. *Henry* was thus eaſily perſuaded, by the *Portugueſe*, to entrap *Andrew*: In order to compaſs it, he ſent his Admiral, *Thomas Howard*, with two ſtrong Ships of the Navy Royal, to way-lay him in the *Downs* (ſo they call the heaps

heaps of Sand, which appear a-loft when the Tide is out;) in his return from *Flanders*. It was not long before they eſpied him coming in a ſmall Veſſel, with a leſs one in his Company, and ſet upon him: *Howard* himſelf attacqued *Andrew*; between whom there was a ſharp Fight; and, although *Howard* had all the Advantage imaginable againſt him, yet he had much ado to take the Ship; neither could he do that, till *Andrew* and many of his Men were ſlain. This is certain, that *Andrew* was a Man of that Courage, even when his Caſe was deſperate, that, tho' he had ſeveral Wounds, and one of his Legs was broken by a Cannon Bullet, yet he took a Drum and beat an Alarm, and a Charge to his Men, to encourage them to fight valiantly: This he did, till his Breath and Life failed him together. The leſs Ship, finding that ſhe was no way able to cope with the Enemy, endeavoured to ſave herſelf by flight, but was taken with much leſs Oppoſition. They, who were not killed in the Fight, were thrown into Priſon at *London*; from whence they were brought to the King, and humbly begging their Lives of him, as they were inſtructed to do by the *Engliſh*; he, in a proud oſtentation of his great Clemency, diſmiſſed and ſent the poor innocent Souls away. Upon this, Ambaſſadors were ſent into *England* by *James*, to complain, that his Subjects Ships were taken in a time of Peace, and the Paſſengers ſlain. They were anſwered, That the killing of Pirates was no violation of Leagues; neither was it a juſtifiable Cauſe for a War. This Anſwer ſhewed the Spight of one, that was willing to excuſe a plain Murder, and ſeemed as if he had ſought an occaſion for a War: Upon which the *Engliſh*, who inhabited the Borders, by that which was acted above-board, gueſſed at their King's Mind: and, being alſo accuſtomed to ſow Seeds of Diſſention in the times of the firmeſt Peace; and beſides, being much given to Innovation, began to plunder the adjacent Countries of the *Scots*.

AT that time, there was one *Alexander Hume*, who had the ſole command of all the *Scots* Borders, which were wont to be diſtributed into three Mens Hands: He was mightily beloved by *James*; but his Diſpoſition was more fierce than was expedient for the good of thoſe Times. The King was intent upon War, and very ſollicitous how to blot out the Ignominy received by thoſe Incurſions; and *Hume* promiſed him, That he, and ſome of his Kindred and Vaſſals, would, in a little time, make the *Engliſh* repent of the Loſs and Damage they had done, as being reſolved to turn their Mirth into Sadneſs. To make good his Word, he gathered together about 3000 Horſe, entred *England*, and ravaged the neighbouring Villages, before any Relief could come in; but, as he was returning, his Men, being ac-

customed to pillaging, and then also laden with a great deal of Booty, being impatient to stay there any longer, divided their Spoil, even in their Enemy's Country, and went their ways severally Home. *Alexander*, with a few, brought up the Rear, to see that no Assault might be made upon them in their Retreat; but, perceiving none to follow, he was the more careless; and so fell into an Ambush of 300 *English*, who, taking the opportunity, set upon them, and struck such a sudden Terror into them, that they routed and put them to flight. In this Skirmish, a great many of the *Scots* were slain, and 200 taken Prisoners; amongst whom was *George Hume*, *Alexander*'s Brother, who was exchanged for the Lord *Hern* of *Foord*, who had been made Prisoner many Years in *Scotland*, for the Murder of *Robert Carr*: But all the Booty came safe into *Scotland*, because they, who drove it, were marched on before.

THE King's Mind, which was not easy before, upon the account of what I formerly related, being much irritated by the Addition of this new Offence, he grew unruly and headstrong, and immoderately called a Convention, to consult concerning the War. The wiser sort were against it; but *La Motte*, the Ambassador of *France*, earnestly pressed it, by Entreaties and Promises: And, also frequent Letters from *Andrew Forman* urged the same thing; nay, the King himself inclined to it; so that many, to gratify him, fell in with his Opinion; the rest, being the *minor* part, left, by a fruitless Opposition, they should incur the King's Displeasure, gave also their assent: So that a War was voted to be made against *England*, by Land and Sea: ('Tis doubtful whether the Counsel or the Event was the worst) a set Day was appointed for the Army to Rendezvous. An Herald was sent into *France* to *Henry*, who was then besieging *Tournay*, to declare War against him. The Causes of it were assigned to be these, That satisfaction for Losses had been required, but not given: That *John Hume*, the murderer of *Robert Carr*, appeared publickly: That *Andrew Breton*, in violation of the Leagues betwixt the two Crowns, had been pillaged and slain by the King's own Command: And tho' he did not mention any of those Wrongs, yet he should never endure that the Territories of *Lewis*, King of *France*, his ancient Ally, nor of *Charles* Duke of *Gelderland*, his Kinsman, should be so miserably harrass'd with all the Calamities of War; And therefore, unless he desisted from it, he bid him Defiance. *Henry* being young, and having a flourishing and puissant Kingdom; and besides, a general Combination of almost all *Europe* against *France* alone; these things kindled a Desire in his Mind, which was otherwise ambitious enough of Glory, to continue the Progress of his Arms; and therefore he gave the

Herald

Herald an Anſwer more fierce than ſuited ſo young a Prince; *That he heard nothing from him, but what he long before had expected from ſuch a Violator of all divine and humane Laws, and therefore he ſhould do as he thought fit: For his part, he was reſolved not to be threatned out of proceeding in a War, wherein he had ſo well proſpered hitherto; and beſides, he did not value his Friendſhip, as having already had ſufficient proof of his Levity.*

THIS Declaration of War being brought into *Scotland*, as the King was going to the Army, at *Linlithgo*, whilſt he was at *Veſpers* in the Church (as the manner was then) there entred a old Man, the Hair of his Head being Red, inclining to Yellow, and hanging down on his Shoulders; his Forehead ſleek, through baldneſs, bare-headed, in a long Coat, of a ruſſet Colour, girt with a linnen Girdle about his Loins; in the reſt of his Aſpect he was very venerable: He preſſed through the Crowd to come to the King: When he came to him, he leaned upon the Chair, on which the King ſat, with a kind of ruſtick ſimplicity, and beſpoke him thus, *O King*, ſaid he, *I am ſent to warn thee, not to proceed in thy intended Deſign; and, if thou neglecteſt this Admonition, neither Thou, nor thy Followers, ſhall proſper. I am commanded alſo to tell thee, That thou ſhould'ſt not uſe the Familiarity, Intimacy, and Counſel of Women; which, if thou doſt, it will redound to thy Ignominy and Loſs.* Having thus ſpoken, he withdrew himſelf into the Crowd; and, when the King enquir'd for him, after Prayers were ended, he could not be found; which Matter ſeemed more ſtrange, becauſe none of thoſe who ſtood next, and obſerved him, as being deſirous to put many Queſtions to him, were ſenſible how he diſappeared: Amongſt them, there was *David Lindſy* of *Mont*, a Man of approved Worth and Honeſty (and a great Scholar too); for, in the whole courſe of his Life, he abhorred Lying; and, if I had not received this Story from him as a certain Truth, I had omitted it, as a Romance of the Vulgar.

But the King, notwithſtanding, went forward in his March, and near *Edinburgh* muſtered his Army; and a while after entered *England*, took the Caſtles of *Norham*, *Werks*, *Etel*, *Foord*, and ſome others, near the Borders of *Scotland*, by Storm, and demoliſhed them, and ſpoiled all the adjoining part of *Northumberland*: Mean while, the King falls in Love with one of the Ladies he had taken Priſoner; (ſhe was *Hern*'s Wife of *Foord*) and neglected his preſent Buſineſs; inſomuch that, Proviſion beginning to grow ſcarce, in a not very plentiful Country, and it being very difficult to fetch it from a-far, the greateſt part of the Army ſtole away, and left their Colours very thin; only the Nobles, with a few of their Friends, Clients, and Vaſſals,

and thoſe not very well pleaſed neither, remained in the Camp. The major part adviſed him, That he ſhould no longer puniſh himſelf and his Men, by abiding in a Country that was waſted by War, and, if it had not been ſo, yet was poor of itſelf, but had rather that he would retreat, and make an Attempt upon *Berwick*; the taking of which one Place would turn more to Account, than all the Towns and Caſtles thereabouts: Neither, ſaid they, would it be very difficult to take it in, becauſe both Town and Caſtle were unprovided for Defence. But the King thought that nothing was too hard for his Arms, eſpecially ſince the *Engliſh* were intangled in the War with *France*. So that, ſome Court-Paraſites ſoothing him up in Vanity, he judg'd that he might eaſily reduce that Town in his Retreat.

WHILST he thus lay encamped at *Foord*, there came Heralds from the *Engliſh*, deſiring him to appoint a Place and Time for the Battle. Upon that, he called a Council of War; and the major part were of opinion, that it was beſt to return Home, and not to hazard the State of the whole Kingdom with ſo ſmall a Force, eſpecially, ſince he had abundantly ſatisfied his Credit, his Renown, and the Laws of Friendſhip: Neither was there any juſt Cauſe, why he ſhould venture his ſmall Army, and which had been alſo harraſſed with the taking of ſo many Caſtles, againſt the more numerous Forces of the *Engliſh*, who had alſo newly received an addition of freſh Men; for it was reported, that, at that very time, *Thomas Howard* arrived in the Camp with 6000 Men, ſent back out of *France*. Beſides, if he retreated, the *Engliſh* Army muſt of neceſſity diſband; and then they could not bring together another, to be levied ſo far off, till the next Year: But, if he would needs Fight, it were better ſo to do in his own Country, where Place, Time, and Proviſion, were more at his command. But the *French* Ambaſſador, and ſome Courtiers, whom *French* Gold had bribed, and wrought over to him, were of another Mind, and eaſily perſuaded *James*, who longed to Fight, to ſtand the Enemy in that Place. In the mean time, the *Engliſh* came not at the Day appointed by the Herald; and then the *Scots* Nobles took that opportunity to go again to the King, and told him, That it was the Craft of the Enemy to protract the time from one Day to another, whilſt their own Force encreaſed, and the *Scots* were diminiſhed; and that therefore he ſhould uſe the ſame Art againſt them. That it was now no Diſhonour to the *Scots* to retreat, (ſince the *Engliſh* had not kept the Time appointed) without fighting; or elſe, not to Fight, but when they themſelves thought fit. The firſt of theſe Advices was, in many reſpects, more ſafe; but, if that did not pleaſe him, he had a fair opportunity offered him to comply

with

with the latter. For, ſeeing the *Till* had very high Banks, and was almoſt no where foordable, there was no paſſing for an Army over it within many Miles, but by one Bridge, where a few Men might keep back a great Body: Nay, if the *Engliſh* ſhould get over, he might ſo place his Ordnance as to cut off the Bridge; and ſo they, who had paſſed over, might be deſtroyed, before they could be relieved by thoſe on the contrary ſide. The King approved of neither Advice, but anſwered reſolutely, *That, if the* Engliſh *were* 100000 ſtrong, *he would fight them.* All the Nobility were offended at this temerarious Anſwer; and *Archibald Douglas*, Earl of *Angus*, who was far ſuperior to all the reſt in Age and Authority, endeavoured to appeaſe the King's Fury by a mild Oration, and to open the Nature and Reaſon of the two former Advices: 'You have (ſaid he) ſufficiently ſatisfied your Alliance with 'France, in that you have called off a great part of their Enemy's 'Army from them; for, by this means, they cannot run over 'all *France*, as, by the multitude of their Forces, they hoped 'to do; neither can they do any great Damage to *Scotland*, 'becauſe they cannot long keep their Army together in a cold 'Country, already waſted by War, and otherwiſe not very 'fruitful; and moreover, the Winter now approaching, which 'in the Northern Parts uſeth to begin betimes. As for the *French* 'Ambaſſador (ſaid he) I do not wonder, that he is ſo earneſt 'to preſs us to a Battle; for he, being a Stranger, ſtudies not 'the common Good of our whole Party, but the private Advantage of his own Nation; and therefore it is no News, 'if he puſh us on to fight, and ſo be prodigal of other Mens 'Blood: Beſides, his Demand is ſhameleſs, for he requires that 'of us, which his own King (tho' highly wiſe and prudent) doth 'not think fit to do, for the maintenance of his whole Kingdom and Dignity. Neither ought the loſs of this Army to 'be accounted ſmall, becauſe we are but few in Number: 'For that which is any ways eminent for Valour, Authority, 'or Counſel, in the whole Kingdom of *Scotland*, is here ſumm'd 'up in a Body; If theſe are loſt, the reſt of the Commonalty 'will be but an eaſy Prey to the Conqueror: Beſides, to lengthen out the War, is, at preſent, more ſafe, and more conducive to the main Chance: For, if *La Motte*'s Opinion be, 'that the *Engliſh* are to be either exhauſted by Expences, or 'wearied out by Delays, what can be more adviſable in the 'preſent Poſture of Affairs, than ro compel the Enemy to divide the Forces; part of them muſt be kept upon their 'Guard, for fear of us, as if we were continually likely to invade them; and the fear of that would take off a great ſtreſs 'of the War from the *French*, tho' with no ſmall Toil of ours:

Beſides,

'Beſides, we have ſufficiently conſulted the Glory and Splen-
'dor of our Arms, which theſe Men (who, I am afraid,
'are more forward in *Words* than *Actions*) pretend, as a Diſ-
'guiſe and Veil for their Temerity: For what can be
'more ſplendid, than for the King to demoliſh ſo many Caſtles;
'to deſtroy the Country with Fire and Sword; and, from ſo
'large Devaſtations, to bring home ſo much Booty, that ma-
'ny Years Peace will not reſtore a Country, ſo deſolated, to its
'former Condition? And what greater Advantage can we ex-
'pect in a War, than that, to our own great Honour and Re-
'nown, but, to the Shame and Diſgrace of our Enemies, we
'give our Soldiers leave ro refreſh themſelves, having gotten
'Eſtates and Glory to boot? And this kind of Victory, which
'is obtained rather by Wiſdom than Arms, is moſt proper
'for a Man, eſpecially for a General, in regard the common
'Soldiers can challenge no part of the Fame belonging to it.

ALL, that were preſent, aſſented to what he ſpoke, as ap-peared by their Countenances; but the King had taken a ſo-lemn Oath, that he would fight the *Engliſh*; and therefore he entertained his whole Diſcourſe with great Diſguſt; and bid him, *Get him Home again, if he was afraid.* He immediately fell a weeping, as foreſeeing the Ruin of Affairs, and of the King himſelf, by his Raſhneſs; but, as ſoon as he was able to ſpeak, he utterred theſe few Words; 'If my former Life has not ſuf-
'ficiently vindicated me from any Suſpicion of Cowardice and
'Fear, I know not what will; as long as my Body was able
'to undergo Hardſhip, I never ſpared it for the Good of my
'Country, and to maintain the Honour of my King: But,
'ſince now I am uſeful only for Advice, and the King's Ears
'are ſhut againſt it, I will leave my two Sons, who, next to
'my Country, are moſt dear to me, with my other Kinſmen
'and Friends, as ſure Pledges of my Fidelity to you and my
'Country; and I pray God, that my Fears may prove vain,
'and that I may be rather accounted a falſe Prophet, than what
'I dread, and do, as it were, foreſee in my Mind, ſhould come
'to paſs.

HAVING thus ſpoken, he took his Convoy and Retinue, and ſo departed. The reſt of the Nobles, becauſe they could not work over the King to their Opinion, endeavoured to ſe-cure Things the beſt they could; and that was, in regard they were inferior in Number, (for they had Intelligence by their Spies, that the *Engliſh* were 26000 Men) to advantage them-ſelves by the opportunity of the Ground and Place, and ſo to-

* Repartees between the King and *Douglas*, concerning a preſent Fight.

encamp

encamp upon an Hill that was near them: It was where *Cheviot-Hills* do gently decline into a Plain, a ſmall Spot, with a narrow Entrance into it, gradually ſloping downwards. This Paſſage they defended with their Braſs Guns: Behind them were the Mountains; at the Foot of them there was a mooriſh piece of Ground, which ſecured their left Wing; on the right ran the River *Till*, whoſe Banks were very high; over which there was a Bridge for Paſſage, not far from the Camp. When the *Engliſh* had Intelligence, by their Scouts, that they could not attaque the *Scots* Camp, without great Damage, or rather certain Ruin, they marched off from the River, and made a Shew as if they intended to leave the Enemy, and retire towards *Berwick*, and ſo directly into the neighbouring Parts of *Scotland*, which was the beſt part of the Country; there to damage the *Scots* more than the *Scots* had done the *Engliſh* before. And *James* was moſt inclinable to believe they would do ſo, becauſe there was a Rumour ſpread abroad, which either had an uncertain Birth among the common People, or elſe was deviſed on purpoſe by the *Engliſh*, that their Deſign lay that way, in order to draw the Enemy down into the plain and champion Country. *James* would not endure that, and therefore ſet Fire to the Straw and Huts, and removed his Camp too. The Smoak, occaſion'd by the Fire, covered all the River, ſo that the *Scots* by means of it, could not ſee the *Engliſh*. They marched farther from the River, through Places more unpaſſable; but the *Scots* had a level and open March thereunto, till they both came at laſt to *Fluidon*, or *Floddon*, a very high Hill, almoſt unknown one to another. There the Ground was more level, and ſtretched itſelf out into a large Field; and the River was alſo paſſable by a Bridge at *Tuiſil*; and there was a Foord alſo at *Milford*. The *Engliſh* commanded their *Forlorn*, firſt to draw their Braſs Pieces over the Bridge, the reſt marched through the Ford, and, by the opportunity of the Place, they ſet themſelves in Battle array, to ſtop the Enemy in their Paſſage. Their Numbers were ſo great, that they divided themſelves, as it were, into two Armies diſtinct from one another; either of which was almoſt equal to the whole Army of the *Stots*. In their firſt Brigade Admiral *Thomas Howard*, who a little before was come in with ſome of his Sea-Forces, commanded the main Battle; *Edward Howard* led on the Right Wing, and *Marmaduke Conſtable* the Left: Behind them, the reſt were placed, as Reſerves, being divided into three Bodies; *Dacres* commanded the Wing in the Right; *Edward Stanly* that on the Left; and the Earl of *Surrey*, General of the whole Army, the main Body. The *Scots* had not Men enow to divide their Army into ſo many Parties, unleſs they would extremely weaken their Front; and therefore

they

they divided their Army into four Bodies, at a moderate diſtance one from another; of which *three* were to charge *firſt*, and the *fourth* was for a Reſerve. The King led on the main Body; *Alexander Gordon* commanded the Right Wing; to whom *Alexander Hume* and the *Merch*-Men were joined. *Matthew Stewart*, Earl of *Lenox*, and *Gilleſpy Campbel*, Earl of *Argyle*, led on the third Body. *Adam Hepburne*, with his Clans, and the reſt of the Nobility of *Lothian*, were in the Reſerves. The *Gordons* began a very ſharp Fight, and ſoon routed the left Wing of the *Engliſh*; but, when they returned from the Purſuit, they found almoſt all the reſt of their Brigades defeated; for one of them, in which was *Lenox* and *Argyle*, being encouraged by the ſucceſs of their Fellows, broke their Ranks, and fell upon the Enemy, in very great Diſorder, leaving their Colours far in their Rear: Tho' *La Motte*, the *French* Reſident, cried out much againſt it, and told them, they would run headlong to their own Deſtruction; for they were charged not only by the *Engliſh*, ſtanding in Array before them, but were alſo ſet upon by another Party in the Rear, and ſo almoſt all cut off. The King's Body, and *Hepburn*'s Brigade, with the *Lothianers*, fought it out ſtoutly. There was a great ſlaughter on both Sides, and the Diſpute continued till Night; by which time both Sides were weary. There were a great many ſlain of the King's main Body. They, who reckoned the full Number of the ſlain, as their Names were taken, according to the ſeveral Pariſh Regiſters, out of which they were preſſed, ſay, that there were ſlain above 5000 of the *Scots*. The Loſs was moſt of the Nobility, and of the forwardeſt of them too; who choſe rather to die upon the Spot, than to ſurvive the ſlaughter of their Men. 'Tis reported, that the *Engliſh* loſt as many, but that they were moſt common Soldiers. This is the famous Fight of *Floddon*, one of the moſt memorable of the few Overthrows which the *Scots* have received from the *Engliſh*: not ſo much from the number of the ſlain (for they had loſt more than double that number in former Battles,) but for the Quality of the Perſons, the King, and prime of the Nobility falling there; ſo that few were left to govern the Rabble, who were fierce by Nature, and lawleſs alſo, in hope of Impunity.

And yet there were two ſorts of Men that gained Advantage by this Calamity of others: For the richer ſort of Church-men grew ſo inſolent upon it, that, not contented with their own Function, they ſought to draw all the Offices of the Kingdom into their own Hands: And the *Mendicant Fryars* (for that ſort of Monks were *then* counted moſt ſuperſtitiouſly religious) had received much Mony of thoſe that were ſlain, to keep for them: but it being delivered without Witneſſes, they were

mightily

mightily enriched by this Booty, and omitted the ſeverity of their Ancient Diſcipline. Nay, ſome there were amongſt them, who counted that Gain, as a pious and holy Fraud: alledging, that the Mony could never be better beſtowed, than to be given to devout Perſons, that they might pray (forſooth) for the redemption of their Souls out of Purgatory.

THE Fight was carried on ſo obſtinately, that, towards Night, both Parties were weary, and withdrew, almoſt ignorant of one another's Condition; ſo that *Alexander Hume*, and his Soldiers, who remained untouched, gathered up a great part of the Spoil at their pleaſure. But the next day, in the Morning, *Dacres* being ſent out with a Party of Horſe, to make Diſcovery, when he came to the Place of Fight, and ſaw the *Scots* Braſs Guns without a Guard, and alſo a great part of the Dead unſtripp'd, he ſent for *Howard*, and ſo gathered up the Spoil at leiſure, and celebrated the Victory with great Mirth.

CONCERNING the King of *Scotland*, there goes a double Report; the *Engliſh* ſay, he was ſlain in the Battle. But the *Scots* affirm, that, in the Day of Battle, there were ſeveral others cloathed in the like Coat of Armour, and the Habit of the King; which was done on purpoſe, on a double account; *partly*, that the Enemy might principally aim at one Man, as their chief Opponent, on whoſe Life the ſafeguard of the Army, and total ruine of the Enemy, did depend; and *partly* alſo, if the King happened to be ſlain, that the Soldiers might not be diſcouraged, and ſenſible of his Loſs, as long as they ſaw any Man armed and cloathed like him, in the Field, and riding up and down, as a Witneſs of their Cowardice or Valour. And that one of theſe was *Alexander Elphinſton*, who, in Countenance and Stature, was very like the King; and many of the Nobility perceiving him armed in Knightly Habiliments, followed him, in a Miſtake, and ſo died reſolutely with him; but that the King re-paſſed the *Tweed*, and was ſlain by ſome of *Hume's* Men, near the Town of *Kelſoe*; but it is uncertain, whether it were done by his Command, or elſe by the forwardneſs of his Soldiers, who were willing to gratify their Commander: For they, being deſirous of Innovation, thought, that they ſhould eſcape Puniſhment, if he were taken off; but, if he were alive, they ſhould be puniſhed for their Cowardice in the Fight. Some Conjectures are alſo added; as that the ſame Night, after this unhappy Fight, the Monaſtery of *Kelſoe* was ſeized upon by *Carr*, an Intimate of *Hume's*, and the *Abbot* of it ejected; which it was not likely he would dare to have done, unleſs the King were ſlain; and moreover, *David Galbreth*, one of the Family of the *Hume's*, ſome Years after,

when

when *John* the Regent queſtioned the *Humes's*, and was troubleſome to their Family, is ſaid to have blamed the ſluggiſh Cowardice of his Allies, who would ſuffer that Stranger to rule ſo arbitrarily and imperiouſly over them; whereas he himſelf had been one of the Six, that had put an end to the like Inſolency of the King, at *Kelſoe*. But theſe Things were ſo uncertain, that when *Humes* was afterward tried for his Life, by *James* Earl of *Murray*, the King's Natural Son, they did not much prejudice his Cauſe.

HOWEVER the Truth of this Matter ſtands, yet I ſhall not conceal what I have heard *Lawrence Taliſer*, an honeſt and a learned Man, report more than once: He was *then* one of the King's Servants, and was a Spectator of the Fight; he ſaw the King, when the Day was loſt, ſit upon an Horſe; and paſs the *Tweed*: Many others affirmed the ſame thing. So that the Report went current for many Years after, that the King was alive, and was gone to *Jeruſalem*, to perform a religious Vow he had made; but would return again in due time: But that Rumor was found as vain as another of the ſame broaching, which was formerly ſpread abroad by the *Britons*, concerning their *Arthur*: And, but a few Years ſince, by the *Burgundians*, concerning *Charles*. This is certain, That the *Engliſh* found the Body of the King, or *Alexander Elphinſton*, and carried it into *England*; and retaining an inexpiable Hatred againſt the Dead, they left it unburied in a Lead Coffin, (I know not, whether their Cruelty was more fooliſh, or more barbarous) becauſe he had born ſacrilegious Arms againſt Pope *Julius* the Second, whom the *Engliſh* then ſought to curry Favour with; or elſe, as ſome ſay, becauſe he was perjur'd; as having, contrary to the Oath and League between them, taken up Arms againſt *Henry* the Eighth: Neither of which Exprobations ought to have been laid to his Charge; eſpecially by ſuch a King, who, during his Life, was not conſtant or true to any one Religion; nor, by ſuch a People, who had taken up Arms ſo often againſt the Biſhop of *Rome*. Not to ſpeak of many of the Kings of *England*, whom their own Writers do accuſe as guilty of Perjury; as *William Rufus*, who is charged with that Crime by *Polydore* and *Grafton*; *Henry* the the Firſt, by *Thomas Walſingham*, in his Deſcription of *Normandy*. King *Stephen* hath the like Brand of Infamy caſt upon him by *Neobrigenſis*, *Grafton*, and *Polydore*: *Henry* the Eighth, by the ſame *Newberry*, *Grafton*, and *Polydore*: *Richard* the Firſt, by *Walſingham*, in his *Hypodigma Neuſtriæ*: *Richard* the Third, by *Grafton* and *Walſingham*: *Edward* the Firſt, by *Walſingham*. I cull out theſe few for Example-ſake, not out of the firſt Kings of the *Saxon* Race, of which I might inſtance a great many;

many, but out of thoſe of the *Norman* Family, whoſe Poſterity enjoy the Kingdom to this Day, and who lived in the moſt flouriſhing Times of *England*'s Glory; to put them in Mind, not to be ſo bitter againſt Strangers, who, with ſo much Indulgence, bore the Perjuries of their own Kings; eſpecially, ſince the guilt of the Crime objected lies principally on thoſe, who were the firſt Violaters of the Truce. But to return to the Matter.

Thomas Howard, Earl of *Surrey*, had gone off with great Renown for that Victory over the *Scots*, if he had uſed his Succeſs with Moderation; but being a man almoſt drunk with his vaſt Succeſs, and little mindful of the Inſtability of Human Affairs, he made his Houſhold Servants, (as the *Engliſh* Cuſtom is) to wear a Badge on their left Arms, which was a *White Lyon* (his own Arms) on the top of a *Red one*, and rending him with his Paws. God almighty ſeem'd to puniſh this his inſolent Ambition; for there were, in a manner, none of his Poſterity of either ſide, but died in great Diſgrace and Ignominy.

BUT King *James*, as he was dear to all whilſt Living, ſo he was mightily lamented at his Death; and the Remembrance of him ſtuck ſo faſt in the Minds of Men, as the like was not known of any other King that we have heard or read of. 'Tis probable, that it happened, by making a Compariſon with the bad Kings, who preceded his Reign; or elſe were likely ſpeedily to follow after it; conſidering alſo his eminent Virtues: Nay, his Vices were popular, and eaſily deceiv'd Vulgar Minds, under a ſpecious Reſemblance and Affinity to Virtue. He was of a ſtrong Body, juſt Stature, a majeſtick Countenance, of a quick Wit, which by the fault of the Times was not cultivated by Learning. He greedily imbibed one ancient Cuſtom of the Nation; for he was skilful in curing Wounds; for, in old Times, that kind of Knowledge was common to all the Nobility, as Men continually accuſtomed to Arms. The acceſs to his Preſence was eaſy; his Anſwers were mild; he was Juſt in judging, and Moderate in puniſhing; ſo that he ſeemed to be drawn to it againſt his Will. He bore the malevolent Speeches of his Enemies, and the Admonitions of his Friends, with a Greatneſs of Mind, which aroſe in him from the Tranquillity of a good Conſcience, and the Confidence of his own Innocency; inſomuch, that he was ſo far from being angry, that he never returned them an harſh Word. There were alſo ſome Vices, which crept in among theſe Virtues, by reaſon of his too great Affectation of Popularity. For, by endeavouring to avoid the Name of a covetous Prince, which his Father had incurred, he laboured to inſinuate himſelf into the Good-will of the Vulgar,

by

by ſumptuous Buildings; by coſtly Pageants, and immoderate Grants; ſo that his Exchequer was brought very low: And his want of Money was ſuch, that, if he had lived longer, the Merits of his former Reign would have been extinguiſhed, or, at leaſt, out-ballanced by his Impoſition of new Taxes; ſo that his Death ſeem'd to have happened rather commodiouſly, than immaturely, to him.

JAMES *the Fifth.*

WHEN *James* the Fourth was ſlain, he left his Wife *Margaret* and two Sons behind him; the eldeſt of which was not yet quite two Years old. The Parliament, aſſembled at *Sterlin*, proclaimed him King, according to the Cuſtom of the Country, on the 24th Day of *February*; and then they applied themſelves to ſettle the publick Affairs; in endeavouring at which, they firſt perceived the greatneſs of their Loſs: For thoſe of the Nobility, who bore any thing of Authority and Wiſdom, being ſlain, the major part of thoſe, who ſurvived, by reaſon of their Youth, or Incapacity of Mind, were unfit to meddle with Matters of State, eſpecially in ſo troubleſome a Time; and they who were left alive of the better ſort, who had any thing of Prudence in them, by reaſon of their Ambition and Covetouſneſs, abhorred all Counſels tending to Peace. *Alexander Hume*, Lord Warden of the *Marches*, had got a great Name, and a large Eſtate, in the King's Life-time; but, when he was dead, he obtained an (almoſt) Regal Authority in the Countries bordering upon *England*. He, out of a wicked Ambition, did not reſtrain Robbers, that ſo he might more engage thoſe bold and lewd Perſons to him, thinking thereby to pave a way to greater Power: But, as that Deſign was pernicious, ſo was the End of it unhappy. The Command of the Country on this ſide the *Forth*, was committed to him; the Parts beyond, to *Alexander Gordon*, to keep thoſe ſeditious Provinces within the Bounds of their Duty: But the Title of Regent was inveſted in the Queen herſelf. For the King had left in his Will, which he made before he went to Fight, That, if he miſcarried, ſhe ſhould have the *Supreme Power* as long as ſhe remained a Widow. This was contrary to the Law of the Land, and the firſt Example of any Woman, who ever had the Supreme Rule in *Scotland*; yet the want of Men made it ſeem tolerable, eſpecially to them, who were deſirous of Peace and Quietneſs. But her Office continued not long; for, before the End of the Spring, ſhe married *Archibald Douglas*, Earl of *Angus*, one of the prime young

Men

James the 5th
King of Scotland.

Men of *Scotland*, for Lineage, Beauty, and Accomplishments in all good Arts. And before the End of that Year, the Seeds of Diſcord were ſown. They took their riſe from the Eccleſiaſtical Order; for, after the Nobles were ſlain, in all publick Aſſemblies, a great part were of that ſort of Men; and many of them made their own private Fortunes amidſt the publick Calamity, and got ſuch Eſtates, that nothing haſten'd their Ruin more, than that inordinate Power, which they afterwards as arrogantly uſed.

Alexander Stuart, Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, was ſlain at *Floddon*; and there were three which ſtrove for that Preferment, but upon different Intereſts. *Gawin Douglas*, upon the account of the Splendor of his Family, and his own Perſonal Worth and Learning, was nominated to the Place by the Queen, and accordingly took Poſſeſſion of the Caſtle of St. *Andrews*. *Andrew Hepburn*, Abbot of St. *Andrews*, before any Archbiſhop was nominated, gather'd up the Revenues of the Place, as a Sequeſtrator; and he, being a potent, factious, and ſubtle Man, was choſen, by his Monks, to the Vacancy; (for he alledged, that the Power of electing an Archbiſhop, by ancient Cuſtom, was in them) ſo that he drove out the Officers of *Gawin*, and placed a ſtrong Garriſon in the Caſtle. *Andrew Forman* had obtained great Favour in the Courts both of *Rome* and *France*, by his former Services: So that, beſides the Biſhoprick of *Murray* in *Scotland*, which he held from the Beginning, *Lewis* the XIIth of *France* gave him the Archbiſhoprick of *Bourges*: And Pope *Julius* had alſo diſmiſſed him, honoured with many rich Preferments; for he beſtowed on him the Archbiſhoprick of St. *Andrews*, the two rich Abbies of *Dunfermling*, and *Aberbrothock*, and made him his Legate (*à Latere*, as they call him,) beſides. But ſo great was the Power of the *Hepburns* at that time, that, the *Humes* being yet in Concord with them, no Man could be found that durſt proclaim the Pope's *Bull*, for the Election of *Forman* to that Dignity; 'till at laſt, *Alexander Hume* was induced by great Promiſes, and beſides other Gifts, with the actual Donation of the Abby of *Coldingham* to *David* his younger Brother, to undertake the Cauſe, which ſeemed to be Honeſt and Juſt; and eſpecially, becauſe the Family of the *Formans* was in the Clanſhip or Protection, of the *Humes*; ſo that he cauſed the Pope's *Bull* to be publiſhed at *Edinburgh*: And that was the Original of many Miſchiefs which enſued; for *Hepburn*, being a Man of a lofty Spirit, from that Day forward, ſtudied Day and Night how to deſtroy the Family of the *Humes*.

THE Queen, whilſt ſhe ſat at the Helm, did this one thing worthy to be remembred, that ſhe wrote to her Brother, that he would not make War upon *Scotland*, in reſpect to her, and her young Children; and that he would not infeſt the Dominions of his Coulin by foreign Arms, which, of its own ſelf, was divided into ſo many Domeſtick Factions; but that he would rather defend them againſt the Wrongs of others, upon the account of his Age, and the Affinity betwixt them. *Henry* anſwered very nobly and much like a Prince, *That, if the* Scots *deſired Peace, they ſhould have it; if War, he would make it upon them.*

WHEN the Queen, by reaſon of her Marriage, fell from her Regency, the Nobility was manifeſtly divided into two Factions: The *Douglaſſian* Party endeavoured, that the chief Power might reſide in the Queen; and that this was the Way to have Peace with *England*; which was not only advantagious, but even neceſſary for them. The other Party, headed by *Hume*, pretended an Umbrage of the publick Good; and that it was againſt the old Laws of the Land, to chooſe a Woman to be Regent: As for the Queen, they would be ſtudious of her Honour, as far as they might ſo do by the Law, and as far as the publick ſafety would permit; and that a ſufficient Proof had been given of it, in regard that they hitherto ſubmitted to her Government, (tho' it was againſt the Law of their Fore-Fathers) not by any legal Compulſion, but out of meer good Will; and that they were ready to endure it longer, if any honeſt and equitable Pretence could be alledged for it. But ſince ſhe, by her Marriage, had voluntarily depoſed herſelf from that Dignity, ſhe ought not to take it amiſs, if they ſubſtituted another to enjoy that Office, which ſhe had left; and which indeed, by the Law, ſhe could not hold; for the Laws of *Scotland* do not permit Women to have the Supreme Power, no not in times of Peace, much more in ſuch troubleſome Days as thoſe, when the moſt powerful, and moſt prudent Man alive, could hardly find Remedies for the many growing Evils of the Times.

THUS, whilſt each Faction ſtrove vigorouſly about the Choice of a Regent, they paſſed over all there preſent, either upon account of Ambition, or private Grudges, or Envy, and inclined to chooſe *John*, Duke of *Albany*, then living with good Repute in *France*. *William Elphinſton*, Biſhop of *Aberdeen*, is reported to have burſt forth into Tears, in bewailing the publick Misfortune; and his Speech affected many, eſpecially when he came to that Point of reckoning up, what Men were ſlain in the laſt Fight, and how few like them were left behind, of whom none was thought fit to ſit at the Helm of Government.

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He alſo told them, how empty the Exchequer was, and how it had been exhauſted by the late King, and how great a Portion of it was the Queen's Joynture, and how much neceſſarily muſt be expended on the Education of the King, and then how little part would remain to maintain the Charges of the Publick; and that, tho' none was more fit for the Regency than the Queen, yet, ſeeing Concord could not be had on other terms, ſhe was forced to yield to that Party, who were for calling *John*, Duke of *Albany*, out of *France*, to take the Regency upon him; tho' he thought, that the publick Miſery would be rather deferred than entirely ended by it. *Alexander Hume* was ſo violent for *Albany*, that he profeſſed openly in the Aſſembly, that, if they all refuſed, yet he himſelf would go alone, and bring him over into *Scotland*, to undertake the Government. It is thought, he did this, not for the Love of his Country, or for any private Advantage to himſelf, but merely out of this reſpect, that being an ambitious Man, and knowing that his Intereſt in the People was more upon the account of his Power, than out of any real Love; therefore himſelf deſpairing of the Place, he was afraid, if the Queen ſhould have it, the *Douglaſſes*, his Neighbours, would grow too great, and his Power would abate; for the Men of *Liddiſdale* and *Annandale* had already withdrawn themſelves, and had by little and little, gone over to the Clan of the *Douglaſſes*: And beſides, he conſidered, that the Queen, by Aſſiſtance from *England*, was eaſily able to obviate all his Deſigns; ſo that moſt Voices carried it for * *John* of *Albany*; and an Embaſſy was appointed (the chief whereof was *Andrew Wood* of the ** *Largs*, a famous Cavalier in thoſe Days) to call him into *Scotland* for the Government, both upon account of his own Virtue, and alſo by reaſon of his near Conſanguinity with the King; for he was the Son of *Alexander*, Brother of *James* the Third. He being thus called to the ſupreme Government by the *Scots*, *Francis*, King of *France*, did not think that Office unſuitable to his intereſt, and therefore he furniſhed him with Money and a Retinue at his Departure. Before his Arrival, in regard there was no one Perſon to adminiſter the publick Government, there were many Murders and Rapines committed, and, whilſt the richer ſort made up their private *Clans* and Factions, the poor deſolate Vulgar were afflicted with all kind of Miſeries. The chief Robber of thoſe Times was *Mac Robert Stuart*, who committed Outrages all over *Athol*, and the neighbouring Parts, at his Pleaſure, having 300 Men; and ſometimes more, under his Command. At

* *John* Duke of *Albany*, then in *France*, choſen Regent.
** A little Town in *Cuningham*, Running on the *Firth* of *Clyd*.

length, when he was at his Uncle *John Creighton's*, he was waylaid, apprehended, and put to Death. But there was more Miſchief like to ariſe from the Fewd between *Andrew Forman* and *John Hepburn*; yet the Nature of them both, and the Diſcord, rather of their Manners than Minds, deferred the Miſchief for a ſeaſon, which then was juſt a breaking out. *John* was profoundly covetous; and *Andrew* was as great a deſpiſer of Mony, and profuſe in his Bounties. The deſigns and Purpoſes of *Andrew* were open and manifeſt to the View of all; neither was there any need that he ſhould conceal them, becauſe his Vices were accounted Virtues, by the Vulgar; and the ſimplicity of his Nature did him as much Kindneſs among them, as the ſly hidden Craft of *Hepburn*, together with his malicious Diſſimulation, his implacable remembrance of Injuries, and Deſire of Revenge, did him. And therefore *Forman*, hearing as yet no certainty of the coming of the Duke of *Albany*, neither could he be put into Poſſeſſion by *Hume*, ſeeing *Hepburn* reſided at his Caſtle and Monaſtery, which he had ſtrongly garriſon'd, which were at a great Diſtance from thoſe Places, in which the Power of the *Humes* might be formidable: He determin'd, by his Friends, to try, whether he could, with Mony, either ſatisfy, or at leaſt, in ſome Degree, abate the Avarice of the Man; ſo, at laſt, they came to an Agreement on theſe Terms, That *Forman* ſhould remit and forgive the Revenues of the laſt Year, which *John* had gathered in, as a Sequeſtrator: That he ſhould ſurrender up to him the Biſhoprick of *Murray*; and that he ſhould pay him yearly 3000 *French* Crowns out of the Eccleſiaſtical Revenues, to be divided amongſt his Friends. And thus the implacable Man's Hate was a little abated, and Matters ſettled on that ſide.

THE

THE

HISTORY

OF

SCOTLAND.

Book XIV.

THIS was the State of Affairs in *Scotland*, when * *John* Duke of *Albany* arrived at *Dumbarton*, on the 20th Day of *May*, in the Year of our Salvation, 1515. to the exceeding Joy of all good Men. For, under his Government, they hoped for more quiet Times, and an equal Distribution of Justice. In full Assembly of the Nobility, summoned in his Name, he had a large Revenue settled upon him; he was made Duke of *Albany*, Earl of *March*, and Regent, till the King came to be of Age.

* *John* Duke of *Albany*, the new Regent, arrives in *Scotland*.

MOREOVER, *James*, the Natural Son of the late King, was made Earl of *Murray*; a young Man of ſuch virtuous Endowments, that he far exceeded all the Hopes Men had conceived of him. There was alſo one Fact, which much enhanſed the Eſteem they had for *John*; and it was done almoſt in the Face of the Aſſembly, and that was the Puniſhment of *Peter Muffat*. He was a notable Thief, who, after many cruel and wicked Pranks plaid by him, in the two laſt licentious Years, arrived, at length, to that pitch of Impudence, that he appeared openly at Court. His unexpected Puniſhment made ſuch a ſudden Change of Things, that Criminals began to withdraw for Shelter: The Minds of the Good were ſet at Eaſe, and the Face of Things began ſoon to be changed, and a ſtormy Tempeſt was ſmother'd into a ſudden Tranquillity.

IN the mean time, *John Hepburn* had ſo inſinuated himſelf into the Regent, by the help of his Friends, whom he had privately made ſo by Bribery; and afterwards, by his obſequiouſneſs, and pretence of knowing the old Cuſtoms of the Country, he got his Ear, who, of himſelf, was ignorant of *Scotiſh* Affairs; inſomuch, that none was credited in Matters of great Moment, but *He alone*. He was ſent abroad with Commiſſion, by the Regent, all over *Scotland*, to enquire into their Offences, who oppreſſed the Vulgar, and made them as their Slaves. He obtained that Office principally upon theſe Grounds; Firſt of all, he acquainted the Regent, what new Diſcord: and old Fewds there were in every County; and alſo what Factions there were, and who were their reſpective Heads: And indeed ſo far his Relations were true, for the Things were known to all. But, if any occaſion was offered to ſpeak of *Hume*, he ſtirr'd up ſome to complain of his Enormity: So that by the Imputation, partly of True, and partly of Feigned Crimes, the Regent's Ears were ſhut againſt all Defence he could make. But, when he had almoſt run over the whole Kingdom in his Diſcourſe, and placed in a clear Light all and ſingular the Alliances, Affinities, and Leagues, between each ſeveral Family, and brought over the Regent to this Perſuaſion, That no Man of Power, tho' a Criminal, could be Puniſhed, but all whole Clans would immediately take Offence at it: So that it was not the Conſpiracy of their Kindred only, that were ſo much to be dreaded, as the Conſequence of a Puniſhment, by which, tho' few were made Examples, a great many would be touch'd, whom a Similitude of Faults, and a like Fear of Puniſhments, would make Friends, tho' they had been Enemies before: So that theſe great and large ſpreading Factions were too Powerful to be puniſhed by the ſingle Force of *Scotland*; and therefore it was advyſible to deſire an Auxiliary Strength from the King of *France*,

to

to break the Knot of ſo ſtrong and ſo bold a Confederacy; and that this would be of uſe to *France*, as much as to *Scotland*. In the mean time, the Heads of the Factions were to be kept under, and (if poſſible) taken off; yet with ſuch Prudence, that they ſhould not have room to imagine, too many of them were aimed at, at once. The Heads of the Factions, at preſent, were three; *Archibald Douglas*, the moſt flagrantly popular of them all, and the Idol of the Mob. His Name was much adored by Reaſon of the great Merits of his Anceſtors; beſides, he was in the Flower of his Youth, and relied ſo much on his Affinity with *England*, that he bore a Spirit too big for a private Man. As for *Hume*, he was Formidable of himſelf; and yet rendered more *ſo*, becauſe he was *confirmed* in his Power by *length of Time*. Neither did he ſtop here, but made a moſt invidious Memorial of what the *Humes* had acted againſt the Regent's Father and Uncle; of all which, tho' the *Hepburns* were Partakers, yet he caſt the *Odium* upon the *Humes* only. He often mentioned his Cowardice in the laſt Battle againſt the *Engliſh*; and the Talk abroad about the King's Death reflecting upon him, together with the repairing of *Norham* Caſtle, which was done by his Connivence. He dreſs'd up all theſe Stories in various turns of Phraſe, and repeated them very zealouſly, over and over again, to the Regent, that they might not fail of making a pretty deep Impreſſion. *As for* Forman (ſays he) *'tis true, he is not mightily to be dreaded upon the account of his Kindred, or any Nobleneſs of Deſcent, yet even he would make a great acceſſion of Strength to what Party ſoever he inclined, becauſe all the Wealth of the whole Kingdom was gathered together (as it were) into one Houſe, and he was ſingly able, from his Treaſures, to ſupply the preſent Want of the Party he ſided with, or elſe by his Promiſes (all things being then in his Power) he could draw many into the ſame Counſels, and pack up one general Confederacy.* This was *Hepburn's* Speech to the Regent.

THE notorious Animoſities, that had paſſed between *Hepburn* and *Forman*, made that part of his Tale to be the leſs credited; and beſides, his Eſtate was not ſo much to be envied, for he rather loved to lay it out, than to hoard it up; neither was he ſo munificent to any, as to the *French* that waited on the Regent: And beſides, his Deſire was more to join all Parties in an univerſal Concord, than to pin himſelf to any one Faction. But the Suſpicion of the Lord of the *March* ſunk deeper into the Regent's Mind, which his colder Way of treating him at all the publick Meetings, and four unwonted Looks too openly betray'd. So that, after a few Months, *Alexander Hume*, perceiving that he was not entertained by the Re-

gent anſwerable to his Expectation, began to have ſecret Meetings with the Queen and her Husband: In thoſe Congreſſes, *Hume* grievouſly lamented the State of the Publick, that the King, at an Age when it was impoſſible he ſhould underſtand his own Miſery, was fallen into the Hands of an Exile; of a Man born and brought up in Baniſhment; whoſe Father, out of a wicked Ambition, had endeavoured to rob his elder Brother of the Kingdom: And, as he was now the next Heir, who could not plainly ſee, that all his Endeavours were to ſettle other things according to his Mind, and then to pack the innocent Child out of the World, that he might make the Kingdom his own; and ſo, by the laſt degree of Wickedneſs, accompliſh what his Father had impiouſly deſigned? There was but one Remedy in the Caſe, and that was, for the Queen to retire with her Son into *England*, and there to put herſelf and Concerns into the Protection of her Brother.

THESE things were ſpeedily brought to the Regent's Ears, and as eaſily believed by him; but, being a Man of an active Spirit, and of quick diſpatch in Buſineſs, he preſently fruſtrated that Deſign with thoſe Forces which he had ready about him; for he took the Caſtle of *Sterlin*, and the Queen in it: He took the Oath of Allegiance to the King publickly: The Queen and the *Douglaſſes* were remov'd by a Decree of the Lords; and three of the Nobility, of great eſtimation for their Faithfulneſs and Integrity, were joined with *John Erskin*, Governor of the Caſtle, to preſide over the Education of the young King: They were to ſucceed one another by turns, and he allowed them a Guard for their Security. Upon this, *Hume* and his Brother *William* fled into *England*; and *Douglas* and his Wife ſtaid no longer behind them than juſt to know *Henry*'s Mind, who commanded them to ſtay at *Harbottle* in *Northumberland*, till his Pleaſure was further known.

John the Regent was very much concern'd at their departures; and therefore he preſently ſent Ambaſſadors into *England*, to acquit himſelf before *Henry*. That he had done nothing, why the Queen ſhould fear him, or be in the leaſt diſaffected towards him; neither had he acted any thing againſt thoſe, who accompanied her in her Flight and Departure, but that they might enjoy their Country, and their Freedom, and, if they pleaſed, their Eſtates. Thus he wrote publickly to the King. But beſides that, he did not omit *ſecretly* to promote the return of the *Humes* and *Douglaſſes*, by the mediation of their Friends: He made them many large Promiſes, till he had brought them over to his Will. Whereupon, the reſt returned Home; but the Queen being big, and near the Time of her Delivery, was conſtrained to ſtay there, where ſhe was brought to bed of a Daughter

Daughter named *Margaret*, of whom in due Place. But, as ſoon as ſhe was able to travel, ſhe had a Royal Accommodation and Retinue ſent from *London*, to bring her up thither; where ſhe was honourably and nobly received by *Henry*, her Brother, and *Mary*, her Siſter; who, upon the Death of her Husband, *Lewis* of *France*, had, a little before, returned into her own Country.

AND yet, the Suſpicions, before raiſed in *Scotland*, were not much abated, either by the Departure of the Queen, or the Return of ſome of her Retinue: For *Gawin Douglas*, Uncle to the Earl of *Angus*, *Patrick Pantar*, Secretary of State to the former King, and *John Drummond*, chief of his Family, were ſent to ſeveral Priſons, and Baniſhed. *Alexander Hume* was ſummoned to appear before the Aſſembly of the Eſtates, on the 12th of *July*, in the Year of our Lord 1516. But he, not Appearing, was condemned, and his Goods confiſcated. He was enraged at this contumelious Injury (for ſo it was in his Eye;) and, to drive out one Fear by another, he either ſent in, or elſe encouraged, publick Robbers, to commit great Outrages in the neighbouring Parts. Whereupon the States order'd the Regent to raiſe Ten Thouſand Horſe and Foot, to repreſs thoſe Inſolencies; and, either to take *Hume*, or elſe to drive him out of the Country. But, before it came to Blows, *Hume*, by the perſuaſion of his Friends, ſurrender'd himſelf to the Regent, and ſo was carry'd to *Edinburgh*, there to remain a Priſoner under *James Hamilton*, Earl of *Arran*, his Siſter's Husband, who was to be deemed a Traytor, if he ſuffer'd him to eſcape: But the Iſſue of that Matter fell out otherwiſe than any Body expected; for *Hume* perſuaded *Hamilton* to make a joint Eſcape with him, and to form a Party, and ſo to enter on the Government himſelf, he being the next Heir after the former King's Children, in regard he was born of a Siſter of *James* the Third; and therefore it was more equitable, that he ſhould enjoy the next Place to the King, than *John*, who, 'tis true, was alſo the Son of a Brother, but born in his Baniſhment; and in all other things a perfect Foreigner; a Man, who could not ſo much as ſpeak the Language of the Country.

WHEN the Regent heard of this, he went to take in *Hamilton's* Caſtle; and planting his Braſs Guns againſt it, forced it to Surrender in two Days. In the mean time, *Hume* made Excurſions out of *March*, and pillaged the Country about; and at length, burnt down a great part of the Country of *Dunbar*. Theſe were the Tranſactions of that Year.

AT the beginning of the Spring, *John Stuart*, Earl of *Lenox*, whoſe Mother was *Hamilton's* Siſter, aſſembled a great many of his Friends and Vaſſals, and joined the Rebels; theſe ſeiz'd upon

upon the Caſtle of *Glaſgoe*; and there they ſtay'd with *Hamilton* himſelf, expecting the Regent's approach. The Regent had called a Council of the Nobles of his Party at *Edinburgh*, and there rais'd a ſudden Force, and entered *Glaſgoe* Caſtle; one Gunner, a Frenchman, was puniſh'd as a Deſerter; the reſt were pardon'd by the Interceſſion of *Andrew Forman*, who was then a Mediator for Peace between them. The Earl of *Lenox*, a few Days after, was receiv'd into Favour, and, from that Day forward, carry'd it with great Faithfulneſs and Obſervance towards the Regent. And not long after, firſt *Hamilton*, and then the *Humes*, return'd to Court, and had an Amneſty for what was paſt; it was granted to *Hume* with greater Difficulty than to the reſt, becauſe he had rebelled ſo often; and an expreſs Condition was added, that, if he offended another time after that, the memory of his old Crimes ſhould be again revived, and the Guilt of them charged upon him a-freſh. Peace being thus ſettled, the Regent retired to *Falkland*, where he ſtaid ſome Months; but, hearing of great Suſpicions and Jealouſies of *Hume's* Intrigues, he returned to *Edinburgh*; and on the 24th day of *September*, held a Council of the Nobility, where he endeavoured, by his Friends, to draw *Hume* to Court. Large Promiſes were made to entice *Hume* ſo to do; but many of his Party diſſuaded him; or, if he himſelf were reſolved to go, yet he ſhould leave his Brother *William* (who, by his Valour and Munificence, had almoſt obtained as great, or a greater Authority than himſelf) at Home, in regard the Regent would be afraid to uſe any high Severity againſt him, as long as his Brother was alive. But he being (as it were) hurried on by a fatal Neceſſity, ſlighted the Advice of his Friends; and with his Brother *William*, and *Andrew Car* of *Farnihurſt*, came to Court, where preſently they were all clapp'd up in ſeveral Priſons; and, by the Advice of the Council, a few days after, were tried for their Lives, after the Cuſtom of the Country. Prince *James*, Earl of *Murray*, accuſed him for the Death of his Father, who came *Alive* out of the Field, as many Witneſſes did teſtify. This Fact was ſtrongly urged; but the Proofs were weak, ſo that they gave it over, and inſiſted only on his private Crimes, and the many former Rebellions were objected; of all which, if *Alexander* was not the Author, he was, at leaſt, a Partaker in them: And moreover, 'twas alledged, that he did not do his Duty at the Battle of *Floddon*.

In Conſequence of this, the *Humes* were condemn'd; *Alexander* had his Head ſtruck off the 11th of *October*, and his Brother the Day after. Both of their Heads were ſet up on an high Place, as a Terror to others, and their Eſtates were confiſcated. This was the End of *Alexander Hume*, the powerfulleſt Man in *Scotland*

Scotland of his Time. He, in his Life-time, had drawn upon his own Head the Hatred and Envy of a great many Men; yet, thoſe Prejudices in time abating, his Death was variouſly ſpoken of; and ſo much the more, becauſe he fell not for the perpetration of any new Crime, but merely by the Calumnies (as 'twas thought) of *John Hepburn*, the Abbot; for he, being a factious Man, and eager of Revenge, bore an implacable Hatred againſt *Hume*; becauſe, by his Means alone, he was diſappointed of the Arch-Biſhoprick of St. *Andrews*: So that, tho' he had ſtifled his old Reſentments for a time, yet 'twas believ'd, he puſh'd on the Regent (who, by his own Nature, was ſuſpicious enough of, and diſaffected to the *Humes*) to the greater Severity againſt him, by telling him, how dangerous it would be to the King and all *Scotland*, if he, at his going into *France*, ſhould leave ſo fierce an Enemy alive behind him: For what would he not attempt in his Abſence, who had deſpiſed his Authority when preſent? So that the Contumacy of the Man, who could not be lenified by Rewards, Honours, nor by frequent Pardons, had need be conquered by the Axe; if he would ever keep *Scotland* in Quiet. Theſe, and ſuch-like Inſinuations, upon pretence of conſulting the Publick Safety, being buzz'd into the Ears of a Man, ſo much diſguſted at them before, contributed more to the Deſtruction of the *Humes*, (in the Judgement of many) than any of their Crimes. When the *Humes* were put to Death, *Andrew Car* obtained the reſpite of one Night, to provide for his Soul's Health; but by means of his Friends, and eſpecially a *French-man* his Keeper, it was ſuſpected, upon the payment of a good Sum of Money down upon the Nail, he made his Eſcape.

Alexander Hume left three Brothers behind him, who all met with various Misfortunes in thoſe Days; *George*, for a Murder he had committed, lay private, as an Exile, in *England*. *John*, Abbot of *Jedburgh*, was baniſhed beyond the *Tay*. *David*, the youngeſt, Prior of *Coldingham*, about two Years after the Execution of his Brothers, being called forth by *James Hepburn*, his Siſter's Huſband, upon pretence of a Conference, fell into an Ambuſh, laid purpoſely for him, and was ſlain, being much pitied by all; that an innocent young Man, of ſo great Hopes, ſhould be betrayed ſo unworthily by one, who had ſo little Reaſon ſo to do. When Severities and Puniſhments had thus ranged over the whole Family of the *Humes*, at laſt it fell to their Enemies ſhare, and eſpecially to *John Hepburn's*, who had been ſo ſevere an Exactor of the unjuſt Puniſhment of others: Yet the Deſtruction of one Family, once ſo Powerful, brought ſuch a panick Fear upon all the reſt, that Matters were the quieter a great while after. The next *December*, the Regent

brought

brought the King from *Sterlin* to *Edinburgh*; and then he deſir'd Leave of the Nobility of *Scotland* to return into *France*: Every one almoſt was againſt the Motion; ſo that he was forced to ſtay till late in the Spring, and then took Shipping, promiſing ſpeedily to return, in caſe any more than ordinary Commotion ſhould ariſe, which required his Preſence. The Government of the Kingdom, in his Abſence, he left to the Earls of *Angus*, *Arran*, *Argyle*, and *Huntly*; the Arch-Biſhops of St. *Andrews* and *Glaſgoe*; to whom he added *Anthony Darcy*, a *French-man*, Governor of *Dunbar*, who was enjoined to correſpond with him, and to inform him of all Paſſages in his Abſence. And, that no Diſcord might ariſe, out of an ambitious Principle, between ſuch Great and Noble Perſonages, by reaſon of their Parity in the Government, he allotted to each of them their ſeveral Provinces. *Darcy*, the *French-man*, the reſt condeſcending thereunto, had the chief Place amongſt them, *Merch* and *Lothian* being appointed to be under his Government. The other Provinces were diſtributed to the reſt, according to each Man's particular Convenicency. Mean while, the Queen, about a Year after ſhe had been in *England*, near the end of *May*, returned to *Scotland*, and was attended by her Husband from *Berwick*: But they lived not together ſo lovingly as before.

THE Regent, at his Departure, to prevent the budding and growth of Sedition in his Abſence, had carried along with him, either the Heads of the nobleſt Families, or elſe their Sons and Kindred, (upon a pretence of doing them Honour, but, indeed, as Pledges,) into *France*: And he had ſent others of them into different and remote Parts of the Kingdom, where they had, as 'twere, but a larger Priſon. He had alſo placed *French* Governors in the Caſtles of *Dunbar*, *Dunbarton*, and *Garvy*; yet a Commotion aroſe, upon a ſlight occaſion, where it was leaſt feared, or dreamt of.

Anthony Darcy had carried it with a great deal of Equity and Prudence in his Government, eſpecially in reſtraining of Robberies. The firſt Tumult in his Province, which tended to any thing of a War, was made by *William Cockburn*, Uncle to the Lord of *Langton*; he had driven away the Guardians of the young *Ward*, and had ſeized upon the Caſtle of *Langton*, relying principally on the Power of *David Hume* of *Wedderburn*, whoſe Siſter *Cockburn* had married. Thither *Darcy* marched with a ſufficient Guard; but they within refuſed to ſurrender the Caſtle: And moreover, *David Hume*, with ſome few Light-Horſe, riding up to him, upbraided him with the cruel Death of his Kinſman *Alexander*. The *French-man*, partly diſtruſting his Men, and partly confiding in the Swiftneſs of the Horſe he rode

rode upon, fled towards *Dunbar*; but, his Horſe falling under him, his Enemy overtook and ſlew him, and ſet up his Head in an eminent Place on *Hume*-Caſtle. He was ſlain the 20th of *September*, in the Year 1517.

WHEREUPON the other Governors had a Meeting; and fearing a greater Combuſtion, after this terrible beginning, they made the Earl of *Arran* their Preſident, and committed *George Douglas* (Brother to the Earl of *Angus*, upon Suſpicion of being privy to the Murder newly committed) Priſoner to *Inſe-Garvy* Caſtle: They alſo ſent to the Regent in *France*, to call him back into *Scotland*, as ſoon as ever he could. About the ſame time, ſome Seeds of Diſcord were ſown between the Earl of *Angus*, and *Andrew Car* of *Farnihurſt*, by reaſon of the Juriſdiction over ſome Lands which did belong to the Earl; but *Andrew* alledged he had Power to keep Courts in them: The reſt of the Family of the *Car*'s ſided with the Earl, but the *Hamilton*'s took part with *Andrew*; which they did more out of Hate to the *Douglaſſes*, than for any Juſtice *Car* had in his Pretenſions: So that both Parties provided themſelves againſt the Court-day, to run a greater Hazard, than the Matter, they ſtrove about, was worth. And *John Somerval*, a Noble and high-ſpirited young Man, of the *Douglaſſes* Faction, ſet upon *James*, the Natural Son of the Earl of *Arran*, on the Way, and kill'd five of his Retinue, putting the reſt to Flight: He alſo took above Thirty of their Horſes.

WHEN an Aſſembly was ſummoned to be held at *Edinburgh*, *April* the 29th, 1520. the *Hamiltons* alledged, that they could not be ſafe in that City, where *Archibald Douglas* was Governor. Whereupon *Douglas*, that he might not obſtruct publick Buſineſs, about the end of *March*, reſigned his Government of his own accord; and *Robert Long*, a Citizen of *Edinburgh*, was ſubſtituted in his Place. The Nobility of the Weſt part of *Scotland*, of which there were very many, had frequent Meetings in the Houſe of *James Beton*, the Chancellor; their Deſign was to Apprehend the Earl of *Angus*; for they alledged, that his Power was too Great and Formidable to the Publick; that, as long as he was at Liberty, they ſhould have no Freedom for Debate, or Reſolution. And Opportunity ſeem'd to favour their Deſign; for he, having now but a few of his Vaſſals about him, might be eaſily Surprized, before his Kindred came to his Aſſiſtance. When he perceived what was in agitation againſt him, he ſent his Uncle *Gawin*, Biſhop of *Dunkelden* to pacify them, whom, he ſaid, he had provoked with no Injury, and to deſire them to manage the Diſpute without force of Arms; for, if they could make out any juſt Complaint againſt him, he was willing, in Equity, to give them all Satisfaction.

But

But his Speech availed him not at all, being made to Men poſſeſſed, fierce, puiſſant, and greedy of Revenge. And therefore *Gawin* could obtain no good Terms from them, but returned to *Angus*, and acquainted him with the Arrogance of his Enemy, and then cauſed his whole Family to follow the Earl. He himſelf being a Prieſt and infirm too, by reaſon of Age, retired to his own Lodging. Some think, he did this, to upbraid the unſeaſonable Pride of the Chancellor, who, when he ought to have been a promoter of Peace, flew armed up and down, like a Fire-brand of Sedition. *Douglas*, ſeeing there was no Hopes of Agreement, exhorted his Men rather to die valiantly, than, like daſtardly Cowards, to hide themſelves in their Lodgings, from whence (to be ſure) they would ſoon be pluck'd out by the Ears, to their Deaths; for their Enemies had ſo ſtopp'd up all the Avenues and Paſſages, that not a Man of them could get out of the City. All, that were then preſent, aſſented to what he had ſpoken; and ſtrait he and his party, having buckled on their Armour, ſeized upon the broadeſt Street in all the Town. He had about Fourſcore in his Train, but all ſtout reſolute Men, and of known Valour. They divided and poſted themſelves in the moſt convenient Places, and ſo ſet upon their Enemies as they came out of ſeveral narrow Alleys at once; the firſt they ſlew, and drove the reſt back headlong, tumbling one upon another in great Diſorder and Confuſion. The Earl of *Arran*, who commanded the oppoſite Party, with his Son *James*, got to a Foord, and made their Eſcape by the *North-Lough*; the reſt ran ſeveral Ways for ſhelter, to the Convent of the *Dominicans*. Whilſt theſe things were in agitation, there was a mighty Combuſtion all over the Town; and, in the midſt of the Buſtle, *William*, *Angus*'s Brother, enters the City with a great Party of his Clan. When *Douglas* had got this acceſſion to his former Strength, tho' there were abundance of his Enemies in the Town, yet he made Proclamation, by a Trumpeter, That none ſhould dare to appear in the Streets with Arms about them, but his Friends and Party. Thoſe, that deſired Paſſes to depart quietly, had them eaſily granted. There went out in one Company about 800 Horſe (beſides thoſe who had taken their Flight before) with greater Ignominy than Loſs: For there fell not above 72, but amongſt them were Men of Note, as the Brother of the Earl of *Arran*, and *Eglinton*'s Son. This happen'd on the 30th day of *April*, 1520. In order to revenge this Diſgrace, the *Hamilton*'s beſieged *Kilmarnock* (a Caſtle in *Cuningham*) *Robert Boyd*, a Friend of the *Douglaſſes*, commanded it; but they ſoon left it, without effecting any thing. The next Year *Douglas* came to *Edinburgh*, on the 20th of *July*, bringing with him

him the *Humes*, which had been Baniſhed; and there he took down the Heads of *Alexander*, and *William Hume*, which had been ſet up on Poles. The whole five Years, that the Regent was abſent, were very full of Tumults; there was no end of Pillaging and Killing, till his Return, which was on *Octob.* 30, 1521. Upon his Arrival, he reſolved to clip the Power of the *Douglaſſes*, in order to the quieting of all Seditions, which had happened in his Abſence. He ſent the Earl of *Angus*, Head of that Family, into *France*; he cauſed the Pope to call over his Uncle, the Biſhop of *Dunkelden*, to *Rome*, to purge himſelf there from ſome Crimes imputed to him, who, the Year after, on his Journey to *Rome*, fell ſick of the Plague in *London*, and died: His Virtues were ſuch, that he was very much lamented; for, beſides the Splendor of his Anceſtry, and the Comelineſs of his Perſonage, he was Maſter of a great deal of Learning, (as Times went then;) and being alſo a Man of high Prudence, and ſingular Moderation, even in troubleſome Times, he was much eſteem'd in point of Faithfulneſs and Authority, even by the contrary Factions. He left behind him conſiderable Monuments of his Ingenuity and Learning, written in his Mother-Tongue. The next Year after the return of the Regent, a Parliament was held, and an Army levied, appointed to Rendezvouz at *Edinburgh*, on a ſet day; whither they came accordingly, and pitched their Tents in the Fields, near *Roſſelin*, none knowing upon what Service they were to be employ'd: But, at laſt, an Herald proclaim'd, that they were to march towards *Annandale*; and that a great Puniſhment was appointed for ſuch, who refuſed to Obey the Orders. The reſt of the Army marched obediently enough to the River *Solway*, the Boundary of *Scotland*; only *Alexander Gordon*, and his Party, ſtaid behind three Miles backward, further from *England*: When the Regent heard of it, he came back to him the next Day, and brought him up to the Camp: There called he the Nobles and chief Commanders together, and ſhewed them many great and weighty Reaſons, why he invaded *England* on that ſide. But a great part of the Nobility, by the inſtigation of *Gordon*, who was their Senior, and of greater Authority than all of them, wholly refuſed to ſet Foot on *Engliſh* Ground; whether out of Diſaffection to the Regent, or elſe, (as they pretended) that 'twas not for the Intereſt of *Scotland*, ſo to do; the ſpecious Pretences, ſpread abroad amongſt the Soldiers, pleaſed them well enough; for, if they had levied an Army in favour of the *French*, leſt the *Engliſh* might bring their whole Strength upon them, it was ſufficient, for that purpoſe, only to make a ſhew of War; but, if the Intereſt of *Scotland* was conſidered, Matters were not well ſettled at Home, and

their

their King was but a Child; ſo that 'twas moſt adviſable for them, at that juncture, only to be on the Defenſive, and to keep their own Country quiet; for, if they ſhould march forward, the blame even of fortuitous Miſcarriages, might be laid to their Charge, and an account of their Misfortunes might be required at their Hands, in a very ſhort time. Laſtly, tho' they were never ſo willing to march forward againſt the Enemy, and ſo to ſlight the common Danger, as well as to overlook their own Concerns at Home; yet they were afraid the *Scots* would not be obedient to Command in an Enemy's Country: great heed therefore was to be taken, leſt, by Emulation or late Diſguſts, they ſhould meet with Ignominy and Loſs. The Regent, perceiving it in vain to oppoſe, was fain to yield; yet, that he might not ſeem to have acted a mere piece of Pageantry only, after ſuch vaſt preparations, in marching his Army as far as the *Solway*, he underhand procured a fit and proper Perſon, who had frequent Negotiations to Tranſact on *England*, to acquaint *Dacres*, then Lord Warden of the *Engliſh* Marches, that ſome Good might be done, if he treated with *John* the Regent. He willingly hearkened to the Propoſal, becauſe he was unprovided for Defence; never imagining, that the *Scots* would have made an Eruption into *England* on that ſide; nor indeed, ſcarce believing, that they would have made any ſuch Attempt at all. Accordingly he ſent an Herald of Arms, and had a Paſſport to come and go, with Safety, into the Camp. The next Day, *Thomas Dacres*, and *Thomas Muſgrave*, with about twenty more Cavaliers, came to the Regent's Tent; where they had private Diſcourſe together, each having their Interpreters. *Dacres*, being taken unprovided, was not averſe to a Peace: And the Regent, not being able to effect any thing without the Conſent of his Army, clapp'd up a Truce: And an hopeful Introduction to a Peace was made, and ſo they parted. Thoſe of the *Scots*, who were the greateſt Hindrances of the Action, to throw off the blame from themſelves, ſpread abroad Reports, that *Dacres* had bought a Peace from the Regent for a Sum of Money, of which, part was in Hand paid, the reſt promiſed, but never paid. Thus they endeavoured to diſparage the Conference, amongſt the Vulgar.

The Regent went again, on the 25th of *October* into *France*, but promiſed to return before the firſt of *Auguſt* next enſuing; yet he kept not his Day, becauſe he was informed, that the *Engliſh* had a Fleet to intercept his Paſſage: However, he ſent 500 Foot, in the Month of *June*, both to encourage the *Scots*, and alſo, as an Earneſt of his ſpeedy Return. They never ſaw the Face of an Enemy in all their Voyage, 'till they came near the Iſle of *May*, which is ſituate on the *Firth* of *Forth*, where they

Streights, to ſtop their Paſſage. There they had a ſharp Fight, and the *French* boarded their Enemies Ships, but with the loſs of their Admiral. When he was ſlain, the Seamen would not obey the Captains of the Foot; and the Land-Soldiers, being ignorant of Sea-Affairs, could not command the Mariners: So that, after a great ſlaughter of the *Engliſh*, they could ſcarce be forced back into their own Ships.

IN the Abſence of the Regent, *Thomas Howard*, Earl of *Surrey*, was ſent, with Ten thouſand Men, and a great many Voluntiers, into *Scotland*: His Advantage was, that the *Scots* were at Diſcord amongſt themſelves; their chief Magiſtrates were abſent, and they were under no certain Command; ſo that he march'd over *Merch* and *Teviotdale*, and took the Caſtles of both Shires, to the great loſs of the Nobles, and of the Commons too, who uſed, upon ſudden Invaſions, to ſecure themſelves, and their Goods, in thoſe Forts. But *Scotland* did then labour under ſuch inteſtine Diſcords, that no Man thought his Neighbour's Calamity did at all belong to him. The *Engliſh* march'd up and down for ſeveral Months, where they pleaſed, without any Oppoſition; and when, at length, they retreated, the adjacent *Scots* endeavoured, in ſome ſort, to Revenge themſelves for their Loſſes; and accordingly daily Incurſions were made by them into *Northumberland*, and great Booties taken out of that Country: So that *Howard* was ſent againſt them a ſecond time; who took *Jedburgh* (a Town unfortified, as the *Scots* Cuſtom is) but it coſt him ſome Names, and loſs of Men. Whilſt theſe things were acting in *Teviotdale*, the Horſes of the Engliſh Army were ſo terrified in the Night, ('tis not known upon what occaſion) that about 500 of them broke their Bridles, running up and down the Camp, and overturning all that were in their way: Some of the Soldiers they trampled down and trod upon; and then ran out into the open Field, as if they had been Mad, and ſo became a Prey to ſuch of the Country *Scots*, as could take them up. This cauſed a great Conſternation through the whole Camp, all crying out, *Arm, Arm*: Neither could the Tumult be appeaſed, till the next Morning. Three Days after, the *Engliſh*, without making any further Attempt, disbanded their Army, and returned Home.

THE Duke of *Albany*, knowing, that all the Ports on the *French* Shore were Way-laid by the *Engliſh*, to intercept him in his return, being inferior in Strength, reſolv'd to work it by Stratagem. He kept not his Navy together in any one Port, but ſo diſperſed them into ſeveral Harbours, (here one Ship, there another) that there was no Appearance at all of any warlike Preparation: And beſides, he quartered his Soldiers in the

Inland Country, that no Body could imagin, he deſigned to Ship them; ſo that the Admiral of the *Engliſh* Fleet, who waited to diſturb his Paſſage, till the 13th of *Auguſt*, was weary of roving up and down in the Sea any longer, to no purpoſe; and unerſtanding by his Spies, that there was neither Fleet, nor Army, on all the *French* Coaſts, he withdrew his Fleet, as ſuppoſing *John* would not ſtir, till the next Spring. The Duke of *Albany*, being informed of the Departure of the *Engliſh*, preſently drew together his Navy of 50 Ships, aboard of which were 3000 Foot, and 100 Curiaſiers; and ſo, after the Autumnal Equinox, he ſet ſail from *France*, and, by the 24th of *September*, made to the Iſle of *Arran* in *Scotland*; which happened to be the ſame Day on which the *Engliſh* burn'd *Jedburgh*.

I ſhew'd before, how miſerable the State of Affairs in *Scotland* was, the laſt Summer. The Nobles were at variance one with another; the *Engliſh* waſted all the Countries near them; they were Maſters of the Sea; and conſequently all Hopes of foreign Aid were cut off. The Deſign of the Enemy in this was, to take down the Pride of the *Scot*, and, by Sufferings, to incline him to a Pacification: Neither were thoſe *Scots*, that were adverſe to the *French* Faction, leſs addicted to it; for they earneſtly deſired a perpetual Peace with *England*: Of which Faction, the Queen was the chief. For, when *Hume* was taken off, *Douglas* pack'd away; and the other Nobles were judg'd rather fit to *follow*, than *lead*, in the Management of Matters: All thoſe, that were not favourers of the *French* Intereſt, applied themſelves to the Queen. She, on the other ſide, to gratify her Brother, and alſo to draw the Power into her own Hands, diſſembled her private Ambition, and exhorted them, ſaying, That, *now was the time to free their young King, who was almoſt of Age, from the Bondage of a Stranger; and alſo to deliver themſelves from the ſame Yoke.* For the Queen now laboured to ſtrengthen her Party againſt her Husband, againſt whom ſhe, long before, began to have a great Diſguſt: Beſides, the King of *England* ſent frequent Letters, filled with large Promiſes to the Nobles of *Scotland*, deſiring them to promote his Siſter's Deſigns. He told them, 'It was not his Fault, 'that there was not a perpetual Amity between the two neighbouring Kingdoms; and that he, with others, did very much 'Deſire it at this time; not for any private End of his own, 'but to make it appear, that he bore a Reſpect to his Siſter's 'Son, whom he reſolved to ſupport and gratify, as much as 'ever he was able: And, if the *Scots* would be perſuaded to 'break their League with *France*, and to ſtrike in with *England*, 'they ſhould quickly find, his Aim was not Ambition, but

'only

'only Love and Concord. That *Mary*, his only Daughter, 'being married to *James*, the *Scots* would not, by that Affi-'nity, come over to the Government of the *Engliſh*, but the '*Engliſh* to that of the *Scots*. That Enmities as great as theirs, 'had intervened betwixt Nations heretofore, which, yet, by 'Alliances, mutual Commerce, and interchangeable Kindneſſes, 'had been wholly aboliſh'd, and extinguiſh'd. Moreover, he reckon'd up the Advantages, or Inconveniencies, which might accrue to either Nation, by this Union with each other, rather than with the *French*: as, that 'they were one People, born 'in the ſame Iſland; brought up under the ſame Climate; 'agreeable one to another in their Language, Manners, Laws, 'Cuſtoms, Countenance, Colour; and in the very Make of 'their Bodies; ſo that they ſeemed rather to be *one* Nation 'than *two*: But as for the *French*, they differed from them, not 'only in Climate and Soil, but alſo in the whole courſe of 'their Converſations. Beſides, if *France* was an Enemy, ſhe 'could do no great Damage to *Scotland*; and, if a Friend, yet 'ſhe could not be highly advantageous: As for the Aſſiſtance 'of *England*, that was near at hand; but *French* Aid was much 'more remote; there was no Paſſage for it, but by Sea, and 'therefore it might be prevented by Enemies, or elſe hindred 'by Storms. They were therefore deſired to conſider, how 'inconvenient it was for the management of Affairs, and how 'unſafe for the Publick, to Hang the Hopes of their and the 'Kingdom's Safety, upon ſo inconſtant and changeable a Thing, as 'a blaſt of Wind. How much they might expect from abſent 'Friends, againſt preſent Dangers, may be eaſily perceived by 'the Actions of the laſt Summer, where the *Scots* not only felt, 'but even ſaw with their Eyes, how the *Engliſh* baffled them, 'being forſaken by their Friends, and came upon them with all 'their Strength, ready to devour them; but the *French* Aid, ſo 'long look'd for, was kept back by the *Engliſh* Navy, in their 'own Harbours.

Theſe were the Allegations for a Peace with *England*: And not a few, being convinced by them, were inclined to it; but others argued to the contrary: For there were many in that Aſſembly, whom the *French* had brib'd; and ſome who had got great Eſtates out of the publick Loſſes, for fear they ſhould loſe them, abhorr'd the very thoughts of Peace. There were others, who ſuſpected the readineſs and facility of the *Engliſh* in making ſuch large Promiſes; eſpecially ſince Matters in *England* were manag'd, for the moſt part, at the Will and Pleaſure of *Thomas Wooſey*, a Cardinal, a Man wicked and ambitious, who laid all his Deſigns for his own private Advantage, and for the enlargement of his Power and Authority; and there-

fore he accommodated them (as the Phraſe runs) to every turn of the Wheel of Fortune. All theſe equally favour'd the League with *France*, tho' induced to the ſame End by different Motives. They alledged, that the ſudden Liberality of the *Engliſh* was not free and gratuitous, but done out of Deſign; and that this was not the firſt time, that they had us'd ſuch Arts to intrap the unwary *Scots*: For *Edward* the Firſt, (ſaid they) when he had ſworn and obliged himſelf, by all the Bonds of Law and Equity, to decide the thing in Diſpute, and therefore was choſen Arbitrator by the *Scots*, had, moſt injuriouſly, made himſelf King of *Scotland*: and of late, *Edward* the Fourth had betrothed his Daughter *Cicely* to the Son of *James* the Third; but, when the young Lady grew up to be marriageable, and the day of Conſummation juſt upon the Point of being fix'd, he took the opportunity of a War, which aroſe upon the account of our private Diſcords, and ſo broke off the Match: And that the *Engliſh* King aim'd at nothing elſe now, but to caſt the tempting bait of Rule before them, that ſo he might make them really Slaves; and, when they were deſtitute of foreign Aid, might ſubdue them at his Pleaſure, and unawares, with all his Force. Neither was that Poſition a true one, wherein the contrary Partry prided themſelves, *That an Alliance near at hand was better than one farther off*; for Cauſes of Diſſention would never be wanting among thoſe, who were near; which were oftentimes produc'd, even by ſudden Chances; and ſometimes great men would promote them upon every light Occaſion; and then the Laws of Concord would be preſcrib'd by him, who hath the longeſt Sword. That there was never ſuch a firm and ſacred Bond of Friendſhip, between neighbouring Kingdoms, which, when occaſions offer'd, or were ſought for, was not often violated; neither could we hope, that the *Engliſh* would more refrain now from violating ſuch a League, than they formerly did, againſt ſo many Kings of their own Blood: 'Tis true, the Sanctity of Leagues, and the Religion of an Oath, for the faithful performance of Pacts and Agreements, are firm Bonds and Engagements to good Men; amongſt thoſe which are bad, they are as ſo many Snares and Gins, and give only opportunity to deceive; and ſuch Opportunity is moſt viſible in a propinquity of Borders and Habitations, in the Sameneſs of a Language, and in the Similitude of Converſation. But, if all theſe things were otherwiſe, yet, (proceed they) there are Two things to be regarded and provided for: Firſt, we reject not our old Friends, even without an Hearing, who have ſo often deſerved well of us. The other, that we do not here ſpend our time in Quarrels and Diſputes, eſpecially about a Buſineſs, where nothing can be determin'd,

but

but in an Aſſembly of all the Eſtates of the Kingdom. Thus ſtood the Inclinations of thoſe of the *French* Faction; and ſo they obtain'd, that no Determination ſhould be made, till they received certain News of the *French* Supplies.

WHEN the return of the Regent was made known, it mightily rejoyced his Friends, ſtrengthened the Wavering, and kept back many, who favour'd the League with *England*, from complying with it. He ſent his Warlike Proviſions up the River *Clyde* to *Glaſgoe*, and there muſter'd his Army: He alſo publiſh'd a Proclamation, that the Nobility ſhould attend him at *Edinburgh*, where he made an elegant Speech to them, commending their Conſtancy in maintaining their ancient League, and their Prudence, in rejecting the perfidious Promiſes of the *Engliſh*: He highly extolled the Good-will, Love, and Liberality of *Francis*, the *French* King, towards the *Scots*; and exhorted them to lay aſide their private animoſities and Fewds; and, ſeeing foreign Aid was come in to them, to revenge their Wrongs, and to repreſs the Inſolence of their Enemy, by ſome notable Blow. Accordingly, after their Soldiers had refreſh'd themſelves, and the *Scots* Forces had joined them, he marched towards the Borders, whither he came the 22d of *October*. But being about to enter *England*, and having already ſent part of his Forces over a Wooden Bridge, which was at *Mulroſs*, the *Scots* made the ſame Pretences, as they did in the former Expedition at *Solway*, aad refus'd to enter *England*; ſo that he was forc'd to recall that Party, which he had commanded over; and pitching his Tents a little below, on the left ſide of the *Tweed*, endeavour'd to ſtorm the Caſtle of *Werke*, ſituated over-againſt him, on the right-ſide of the River. In the mean time, the Horſe, that had paſs'd over the River, beſet all Paſſages, that no Relief could come to the Beſieged: they alſo carried Fire and Sword round all the Country thereabouts. The deſcription of *Werke* Caſtle is this; In the inner Court of it, there is a very high Tower well fortify'd; it is compaſs'd with a double Wall; the outward Wall incloſes a large ſpace of Ground, whither the Country People were wont to fly in time of War, and to bring their Corn and Cattle with them for Safeguard: The inner Wall is narrow, but intrench'd round about, and better fortify'd with Towers that are built upon it. The *French* took the outward Court by Storm, but the *Engliſh* ſet Fire to the Barns, and the Straw that was in them, which made ſuch a Smoak, that they drove them out again. For the next two Days they batter'd the inner Wall with their great Guns; and, after they had made a Breach wide enough for entrance, the *French* again attempted the Matter, and endeavoured to Storm it, by means of the Breach they had made; but thoſe in the inner

Caſtle, being yet ſafe, darted down all ſorts of Weapons upon them, and they lay expos'd to every Blow: So that, having loſt ſome few of their Men, they were beat back to their Army, and retreated croſs the River. The Regent perceiving that the Minds of the *Scots* were averſe to Action, and alſo hearing for certain, that the *Engliſh* were coming againſt them with a numerous Army, (their own Writers ſay, no leſs than 40000 fighting Men; and beſides, that 6000 more were left to defend *Berwick*, a neighbouring Town;) the 11th of *November*, removed his Camp to a Nunnery called *Eccles*, about ſix Miles diſtant from his preſent Encampment; thence, at the third Watch, he marched by Night to *Lauder*: Both Horſe and Man were much incommoded in their March, by the ſudden fall of a great Snow. The ſame Storm occaſion'd the *Engliſh* alſo to disband and return Home, without effecting any thing. The reſt of the Winter was quiet enough.

AT Spring, the Regent, in an Aſſembly of the Nobles, told them the Cauſes, why he muſt needs go again into *France*, but he promiſed them to return before the firſt of *September* next following. And he further deſired them, that, during his Abſence, the King might remain at *Sterlin*; and that they would make no Peace or Truce with the *Engliſh* before his Return: As alſo, that they would make no Innovations in the Government. They promiſed him faithfully to obey his Commands: And thus, on the 14th of *May*, he, and his Retinue, ſet ſail for *France*. In his Abſence, the Reins were let looſe, every Man's Will was his Law, and a great deal of Havock was made, and Miſchief done, without any Puniſhment at all. Upon this, the King, tho' but a Child, by the Advice of his Mother, and the Earls of *Arran*, *Lenox*, *Crawford*, and many other of the prime Nobility, came from *Sterlin* to *Edinburgh*; and on the 29th of *July*, by the Counſel of his Nobles, whom he had convened at his Palace of *Holy-rood-Houſe*, he took upon him the Government of the Kingdom; and the next Day, cauſed them all to ſwear Fealty to him a ſecond time: And, to ſhew that he had actually aſſumed the Adminiſtration of Matters into his own Hands, he diſcharged all publick Officers; but a few Days after he reſtored them to their Places again.

THERE was a great Aſſembly of the Nobles held on the 20th Day of *Auguſt*, that ſo he might vacate the Power of the Regent, which he had now taken upon himſelf; and ſo he went in great Pomp (as the manner is) into the publick Hall of the Town; only the Biſhops of St. *Andrews* and *Aberdeen* diſſented, alledging, That they ought to ſtay till the firſt of *September*, at which time the Regent had promis'd to Return: Whereupon they were Impriſon'd. But they reveng'd themſelves with their

own

own Church-weapons, and Excommunicated all of their Dioceſſes. However, in about a Month or two after, they were reconcil'd to the King, and reſtor'd to the ſame Place in his Favour, which they had before.

ABOUT the ſame time *Archibald Douglas*, who, as I ſaid before, was ſent into *France*, ſent *Simon Penning*, an active Man, and much truſted by him, to the King of *England*, to perſuade him to give him the Liberty of returning Home through his Dominions; which was granted. For *Henry* was well enough pleaſed at the diminution of the Authority of ſo active a Perſon as the Duke of *Albany*; and at the Change which was made in *Scotland*; ſo that he entertained the Earl courteouſly, and diſmiſs'd him very honourably. But his Return made very different Impreſſions in the Minds of the *Scots*: For, ſeeing all publick Buſineſs was tranſacted under the Conduct of the Queen and the Earl of *Arran*, a great part of the Nobility, the Heads whereof were *John Stuart* Earl of *Lenox*, and *Colen Campbel*, Earl of *Argyle*, taking a great Diſtaſte, that they were not admitted to any part of the Adminiſtration, received *Douglas* with high Expreſſions of Joy, as hoping, by his Aid, either to win over the Power of the adverſe Faction to themſelves, or, at leaſt, to abate their Pride. On the other ſide, the Queen, who, as I ſaid before was diſaffected towards her Husband, was much troubled at his coming, and ſought by all Means to undermine him. Moreover *Hamilton*, who felt ſome Relicks of his old Reſentment, was none of his faſt Friend: He fear'd leſt *Douglas*, who he knew would not be content with a ſecond Place, would mount the Saddle, and make him truckle under; ſo that he ſtrove to maintain his own Dignity, and oppoſed him with all his Might. They kept themſelves within the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*; and, tho' they knew very well, that many of the Nobility affected Alterations, yet, truſting in the Strength of the Place, and the Authority of the Kingly Name, (tho' it was but a ſorry Defence in thoſe Circumſtances) they thought themſelves ſecure from Force. The adverſe Party had a great meeting of the Nobles, where they choſe three of their own Party to be Guardians of King and Kingdom. *Archibald Douglas*, Earl of *Angus*; *John Stuart*, Earl of *Lenox*; and *Colen Campbel*, Earl of *Argyle*. They made great haſte in their Buſineſs: Firſt, They paſſed the *Forth*, and cauſed *James Beton*, a prudent Man, to join with them, who, perceiving the Strength of the Party, durſt not reſiſt. From thence they went to *Sterlin*, and conferr'd all Offices and Employments on the Men of their own Faction only; and from thence they came to *Edinburgh*, which they entred without Force, for it was not fortified at all. They caſt up a ſmall Trench againſt

the Caſtle, and beſieg'd it. Thoſe that would have been upon the Defenſive, had made no proviſion for a Siege, and therefore ſoon ſurrendered up both it and themſelves. All but the King, were ſent away; ſo that now the whole Weight of the Government lay upon the Shoulders of thoſe three Aſſociates, who agree'd among themſelves, that they would manage it by turns, each of them attending four Months on the King. But this Conjunction was not hearty, neither did it laſt long. *Douglas* attended the firſt four Months, who brought the King into the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*'s Houſe, and made Uſe of all the Biſhop's Houſhold-ſtuff, and other Accommodations, as if they had been his own; (for he had a little before revolted from their Faction) and to engage the King to him the more, he let him take his fill of all unwarrantable Pleaſures, and yet he obtain'd not his End neither, in regard the King's Domeſticks were corrupted by the adverſe Faction, headed by the *Queen* and *Hamilton*.

The firſt Animoſities at Court broke forth, upon the Account of diſtributing Eccleſiaſtical Preferments; (for the * *Douglaſſes* drew all to themſelves; *George Creighton* was tranſlated to the Biſhoprick of *Dunkelden*: The Abby of *Holy Rood* in the Suburbs, which was left by him, *Douglas* gave to his Brother *William*, who had now for five Years forcibly held that of *Coldingham*, about ſix Miles from *Berwick*, after the Murder of *Robert Blacketer*, the former Abbot: For *Patrick Blacketer*, *Robert*'s Couſin-German, had the Abby beſtowed on him by the Pope, with the Conſent of *John*, the Regent. He had alſo commenced a Suit againſt *John Hume*, an Intimate of the Earl of *Angus*'s, and Husband to his Siſter's Daughter, about the whole ancient Eſtate of the *Blacketers*. And therefore *Patrick*, being unable to cope with the *Douglaſſes*, ſuffer'd his Eſtate to be made a Prey to his Enemies, and reſerv'd himſelf for better Times, amongſt his Mother's Kindred, far from thoſe Counties which were obnoxious to the Faction of the *Douglaſſes*. They, on the other ſide, tho' they did not much value *Patrick*, yet having the Supreme Power in their Hands, and being unwilling to incur the Blot of invading other Men's Rights by mere Force, made uſe of Friends, to proffer him ſome kind of Amends and Satisfaction; he, ſhewing himſelf inclinable to an agreement, even tho' he remitted part of his Right, had a Paſs granted him, and the publick Faith given him by *Douglas*, to come to *Edinburgh*, which he did with a ſmall Retinue, and unarm'd; and not far from the Gates of the City, he was ſet upon by *John Hume*, who lay in Ambuſh for that purpoſe, and ſo Murder'd. As ſoon as the noiſe of the Fact was ſpread over the City, many mounted their Horſes,

* But *Douglas* ſoon outs the other two.

and

and purſued the Murderers ſome Miles, in order to apprehend them; but, underſtanding that *George Douglas*, Brother to the Earl, was in their Company, and many more of *Douglas*'s Faction, with the Kindred of *Hume*, not knowing with what Intent they came out, whether to catch, or to defend the Murderers, they deſiſted from their Purſuit; and this occaſioned ſtrange Reports to be divulged abroad concerning the *Douglaſſes*.

As for *Colen Campbel*, he had already withdrawn himſelf from the *Triumvirate*, as we may call it; and the Earl of *Lenox*, tho' he followed the King, yet, in regard the *Douglaſſes* got all Offices of publick Advantage into their own Hands, he gave many Teſtimonies of his Diſlike, and palpable Proof, that his Mind was quite alienated from them. But they, being confident of their Power, ſlighted the Reports and Ill-will of others: Mean while, the King, tho' he were uſed more indulgently than was fit, that ſo his infirm Spirit might be the longer in ſubjection to them; yet notwithſtanding, by little and little, grew weary of their Government, being alſo weaned away from them by his Domeſticks, who laid to their Charge Actions, ſome true, ſome falſe, and interpreted the doubtful in the worſt Senſe; upon which he held ſecret Cabals with ſuch as he could truſt, concerning vindicating himſelf into his Freedom and Liberty: Neither was he afraid to open the Secrets of his Heart to *John*, Earl of *Lenox*, one of his Nobles; for, beſides his other Virtues of Mind and Body, he was an honeſt and fine-ſpoken Man, and excellently compos'd to reconcile and win upon the Souls of Men, by a natural ſweetneſs of Manners and Deportment: Him he made privy to his Deſigns; and, whilſt they were conſulting concerning the Time, Place, and Manner of its Accompliſhment, *Douglas* was making many Expeditions againſt the Banditti, but with no great Succeſs. At length, about the end of *July*, he reſolv'd to carry the King into *Teviotdale*, as ſuppoſing that his Preſence would be advantageous, by ſtriking a Terror into the Licentious. Thus, an Aſſembly being held at *Jedburgh*, the King called together all the Heads of the chief Families round about, and commanded them to apprehend thoſe Criminals, every one within his own Precinct, of which he then gave them a liſt. They willingly and induſtriouſly obey'd this Command; ſo that many of the Thieves paid their Heads as the price of their Robberies; and others were ſpared in hopes of Amendment. Thus, whilſt the Minds of all were very merry and ſerene, they, who had a Deſign to free the King from the Guardianſhip of the *Douglaſſes*, thought that a good opportunity to effect it; becauſe one *Walter Scot*, lying not far from *Jedburgh*, had great Clanſhips in the Coun-

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ties thereabouts. The manner of accompliſhing their Project was thus laid; *Walter* was to invite the King to his Houſe, and there he was to remain with him as at his own Royal Pleaſure, till greater Forces came in, when the Matter gathered over: But their Deſign ſeem'd to be diſcovered, either by Chance, or upon ſome private Intimation. Whereupon the King was carcarried back to *Mulroſs*. Yet *Walter* was not not diſcouraged, but proceeded on ſtrait in his Journey to the King: When he was but a little way off, frightful News was brought to the *Douglaſſes*, that *Walter* was at Hand, well armed himſelf, and a great Troop of armed Men accompanying him: So that there was no doubt to be made, but he being a factious Man, and withal, good at his Weapon, intended ſome Miſchief; inſomuch, that they all preſently ran to their Arms. *Douglas*, tho' inferior in Number, yet knowing that the Men he had of his own were choice ones; and beſides, that he had ſeveral valiant Perſons of the Family of the *Carrs* and *Humes* in his Train, with *John Hume*, and *Andrew Carr*, their Principals, reſolv'd to put it to a Battle: In the very nick of Time, *George Hume* had like to have ſpoil'd all, who, when *Douglas* commanded him to alight from his Horſe, and manage his part in the Fight, anſwered, he would not do ſo, no, not if the King himſelf commanded him. They fought eagerly and couragiouſly on both ſides, as Men who had their King (the Price of the Combat) their Spectator. *John Stuart* ſtood near the King, without ſtriking a Stroke, only as a Spectator of the Fight.

After a ſharp Encounter, *Walter* was wounded, and then his Men gave ground: But the Joy of the *Douglas*'s Victory was much allayed by the Loſs of *Andrew Carr*, who, for his ſingular Virtues, was equally lamented by both Parties. Upon the account of his being ſlain, there enſued a perpetual Feud, between the Families of the *Carrs* and the *Scots*, which was not ended without Blood. From that time forward, *John Stuart*, who carried himſelf as a Neuter in the Fight, being afore ſuſpected by the *Douglaſſes*, was now accounted their open Enemy; ſo that he returned from the Court. Theſe Things were acted *July* 23, in the Year 1521.

THE *Douglaſſians*, perceiving themſelves ſubject to the Envy of whole Multitudes, endeavoured to confirm the Strength of their Faction by new Recruits and Converts: and therefore they made up the old Breach between them and the *Hamiltons*, a Family great in Wealth, in Power, and in its Numbers. Theſe, tho' remote from Court, he not only admitted, but courted into a Share of the Government. On the other ſide, *John Stuart* had the Advantage of being highly favoured

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by moſt People: And, having alſo privately obtain'd the King's Letter to the chief of the Nobility, who, he thought, would have kept his Counſel, he mightily ſtrengthened his Party. And therefore, in a Convention of his Faction at *Sterlin*, where were alſo preſent *James Beton*, ſome other Biſhops, and many Heads of the nobleſt Families; he propounded to them the Deſign of aſſerting the King's Liberty. This was unanimouſly agreed to; and, tho' the Day for muſtering their Forces was not yet come, however, hearing that the *Hamiltons* were gathered together at *Linlithgow* to intercept their March, it was judged moſt adviſeable to attack them before they join'd with the *Douglaſſes*; and accordingly, with the preſent Force which he had, he marched directly towards them: But the *Hamiltons*, having Intelligence that *John* would march out of *Sterlin* on that Day, and very early in the Morning, took care beforehand to call the *Douglaſſians* out of *Edinburgh* to their Aſſiſtance. But the King, beſides other Obſtacles, retarded them in ſome meaſure, by pretending himſelf *not well*; ſo that he roſe later out of his Bed that Day than ordinary; and beſides, he march'd very ſlowly; and upon the way, would often turn aſide to eaſe Nature, as if he had been troubled with a Looſeneſs. And when *George Douglas* had in vain, by fine Speeches and Flatteries try'd to perſuade him to make more Haſte, at laſt he broke forth into this menacing Expreſſion; Sir, ſaid he, *Rather than our Enemies ſhould take you from us, we will lay hold on your Body; and, if it be rent in pieces, we will be ſure to take one of it.* Thoſe Words ſtruck a deeper Impreſſion on the King's Mind, than is uſual in one of his Age; inſomuch, that when the *Douglaſſes* were baniſh'd many Years after, and he had ſome inclination to Recall the reſt of them, he could not endure to hear any Body ſpeak of a Reconciliation with *George*. The *Hamiltons*, betwixt the Fear of the Enemy approaching, and the Hope of Aids at hand, had ſet themſelves in Array at the Bridge of the River *Aven*, which is above a Mile from *Linlithgoe*: They plac'd a ſmall Guard at the Bridge, and the reſt of their Forces on the brow of the Hills, which they knew the Enemy muſt paſs. *Lenox*, ſeeing that his Paſſage over the Bridge was ſtopp'd, commanded his Men to paſs over a ſmall River a little above, by a Nunnery (call'd *Manuel*) and ſo to beat the *Hamiltonians* from the Hills, before *Douglas*'s Forces had join'd them. The *Lenoxians* made towards their Enemies, through Thick and Thin, as we ſay; but they were much prejudiced by abundance of Stones which they rolled down from the Hills upon them: And, when they came Hand to Hand, the Word was given, that the *Douglaſſes* were very near; and inded they ran haſtily from their March into the Fight, and ſoon carry'd the

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Day; ſo that *Lenox*'s Men were moſt grievouſly mauled and put to flight. The *Hamiltonians*, eſpecially *James* the Baſtard, uſed their Victory with a great deal of Cruelty; *William Cuningham*, Son to the Earl of *Glencarn*, receiv'd many Wounds, but his Life was ſaved by the *Douglaſſes* his Kinſmen. *John Stuart* was kill'd, much lamented by the Earl of *Arran*, his Uncle; and alſo by *Douglas* himſelf; but moſt of all by the King; for he had ſent *Andrew Wood* of the *Largs*, his Favourite, before (as ſoon as ever he had hear'd of the Fight, by the claſhing of the Armour) to ſave *Lenox*'s Life, if poſſible, but, as it happen'd unluckily, came too late, and when the Buſineſs was done and all over.

AFTER this Victory, the *Douglaſſes*, to keep down the Faction of their Enemies, and make them ſubject to their Will, proceeded in the Law againſt thoſe who had taken up Arms againſt their King, as they phraſed it; ſo that, for fear of a Tryal, many were forc'd to compound with them for Money; ſome put themſelves into the Clanſhip of the *Hamiltons*, others into that of the *Douglaſſes*; but the moſt obſtinate were called to the Bar; amongſt whom was *Gilbert* the Earl of *Caſſils*, who, when he was preſs'd by *James Hamilton* the Baſtard, to ſhroud himſelf under the Protection of the *Hamilton's*, out of the greatneſs of his Spirit made this Anſwer, *That there was an old League of Friendſhip made between both their Grandfathers; in which his Grandfather was always named* Firſt, *as the more honourable: And that he would not now ſo far degenerate from the Dignity of his Family, or the Glory of his Anceſtors, as to put himſelf under the Patronage (which was but one Degree below plain Slavery of that Family, whoſe* Chief, *in an equal Alliance, was always content with the Second Place.* So that, when *Gilbert* was call'd to his Anſwer at a Day appointed, *Hugh Kennedy* his Kinſman, made Anſwer for him, That he had not taken up Arms *againſt* the King, but *for* him; for he was commanded to be at that Fight; and, if it ſhould be needful, he proffered to produce the King's Letters to that purpoſe. The *Hamiltons* were much troubled at his Boldneſs: for indeed, the King had wrote to *Gilbert*, when he went from Court, as well as to others, That he ſhould take part with *John Stuart*: But, ſeeing the Battle was at hand, inſomuch that he could have no time to call together his Clanſhip and Kindred, as he was upon the Way, he turn'd aſide, with thoſe of his Family that were with him, to *Sterlin*.

THE Violence of the *Hamiltons* was ſomewhat abated by this Tryal; but *James*, the Baſtard, fired with a mortal Hatred againſt *Kennedy*; and a few days after, as he was returning Home, he caus'd him to be murdered upon the Way, by the means

means of *Hugh Campbel* Laird of *Air*. This *Hugh*, the ſame Day the Murder was committed, (which he had commanded his Vaſſals to execute, that that ſo he migh avert all Supicion of ſo horrid a Fact from himſelf) went to *John Erskin*'s Houſe, whoſe Wife was Siſter to *Gilbert Kennedy*'s Wife: She, as ſoon as ever ſhe heard of this cruel Murder, ceaſed not to upbraid him with it to his very Face, and that in a moſt grievous manner. Thus the noble Family of the *Kennedy*'s was almoſt quite extinguiſhed. The Son of the Earl, after his Father was ſlain, being but a Child, fled to his Kinſman *Archibald Douglas*, who was then Lord Treaſurer, aud put himſelf and his Family under his Protection. He receiv'd him very lovingly; and ſuch was the great Ingenuity of his promiſing Years, that he deſigned him for his Son-in-law. *Hugh Campbell* was ſummon'd to appear, but his Crime being too plain, he made his Eſcape out of the Kingdom. Neither did the *Douglaſſes* exerciſe their Revenge and Hatred leſs fiercely upon *James Beton*; for they led their Forces to St. *Andrews*, ſeized upon, pillaged, and ruined his Caſtle, becauſe they counted him the Author of all the Projects the Earl of *Lenox* had undertaken; but he himſelf went under frequent Diſguiſes, becauſe no Man durſt entertain him openly, and ſo eſcaped. And the Queen herſelf made her Retirement with the like kind of Diſſimulation and Solitude, that ſo ſhe might not fall into the Hands of her Husband, whom ſhe deteſted and abhorr'd.

At the beginning of the Spring following, *Douglas* made an Expedition into *Liddiſdale*, where he ſlew many of the Thieves, falling upon them unawares in their Hutts, before they could put themſelves in order for a Defence: Twelve of them he hang'd up, and twelve more he kept as Hoſtages; but, becauſe their Fellows did not forbear their old trade of Robbing, a few Months after, he even put them to Death. At his entrance on that Expedition, there happened a Matter very remarkable, which, for the Novelty of the Thing, I ſhall not paſs by: There was an Under-Groom, or Helper, belonging to the Stables of *John Stuart*, of mean Deſcent, and therefore uſed in a mean Employment, to dreſs Horſes; when his Lord and Maſter was kill'd by the *Hamiltons*, he wander'd up and down for a time, not knowing what Courſe to take; at laſt he took Heart, and reſolv'd to attempt a Fact, far ſuperior to the Rank and Condition he had been born and brought up in. For he undertook a Journey to *Edinburgh*, with an intent to revenge the Death of his Lord who was ſlain; and there he caſually lighted upon a Man of the ſame Family and Fortune with himſelf; he demanded of him, whether he had ſeen *James Hamilton* the Baſtard, in the City; who anſwered him, he had: *What*, ſaid he, *Thou*

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moſt ungrateful of Men, haſt thou ſeen him? and would'ſt thou not kill him, who ſlew ſo good a Maſter as we both had? Go get thee gone, and may Miſery be thy Companion. This ſaid, he preſently haſtned on his deſigned Journey, and went directly to Court. There were then in a large Court, which is before the Palace in the Suburbs, about 2000 arm'd Men of *Douglas*'s and *Hamilton*'s Dependants, ready prepared for the Expedition I ſpoke of before; he, ſeeing them, paſs'd by all the reſt, and fix'd his Eye and Mind on *Hamilton* only, who was then coming out of the Court-yard in his Cloak without his Armour; when he ſaw him in a pretty long Gallery, (and ſomewhat dark) which is over the Gate, he flew at him, and gave him ſix Wounds; one of them almoſt pierced to his Vitals, but as for the others, he pretty well avoided them by the winding and turning of his Body, and by warding them off with his Cloak which he held before him. This done, the Groom preſently mix'd himſelf among the Croud: Immediately a great Clamour began, and ſome of the *Hamiltons* ſuſpected that the *Douglaſſes* had done ſo horrid a Fact, upon relicks of their old Grudges; ſo that thoſe two Factions had almoſt like to have gone together by the Ears. At laſt, when their Fear and Surprize was allay'd, they were all commanded to ſtand in ſingle Ranks, by the Walls which were round about the Court-yard; there the Murderer was diſcovered, as yet holding the bloody Knife in his Hand. Being demanded what he was, and whence, and for what he came thither? he made no ready Anſwer: Upon which he was dragg'd to Priſon, and put to the Rack; and then he confeſs'd immediately, that he had undertaken the Fact, in Revenge of his good Lord and Maſter; and that he was ſorry for nothing, but that ſo famous an Attempt did not take Effect; he was tortur'd a long time, but diſcover'd no Body as privy to his Deſign. At laſt he was Condemned, and carried up and down the City, and every part of his naked Body was nipp'd with Iron Pincers red-hot; and yet, neither in his Speech, nor in his Countenance, did he diſcover the leaſt ſenſe of Pain: When his right Hand was cut off, he ſaid, that it was puniſh'd leſs than it had deſerv'd, becauſe it had not obey'd the Dictates of his Mind, which was ſo eager to have executed the bloody Purpoſe.

MOREOVER, the ſame Year, *Patrick Hamilton*, Son to a Siſter of *John* Duke of *Albany*, and of a Brother of the Earl of *Arran*'s, her Husband, a young Man of great Judgement and ſingular Learning, by a conſpiracy of the Prieſts, was burn'd at St. *Andrews*: And not long after his Suffering, Men were much terrified at the Death of *Alexander Campbel*; he was of the Order of the *Dominicans*; a Man alſo of good Ingenuity,

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and accounted one of the moſt learned of all thoſe who follow'd the Sect of *Thomas Aquinas*; *Patrick* had frequent Conferences with him concerning the meaning of the Holy Scripture, and, at laſt, he brought the Man to confeſs and acknowledge, that almoſt all the Articles, which were then counted Heterodox, were really true. And yet this *Alexander*, being more deſirous to ſave his Life, than to hazard it, for Truth's ſake, was perſuaded by his Friends, to prefer a publick Accuſation and Charge againſt him: *Patrick*, being a Man of a zealous Spirit, could not brook this Deſire of Vain-glory in the ambitious Man, but broke forth into this Expreſſion openly; *O thou vileſt of Men*, ſays he, *who art convinc'd, that the Tenets which thou now condemneſt are moſt certainly true, and didſt confeſs to me that they were ſo: I do therefore cite thee to the Tribunal of the living God.* *Alexander* was ſo aſtoniſhed at that word, that he was never himſelf from that Day forward; and not long after he died in a Fit of Madneſs.

ALL this time, and for a great part of the Year enſuing, the *Douglaſſes*, being ſeverally intent upon other Matters and Concerns, were ſecure, as to the King's Departure from them; becauſe they believed, that now his Mind was fully reconciled to them by thoſe immoderate Pleaſures they had indulg'd him in; and beſides, they thought, if he had a Mind to remove, there was no Faction ſtrong enough to oppoſe them; neither was there any ſtrong Garriſon to which they could retire, but only *Sterlin* Caſtle, which was allotted to the Queen for her Arbitration; but then it was deſerted for a time, by the Queen's Officers, when ſhe hid herſelf from the *Douglaſſes*; and when the Tumult was a little appeaſed, 'twas ſomewhat fortified, but rather for a Shew than for any Defence. The King, having obtained ſome ſmall Relaxation, ſaw that this muſt be his only Refuge; and therefore he bargain'd with his Mother privately to exchange that Caſtle, and the Land adjoyning, for other Lands as convenient for her; and providing all other Requiſites as ſecretly as he could, the *Douglaſſes* not being ſo intent, as formerly, in their Watch over him, he retired by Night, with a few in his Company, from *Falkland* to *Sterlin*; whither he ſoon ſent for ſome of the Nobles to come to him, and others, hearing the News, came in of their own accord; ſo that now he ſeemed ſufficiently ſecured againſt all Force: There, by the Advice of his Nobles he publiſh'd a Proclamation, that the *Douglaſſes* ſhould abſtain from all Adminiſtration of publick Affairs: And moreover, that none of their Kin, by Blood or Marriage, or of their Dependants, ſhould come within twelve Miles of the Court; he that did otherwiſe was to forfeit his Life. When the Edict was ſerved upon

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the *Douglaſſes*, as they were coming to *Sterlin*, many were of opinion, that they ſhould go on their Journey; but the Earl and his Brother *George*, thought it beſt to obey the Edict. Thus they went back to *Linlithgoe*, reſolving to ſtay there till they heard ſome more News from the Court. In the mean time, the King ſent Meſſengers, with great Diligence, even to the fartheſt Parts of the Kingdom, to call in all the Nobles, who had a Priviledge of voting, to an Aſſembly at *Edinburgh*, which was to be held *Sept.* the 3d next enſuing. In the interim, He at *Sterlin*, and the *Douglaſſes* at *Edinburgh*, gathered Forces about them; but it was rather to be upon the Defenſive than the Offenſive. At length, *July* the 2*d*, the *Douglaſſes* departed out of the City, and the King, with his Forces and Banners diſplay'd, enter'd into it; but by the Mediation of Friends, deprecating the King on their behalf, Conditions were offer'd to them, which were, That the Earl of *Angus* ſhould be baniſh'd beyond the *Spey*; That *George* his Brother, and *Archibald* his Uncle, ſhould be kept in Hold in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*. If they ſubmitted to theſe Terms, then there were Hopes of the King's Mercy, otherwiſe not. Theſe Terms being rejected by them, they were commanded, by an Herald, to attend the Parliament, that was to be held at *Edinburgh* the 3d of *Sept.* In the mean time their publick Offices were taken from them, and *Gawin Dunbar*, the King's Tutor, was made Chancellor inſtead of the Earl: He was a good and learned Man, but ſome thought him a little defective in Politicks: And *Robert Carncroſs* was made Treaſurer, in the Place of *Archibald*, a Man more known for his Wealth, than his Virtue. The *Douglaſſes*, being now driven to their laſt Shifts, endeavoured to ſeize upon *Edinburgh*, which was left Naked at the King's Departure; and accordingly they ſent *Archibald* thither, with ſome Troops of Horſe. Their Deſign was to keep out the King, and ſo to diſſolve the Parliament: But (on the 26th day of *Auguſt*) *Robert Maxwell*, with his Vaſſals, had, by the King's Command, prevented them, and kept them from entering the City: Nay, the Guards and Centinels were mounted and diſpoſed ſo carefully in all convenient Places, that things were kept there in great Tranquility, till the Parliament's time of Meeting. *Douglas*, being diſappointed of this Hope, retired to his Caſtle of *Tantallon*, about fourteen Miles diſtant from the City. The ſame Day that the King came out of *Serlin*, there fell ſuch mighty Showrs of Rain from the Heavens, and the Brooks and Rivers did ſo overflow their Banks, that the King's Retinue was ſcatter'd into many Parties, ſo that they came much harraſſed and late in the Night, to *Edinburgh*: They were ſo mightily batter'd with

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the Violence of the Storm, that a very few Horſe, if they had charged upon them, might have done them a great deal of Miſchief. In that Parliament, the Earl of *Angus*, *George* his Brother, *Archibald* his Uncle, and *Alexander Drummond* of *Carnock* (their intimate Friend) were Out-lawed, and their Goods confiſcated. This Edict or Clauſe was alſo added to their Condemnation, That whoſoever ſhould Harbour them in their Houſes, or give them any other Aſſiſtance, ſhould incur the ſame Puniſhment. That which moſt of all moved the Court to condemn them, was this; the King had affirmed (it ſeems) upon Oath, That as long as he was in the Power of the *Douglaſſes*, he was afraid of his Life. He alſo profeſs'd, that his Fear was mightily encreaſed, and ſunk with a deeper Impreſſion into his Mind, after *George* had given him ſuch dreadful Menaces, as I mention'd above. There was only one Man found in this Aſſembly, by name *John Bannatine*, a Vaſſal of the *Douglaſſes*, who was ſo bold, as to make a publick Proclamation againſt all that was acted in oppoſition to the Earl, becauſe (as he alledged) his Non-appearance, at the Day limited, was occaſion'd by having juſt Fear.

A few Days after, *William*, another Brother of the Earl's, Abbot of the Monaſtery of *Holy Rood*, died of Sickneſs, trouble of Mind and Grief, for the preſent Poſture of Affairs. *Robert Carncroſs*, one meanly deſcended, but a wealthy Man, bought that Preferment of the King, who then wanted Money, eluding the Law againſt Simony, by a new kind of Fraud. The Law was, That Eccleſiaſtical Preferments ſhould not be ſold; but he laid a great Wager with the King, that he would not beſtow upon him the next Preferment of that kind that fell; and by that means loſt his Wager, but got the Abbey. Thus the *Douglaſſes*, ſeeing that all Hope of Pardon was cut off, betook themſelves to open Force, and to the only Comfort they had left, which was in Revenge; for they uſed great Extremity, and committed all ſorts of Outrages upon the Lands of their Enemies; they burn'd *Couſland* and *Cranſton*; ſo that the City was almoſt beſieged, and the Poor were made to ſuffer for the Offences of the Great ones. During theſe Commotions, on the 21ſt of *November*, a Ship called the *Marina* a brave Veſſel in thoſe Days, and richly laden, by ſtreſs of Weather was forc'd upon the Shore of *Exverwick*; part of the Lading was pillaged by *Douglas*'s Horſe, who rang'd up and down in thoſe Parts; the reſt was taken away by the Country-men, who were ſo ignorant of the Price of it, that they thought the Cinnamon in it to be but a low-priz'd Bark, and ſo ſold it to make Fire with; yet the whole Envy of the Matter fell upon the *Doug-*

laſſes. Upon this change of Affairs, the Robbers, who had a long time refrain'd their Depredations, for fear of Puniſhment, came out of the Places in which they had abſconded themſelves, and grievouſly infeſted all the circumjacent Countries. And, tho' many Pranks were plaid by others up and down, yet all the Murders and Robberies, every where committed, were charg'd down to the Score of the *Douglaſſes* by thoſe Courtiers, who thought they humour'd the King in ſo doing: By which means they thought to make the Name of that Family, which was otherwiſe popular, invidious to the Vulgar. In the beginning of Winter, the King march'd to *Tantallon*, a Caſtle of the *Douglaſſes*, by the Sea-ſide, in order to take it, that ſo no Refuge at all might be left for the Exiles; and, that he might take the Place with leſs Labour and Coſt, he was ſupplied with Braſs Guns and Powder from *Dunbar*. That Caſtle was diſtant from *Dunbar* ſix Miles, and it was garriſon'd by the Soldiers of *John* the Regent, becauſe it was part of his Patrimony. He continued the Siege for ſome Days, wherein ſome of the Beſiegers were ſlain, others wounded, and ſome blown up with Gun-Powder; but none at all of the Beſieged were loſt; ſo that he raiſed the Siege, and retreated. In his Return, *David Falkner*, who was left behind with ſome Soldiers, to carry back the Braſs Ordnance, was ſet upon and kill'd by *Douglas*'s Horſe, who were ſent out to ſurprize the Stragglers in the Rear. His Death did ſo enrage the young King, who was incens'd enough before, that he ſolemnly ſwore, in his Paſſion, that, as long as he liv'd, the *Douglaſſes* ſhould never have the Sentence of their Baniſhment revoked. And, as ſoon as he came to *Edinburgh*, to ſtraiten them the more, by Advice of his Council, he order'd, that a Party of Soldiers ſhould be continually kept at *Coldingham*, which was to be rather an active, or flying, than a numerous one, to prevent their pillaging of the Country. *Bothwel*, one of the greateſt Perſons for Authority and Puiſſance in *Lothian*, was appointed by the King to take that Poſt upon him; but he refuſed the Employment; either dreading the Power of the *Douglaſſes*, which not long ſince, all the reſt of *Scotland* was not able to cope with; or elſe, becauſe he would not have the Diſpoſition of the young King, who was eager and over-violent of his own accord, to be inur'd to ſuch Cruelty, as totally to deſtroy ſo noble a Family. And, whereas the King had no great Confidence in the *Hamiltons*, as being Friends to his Enemies; and, he had alſo diſguſted them upon the account of the Slaughter of *John Stuart*, Earl of *Lenox*; and beſides, there being none of the Nobility of the adjacent Parts, that had Power or Intereſt enough for that Service; at laſt, he reſolved to ſend *Colen Campbel*,

bel, with an Army againſt the Rebels, a Perſon living in the further Parts of the Kingdom, but a prudent Man, of approv'd Valour, and, upon the account of his Juſtice, very popular. The *Douglaſſians*, when the *Hamiltons*, and the reſt of their Friends failed them, were reduced to great Straits; ſo that they were compell'd by *Colen*, and by *George*, CHIEF of the *Humes*, to retire, like Exiles, into *England*.

IN the Month of *October*, two eminent Perſons came Ambaſſadors from the King of *England*, about a Peace; which, tho' earneſtly deſir'd by both Kings, yet they could ſcarce find out the way to conclude upon: For *Henry*, being upon the point of making War upon *Charles* the Emperor, was willing to leave all ſafe behind his Back; and with the ſame Labour to procure the Reſtitution of the *Douglaſſes*. As for *James*, he very much deſir'd to have *Tantallon* Caſtle in his Power, but his Mind was very averſe to reſtore the *Douglaſſes*; and, for that Reaſon, the Matter was canvaſs'd to and fro for ſome Days, and no Temper for Accommodation could be found out: But at laſt they came to this Reſolution, That *Tantallon* Caſtle ſhould be ſurrendered to *James*, and a Truce be granted for five Years; and their other Demands the King was to promiſe the granting of, under his Signet. The Caſtle was ſurrendered accordingly, but the other Demands were not ſo punctually performed, ſave only, that *Alexander Drummond* had leave given him to return Home, for *Robert Brittain*'s ſake: For, ſome Months before, *James Colvill*, and *Robert Carncroſs*, upon Suſpicion of their favouring the *Douglaſſes*, were removed from Court, and their Offices beſtowed on *Robert Brittain*, who then was in high Favour at Court, and had great command there. After this, tho' Matters were not quite ſettled abroad, (for the Engliſh had burnt *Arn*, a *Town* in *Teviotdale*, before their Ambaſſadors return'd) yet the reſt of the Year was more quiet; but the Inſolence of the *Banditti* was not quite ſuppreſſed. Upon which the King caus'd *William Cockburn* of *Henderland*, and *Adam Scot*, notorious Robbers, to be apprehended at *Edinburgh*, and, for Example of Terror to the reſt, he put them to Death. The next Year, in the Month of *March*, the King ſent *James* Earl of *Murray*, whom he had made Deputy-Governor of the whole Kingdom, there to have a Meeting with the Earl of *Northumberland*, in order to ſettle a Peace, and to treat about mutual Satisfaction for Loſſes: But a Contention aroſe betwixt them, about expiating the Murder of *Robert Carr*. The one pleaded, that the Proceſs ought to be form'd in *Scotland*, according to the Law: The other would have it in *England*. In the Interim, each of them ſent Meſſengers to their ſeveral Kings, to know their Minds in the Caſe.

ON the Fifteenth Day of *April* there was held a Council of the Nobility; where, after a long Debate, which laſted till Night, 'twas concluded, That the Earl of *Bothwel*, *Robert Maxwel*, *Walter Scot*, and *Mark Carr*, ſhould be committed Priſoners to *Edinburgh* Caſtle: And that the Earls, and the chief Men of *Merch* and *Teviotdale*, ſhould be ſent Priſoners to other Places; it being ſuppoſed, that they privately ſcatter'd abroad the Seeds of a War againſt *England*. And in *July* the King levied about 8000 Men, and marched out againſt the Robbers; and that with ſo much Speed, that he quickly pitch'd his Tents by the River *Eweſe*. Not far from thence lived one *John Armſtrong*, Chief of one Faction of the Thieves; who had ſtruck ſuch a Fear to all the neighbouring Parts, that even the Engliſh themſelves for many Miles about, bought their Peace, by paying him a certain Tribute: Nay, *Maxwel* was alſo afraid of his Power, and therefore endeavoured his Deſtruction by all poſſible ways. This *John* was enticed by the King's Officers, to have recourſe to the King; which he did, unarm'd, with about fifty Horſe in his Company; but, having forgot to obtain the King's Paſs and ſafe Conduct for his Security, he fell into an Ambuſh, who brought him to the King, as if he had been taken Priſoner by them; ſo that he, and moſt of his Followers, had the Fate of being hang'd. They, who were the Cauſes of his Death, gave out, that he had promiſed to bring that part of *Scotland*, for ſome miles, under the obedience of the Engliſh, if he himſelf might be well conſidered for that Service: But, on the other ſide, the Engliſh were glad of his Death, for it had freed them from a dangerous Enemy. Six of his ſurviving Companions the King kept as Hoſtages; but, in regard their Fellows were no way deterred by that, from committing the like Inſolencies, in a few Months they were likewiſe ſent to the Gallows: And the King took new Hoſtages of thoſe who ſtay'd at Home; for the *Liddiſdale* Men left their Homes, and paſſed over in Troops to *England*, making daily Incurſions, and taking a great deal of Plunder in the neighbouring Parts.

Not long after, the King reſtor'd the Noblemen to their Liberty, having firſt taken Hoſtages from them: Of theſe, *Walter Scot*, to gratify the King, killed *Robert Johnſton*, a noted Robber amongſt them; which bred a deadly Feud between the two Families, to the great Loſs and Prejudice of them both.

The next Year, which was 1531, there happened a Matter very memorable; neither did the Obſcurity of the Author, nor the Curioſity of the Time, which made a ſtrict Enquiry into it, abate the Admiration of its Novelty. One *John Scot*, a Man of no Learning, nor of any great Experience in Buſineſs, neither had

had he a ſubtle Wit of his own, to impoſe Tricks upon Men, being caſt in a Law-ſuit, and not having ability to pay Damages, hid himſelf ſome days in the Sanctuary of the Monaſtery of *Holy-Rood-Houſe*, without eating or drinking any thing at all. When the thing was known and related to the King, he commanded that his Apparel ſhould be chang'd and diligently ſearched; and ſo caus'd him to be kept cloſe from all Company in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, where every Day Bread and Water was ſet before him; but he voluntarily abſtained from all human Food for thirty-two Days. After that time, as if he had been ſufficiently tried, he was brought forth naked into publick View, where the People flocking about him, he made them a long, but ſorry Speech, in which there was nothing memorable, but that he affirm'd, he was aſſiſted by the Virgin *Mary*, to faſt as long as he himſelf pleaſed. This Anſwer ſavouring of Simplicity, rather than Craft, he was releaſed from his Impriſonment, and went to *Rome*, where he was alſo Impriſon'd by Pope *Clement*, until he had faſted long enough to convince him of the Miracle. Then they cloathed him with the Habit that Prieſts ſay Maſs in, and beſtowed many Preſents on him, and gave him a Teſtimonial under the *Leaden-Seal*, which is of great Authority amongſt the Papiſts. Upon that he went to *Venice*, where he alſo confirm'd their Belief, by his miraculous Faſting: And alledging, that he was obliged, by a Vow he had made, to viſit *Jeruſalem*, he receiv'd of them fifty Ducats of Gold for his Charges on the way. At his return, he brought back ſome Leaves of Palm-trees, and a Bag full of Stones, which, he ſaid, were taken out of the Pillar which Chriſt was tied to, when he was ſcourg'd. In his Return, he paſs'd through *London*, and mounted the Pulpit in *Paul's* Church-yard, and, in a great Audience of People, preach'd much about the Divorce of King *Henry* from his Queen, and of his Defection from the See of *Rome*. His Words were bitter, and, if he had been looked upon of any Repute for Wiſdom, he muſt have eaten them again; but, being impriſoned for ſome time, and having wholly abſtained from Food, for almoſt fifty days together, he was diſmiſs'd. When he came back to *Scotland*, he would have joined with one *Thomas Doughty*, who about that time came from *Italy*, and had built a Church dedicated to the Virgin *Mary*, out of the Alms the People had given him; and had got great Gain by his feigned Miracles. But the Life of this *Thomas* was ſufficiently known to be very wicked, and the Cheats of his pretended Miracles were diſcovered; yet no man durſt openly gainſay him, for fear of the Biſhops, who, by this their new *Atlas*, ſought to prop up the Pile of their Purgatory, then tottering; and he, to requite them for their Courteſy, when any of the

richer ſort of Prieſts came to the Place where he was to ſay Maſs, had ſtill one Beggar or other ready at hand, to counterfeit himſelf Mad, or diſeaſed in Body, that ſo (forſooth) by ſaying his Maſſes, he might be recovered and healed. But *Thomas* rejected *John Scot*, becauſe he was not willing to admit any other into the Society of his Gain: And therefore he hired an obſcure Cell in the Suburbs of *Edinburgh*; and there, having erected an Altar, and furniſhed it according to his Ability, he ſet up his own Daughter, who was young, but very beautiful, with Wax-Tapers lighted about her, to be adored, inſtead of the Virgin *Mary*: But that way of Gain not anſwering his Expectation, he returned to his old courſe of Life, having gain'd nothing by all his prepoſterous diſſimulation of Sanctity, but to let all Men know, that he wanted not a Will, but ability rather, to become an arrant Cheat.

At the beginning of the following Year, which was 1532, the Earl of *Bothwel* was committed Priſoner to *Edinburgh* Caſtle, *January* 16. becauſe he had taken a private Journey into *England*, and there had a ſecret Conference with the Earl of *Northumberland*. *John Sunderland*, a Knight, by reaſon of the great Prudence, Integrity and Authority which he had amongſt all good Men, even beyond his State and Degree, was ſent to *Hermitage* (a Caſtle of *Liddiſdale*) to reſtrain the Incurſions of Thieves and Robbers.

IN ancient times, there had been no fix'd Days, nor any ſet Place, appointed for *Niſi Prius*, to be handled by the Judges, until *John* Duke of *Albany* had obtained of the Pope, that a yearly Sum of Money, as much as was ſufficient to pay a Salary to a few Judges, ſhould be charged on the Eccleſiaſtical Order; and 'twas to be levied on every one, according to the value of his Benefice. Upon this, *Gawin Dunbar*, Biſhop of *Aberdeen*, made his Appeal to the Pope, in the behalf of himſelf and other Prieſts. The Controverſy held from the 11th of *March*, to the 24th of *April*; and then there was a Colledge of Judges ſettled at *Edinburgh*. At their firſt Sittings, they deviſed many advantageous Projects for the equal diſtribution of Juſtice; yet the hoped for Event did not follow. For, ſeeing in *Scotland* there are almoſt no Laws, but Decrees of the Eſtates, and many of them too made not for perpetuity, but temporary; and the Judges hinder the enacting of Laws what they can; the Eſtates of all the Subjects were committed to the pleaſure of fifteen Men, who were to have a perpetual Power, and even a tyrannical Government; *for their Wills were their Laws*. They were very ſevere againſt the *Lutherans*, in favour of the Pope; and the Pope on the contrary, to gratify a King ſo well deſerving as his

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his Hands, gave him the Tithes of all Parſonages, for the Year next enſuing.

THIS Year, the *Engliſh* perceived that the ſtate of Affairs in *Scotland* grew every day more quiet than other; but yet that they were deſtitute of foreign Aids, becauſe they themſelves had joined with the *French* againſt *Charles* the Emperor. This made them ſeek out an occaſion for a War. In *April* they made an Expedition out of *Berwick*, and plunder'd *Coldingham*, *Douglas*, and many other neighbouring Towns, where they got a great Booty. They had no apparent Provocation, neither did they declare War before-hand. How eager they were upon War, appears by that King's Proclamation, ſoon after publiſh'd, wherein 'twas ſaid, That *the Garriſon of* Berwick *was provoked by ſome licentious contumelious Words, which the Scots had let fall.* But the Words, mention'd in the Proclamation, carry no Contumely in them at all. But, this Cauſe not ſeeming juſt enough for a War, they demanded *Canabie*, a ſmall Village in the Borders, with a poor Monaſtery in it, as if it belonged to them, which they never pretended to before; and likewiſe, that the *Douglaſſes* might be reſtor'd. For the King of *England* perceiving that his Aid was abſolutely neceſſary to the *French* King, ſo that he could by no means want it; and alſo knowing, that he had him faſt in a League, wherein the Intereſt of *Scotland* was not conſidered, thought it no hard Matter to bring the *Scots* to what Conditions he pleaſed. Moreover, becauſe the Emperor was alienated from him by the Peace with *France*, and the Divorce with his Aunt; and the Pope of *Rome* had raiſed up Wars amongſt all Chriſtian Princes, he thought he ſhould omit a great opportunity at Home for bringing about deſired Innovations, if he neglected that. The King of *Scots*, that he might not be unprovided againſt this Storm, by a publick Proclamation, made all over the Kingdom, appointed his Brother, the Earl of *Murray*, to be his Vicegerent: And, becauſe the Borderers, of themſelves, were not able to cope with the *Engliſh*, who had alſo a great number of Auxiliaries with them, he divided the Kingdom into four Parts, and commanded each of them to ſend out the ableſt Men among t them with their Cla s, and Proviſion for forty Days. Theſe Forces, thus ſucceeding one another by turns, made great Havock in the Towns and Caſtles of thoſe Parts; ſo that the King of *England* was fruſtrated in his Expectation, ſince the War was likely to be ſpun out into a length, and other Concerns were to employ his Care, and therefore he was willing to hearken to a Peace, but had a mind to be ſued to for it; for he thought, it was not fit for his Honour either to offer it, or to ſeek it of himſelf. And therefore it ſeem'd moſt con enient to reflect

the Matter by the King of *France*, the common Friend to both Nations. Accordingly the *French* King ſent his Ambaſſador, *Stephen D'Aix*, into *Scoland*, to enquire, by whoſe Default ſuch a War was commenced between the two Neighbour-Kings. The King of *Scots* clearly acquitted himſelf from being any Cauſe of the War; he alſo made a Complaint to him, how long his Ambaſſadors had been detained in *France*, without having an Anſwer: And, at the Ambaſſador's Departure, he ſent Letters by him to his Maſter, deſiring him to obſerve the ancient League, which was renewed by *John* the Regent at *Roan*. He likewiſe ſent *David Beton* into *France*, to anſwer the Calumnies of the *Engliſh*, and beſides, to treat about the keeping and obſerving of the old League, and to contract a new Affinity between *France* and *Scotland*. He alſo ſent Letters by him, to the Parliament of *Paris*, very bitter and full of Complaints, concerning thoſe Matters, which had been tranſacted and agreed between *Francis* their King, and *John* Regent of *Scotland*; how that ancient Friendſhips, Pacts, and Agreements were ſlighted in behalf of thoſe, who were once their common Enemies. His Ambaſſador *Beton* was commanded, if he ſaw that the things he had in Command, ſhould not ſucceed well in *France*, to deliver thoſe Letters to the Council of the Judges, and preſently to withraw himſelf into *Flanders*, with an Intent (as it might be conjectured) to make League, Agreement, and Affinity with the Emperor.

IN the mean time, War was waged in *Britain*, and Diſputes were manag'd at *New-caſtle*, concerning its Legality. When the Ambaſſadors of both Nations could not agree on terms of Peace, Monſieur *Guy Flower* was ſent over by the King of *France*, to compoſe Matters: The *Scotiſh* King told him, that he would gratify his Maſter, as far as ever he was able; and that he had alſo ſome Communication with him, as much as was ſeaſonable at that time, concerning the conjugal Affinity, about which he had ſent Ambaſſadors before, which were then in *France*. *Flory*, or *Flower*, being thus the Umpire for Peace, the Garriſons were withdrawn on both ſides from the Borders, and a Truce was made, which was afterwards follow'd with a Peace. The King, having for ſome Years laſt paſt tranſacted Buſineſs with the King of *France*, and with the Emperor, by his Ambaſſadors, about a matrimonial Contract, and now being freed from other Cares, after the Peace was ſettled, bent his Thoughts more that way than ever. For, beſides the common Cauſes, which might incline him to ſome potent Alliance, his whole Thoughts were turn'd, how to perpetuate his Family by Iſſue of his Body, he himſelf being the laſt Male that was left alive; inſomuch, that his next

Heirs

Heirs had already flattered themſelves with very firm Hopes of the Kingdom; which did not a little trouble him, who was otherwiſe ſuſpicious enough of his own Nature: And indeed, many things very much concurr'd to nouriſh in them that Hope; as for Inſtance, their own domeſtick Power; the King's being a Batchelor; his being of ſo adventurous and enterprizing a Genius; his ſlighting all Danger; ſo that he would not only ſtoutly undergo all Hazards, but often court and invite them; for, with a ſmall Party, he would march againſt the fierceſt Thieves; and, tho' they were ſuperior in Number, yet he would either prevent them by his Speed, or elſe frighten and awe them by the ſacred Power of his Name, and ſo force them to a Surrender. He would ſit Night and Day on Horſe-back in this Employment; and if he took any Refreſhment or Food, 'twas that which he lighted on by chance, and but little of that neither.

THESE Circumſtances made the *Hamiltons* almoſt confident of the Succeſſion; yet it ſeem'd to them a long way about to ſtay for either fortuitous, or natural Dangers, and therefore they ſtudied to haſten his Death by Treachery. A fair Opportunity was offer'd them to effect it by his Night-walkings to his Miſſes, having but one or two in his Company. But all theſe Things not anſwering their Expectation, they reſolved to cut off the Hope of lawful Iſſue, by hindering his Marriage, what they could; although *John* Duke of *Albany*, when he was Regent, ſeem'd to have made ſufficient Proviſion againſt that Inconvenience; for, when he renewed the ancient League between the *French* and *Scots* at *Roan*, he had inſerted one Article, that *James* ſhould marry *Francis*'s eldeſt Daughter. But there were two Impediments in the way, which almoſt broke off, and cut this League aſunder: For *Francis* being freed out of the Hands of the *Spaniard*, by the Induſtry and Diligence principally of *Henry* the 8th, had enter'd into ſo ſtrict a League with the *Engliſh*, that the *Scotiſh* League was much intrenched upon by it; and beſides, the eldeſt Daughter of *Francis* was deceas'd awhile before; and therefore *James* deſired *Magdalen*, his next Daughter, to Wife, and ſent Ambaſſadors over for that purpoſe; but her Father excuſed the Matter, alledging, that his Daughter was of ſo weak a Conſtitution of Body, that there were but little hopes of Children by her, no, nor hardly any likelihood of her Life itſelf, for any long time.

About the ſame time, there was an Affiance treated of with *Charles* the Emperor by Ambaſſadors; and at length, the 24th Day of *April*, 1534, the Emperor ſent *Godſcalk Erick* that the Matter might be carried with greater Secrecy, from *Toledo* in *Spain*, through *Ireland*, to *James*. After he had declared the Com-

Commands, he had in charge from the Emperor, concerning the Wrongs offer'd to his Aunt *Catherine* and her Daughter, by King *Henry*; concerning the calling a general Council; concerning the rooting out the the Sect of the *Lutherans*; and about contracting an Affinity. The Emperor, by his Letters, gave the King his choice of three *Mary's*, all of them of his Blood; they were, *Mary*, Sister to *Charles*, a Widow, ever since the Death of her Husband, *Lewis* of *Hungary*, who was slain in Battle by the *Turks*; *Mary* of *Portugal*, the Daughter of his Sister *Leonora*; and *Mary* of *England*, his Niece by his Aunt *Catherine*: And because *Charles* knew, that King *James* was more inclinable to this last Match, he likewise shewed a greater propensity to it, that so he might take off *James* from his valuing of, and adhering to, the League with *Francis*, and at the same time might set him at odds with *Henry*. *James* made Answer, that the Marriage with *England* was indeed, in many respects, most advantageous, if it could be obtained; but 'twas a Business of uncertain Hope, but of great Danger and Toil, and would be encumber'd with so many Delays, that his single Life, he being the last of his Family, could hardly bear it; and therefore of all *Cæsar's* Neices, he told him, that the Daughter of *Christiern* King of *Denmark* was most convenient for him, who was begotten upon *Isabel*, the Sister of *Charles*. A while after, *Charles* answered this his Demand from *Madrid*, that she was already promised to another: And, though *Cæsar*, by offering Conditions, seem'd rather to prolong the Matter, than really to bring it to pass, yet the Treaty was not wholly laid aside. Matters being quiet at Home, *James* resolved to go a Ship-board, to take a View of all his Dominions round about, and to curb the stubborn Spirits of the *Islanders*, and make them more obedient. First, He sailed to the *Orcades*, where he quieted all Disorders, by apprehending and imprisoning a few of the Nobility. He garrison'd two Castles there, his own and the Bishops. Afterwards he visited the rest of the Islands, and sent for the chief Men to come to him: Those that refus'd he seiz'd by Force: He laid a Tax on them, took Hostages, and carried away with him those who were most likely to prove Incendiaries; and, clapping some of his own Train into their Castles, he sent the *Leading-Men* of them, some to *Edinburgh*, and some to *Dunbar*, Prisoners; For about that time, *John* Duke of *Albany* had surrender'd up *Dunbar* to the King, which till then had been held by a French Garrison. In the next Month of *August*, great Severity was used against the *Lutherans*; some were compelled to make a publick Recantation; others, refusing to appear upon Summons, were banished. Two were burn'd, of which one, named *David Straiton*, was free

free enough from *Lutheraniſm*; but he was accuſed of it, becauſe he was a little refractory in paying of Tythes to the Collectors, and ſo was put to Death only for a ſuppoſed Crime. In an Aſſembly which the King cauſed to be convened at *Jedburgh*, in order to the ſuppreſſing of the Robbers thereabouts, *Walter Scot* was condemned for high-Treaſon, and ſent Priſoner to *Edinburgh* Caſtle, where he remained as long as the King lived. The ſame Month of *Auguſt*, when *Francis* (as I ſaid before) had excuſed his Daughter's Marriage, on account of her Health, but withal had offer'd him any other of the Blood Royal; the King ſent Ambaſſadors into *France*, *James*, Earl of *Murray*, Vice-Roy of the Kingdom, and *William Stuart*, Biſhop of *Aberdeen*, (thoſe two went by Sea) and *John Erskin* by Land, becauſe he had ſome Commands to deliver to *Henry* of *England* by the way. To them he added a Fourth, *i. e. Robert Reed*, a good Man, and of conſummate Wiſdom. There *Mary* of *Bourbon*, the Daughter of *Charles* Duke of *Vendoſme*, a Lady of the Blood, was offer'd to them, as a fit Wife for their King. Other Points were eaſily agreed upon; but the Ambaſſadors, fearing that this Marriage would not pleaſe their Maſter, would make no Eſpouſal, till they had acquainted him with it. In the mean time, *Henry* of *England*, to trouble a Matter which was upon the point of concluding, in *November* ſent the Biſhop of St. *Davids* into *Scotland*, who brought *James* ſome Engliſh Books, containing the *Theſes* of the Chriſtian Religion, deſiring *James* to read them, and diligently to weigh the Contents: But he gave them to ſome of his Courtiers, who were moſt addicted to the Sacerdoral Order, to inſpect: They, before ever they had ſcarce look'd on them, condemn'd them as *Heretical*; and moreover, they highly congratulated the King, that he had not polluted his Eye (ſo they phraſed it) with reading ſuch peſtiferous Books. This was the cauſe of their Embaſſy, according to common Vogue; yet, ſome ſay, that they brought ſome other ſecret Meſſages to *James*. Afterward, the ſame Biſhop (together with *William Howard*, Brother to the Duke of *Norfolk*) came ſo unexpectedly to *Sterlin*, that they almoſt ſurprized the King, before he heard any News of their coming: Their Errand was, That *Henry* deſir'd *James* to appoint a day of Interview, when they might confer together; for he had things of high Moment and Importance, and of mighty Advantage to both Nations to propound to him at that Meeting. In that Meſſage, he gave great Hope, if other Matters could be well accorded, that he would beſtow his Daughter in Marriage upon him, and leave him King of all *Britain* after his Demiſe: And, that he might give more Credit to his Promiſes, he would make him for the preſent, Duke of *York*, and Vice-Roy of the King-

Kingdom of *England*. *James* willingly aſſented to ſuch large and alluring Promiſes, and accordingly fix'd a Day for the Interview: But there were two Factions that reſolved to oppoſe his Journey for *England*; Firſt, the *Hamiltons*, who laboured underhand to keep the King from marrying, that ſo they might ſurely be the next Heirs, and he have no Children to exclude them from the Succeſſion. And next, the Prieſts alſo were mightily againſt it, and their Pretences were ſeemingly juſt and honeſt; as firſt, The Danger he would run, if with a ſmall Retinue he ſhould put himſelf into the Power of his old Enemy, for then he muſt comply with his Will, tho' it proved to be never ſo much againſt his own: They alſo recited the Examples of his Anceſtors, who, either by their own Credulity, or elſe by the Perfidiouſneſs of the Enemy, had been drawn into a ſnare; and from flattering Promiſes of Friendſhip, had brought home nothing but a ſenſe of their Ignominy and Loſſes. They alſo urg'd the unhappy Miſtake of *James* the Firſt, who, in a time of Truce, landing, *as he thought*, in his *Friend*'s Country, was there kept *Priſoner* eighteen Years; and, at laſt, had *ſuch* Conditions impoſed upon him, as he neither lawfully could, nor ought to have accepted; and then, ſaid they, he was moſt ſordidly ſold to his own Subjects. Moreover, firſt *Malcolm*, after him his Brother *William*, Kings of *Scotland*, were brought on the Stage, who were enticed to *London* by *Henry* the Second, and then carried over into *France*, to make a ſhew of aſſiſting in a War there, againſt the French King, their old Ally. But, (ſay they) if it be objected, *Henry* the Eighth will do none of theſe things; they anſwered firſt, *How ſhall we be aſſured of that?* Next, Is it not a Point of high Imprudence, to venture one's Fortune, Life, and Dignity, which are now in one's own Power, into the Hands of another? Beſides, the Prieſts ſaw, that all their Concerns were now at Stake, and therefore they muſt, now or never, ſtand up for them: In order whereunto, they order'd *James Beton*, Arch-biſhop of St. *Andrews*, and *George Creighton*, Biſh. of *Dunkelden*, two old decrepit Men, to come to Court, there to baul it out, 'That Religion would be betray'd 'by this Meeting and Interview, even that Religion (ſaid they) 'which had been obſerved ſo many Ages by their Anceſtors; 'and which had all along preſerved its Defenders, till that very 'Day; the Ruin of which would be likewiſe attended with 'the total Deſtruction of the Kingdom; to forſake that Religion upon every ſlight occaſion, eſpecially at ſuch a time 'when the whole World conſpired together, with Arms in 'their Hands, for its Preſervation, could not be done without 'great Danger to the preſent Times, and Infamy to the future: 'Nay, that it would be a thing of great Wickedneſs and Impiety

piety into the Bargain." With theſe Engines they battered *James*'s Mind, which, of itſelf, was inclined enough to Superſtition: And moreover, they corrupted thoſe Courtiers, who could the moſt prevail with him, deſiring them, in their Names, to promiſe him a great ſum of Mony: So that by theſe Artifices, they wholly turned away his Mind from the Thoughts of an Interview. *Henry* took this Diſappointment in great Diſdain, (as he indeed had Reaſon) and thus the Seeds of Diſſention were again ſown between the two Kings.

In the mean time, the King was weary of his ſingle Life; and by reaſon of foreign Embaſſies, and the Diſtractions cauſed by Court-Factions at Home, was variouſly agitated in his Thoughts: *All* pretended the *publick* Good, but *ſome* aimed at their own *private* Advantage under that ſpecious Pretence; and, tho' many perſuaded him to an Affinity with *Charles*, in regard of the flouriſhing Eſtate of the *Empire* at that time, yet he rather inclin'd to an Alliance with *France*. And therefore, ſeeing the Matter could not be ended by Ambaſſadors, he himſelf reſolved to * ſail over into *France*; and accordingly, rigging out a ſmall Navy, the beſt he could fit in a ſhort time, on the 26th of *July* he ſet ſail from *Leith*, none knowing whither he would go. Many were of opinion that his Deſign was for *England*, to viſit his Uncle, and ask him Pardon for diſappointing the Interview agreed the Year before. But, a Tempeſt ariſing, and being alſo toſs'd with contrary Winds, the Pilot ask'd him, what Courſe he ſhould ſteer? *If there be a Neceſſity*, ſaid he, *Land me any where but in* England: Then his Mind was underſtood. He might have return'd Home, but was willing rather to ſail round *Scotland*, and to try the Weſtern Ocean; there too he met with very bad Weather, and, by the Advice of a few of his Domeſticks, while he was a-ſleep, he was carried back again: When he waked, he took the Matter in ſuch great Indignation, that for ever after he bore an implacable Hatred againſt *James Hamilton*, whom he had in diſguſt before, upon the account of killing the Earl of *Lenox*: Neither was he well pleaſed with the reſt of the Authors of that Counſel ever after: And there were ſome, who, in compliance with the King's angry Humour, were continually buzzing in his Ears, That the *Hamiltons*, under a pretence of a ſerviceable Attendance and Duty, had accompany'd him on purpoſe to undermine his Voyage. However, he put to Sea again with a great Train of Nobles, *September* the firſt, and in ten Days arriv'd at *Diep* in *Normandy*: From thence, that he might prevent the News

* King *James* ſails over into *France*.

of

of his Arrival, he went in Diſguiſe, and with great ſpeed, to the Town of *Vendoſme*, where the Duke then was, and ſaw his Daughter, who happen'd not to pleaſe his Fancy; ſo that he preſently made haſte to Court: He came unexpectedly upon *Francis* and the whole Court, and yet was honourably receiv'd by him; and on the 26th of *November*, almoſt againſt his will, he beſtow'd in Marriage his Daughter *Magdalene* upon him; for her Father (as I related before) judging his eldeſt Daughter, by reaſon of her ſickly Temper, unfit to bear Children, offer'd him his youngeſt, or any other Woman of the French Nobility, for a Wife: But *James* and *Magdalene* had contracted a Friendſhip by Meſſengers; which was confirmed by ſeveral Meetings, and Diſcourſes one with another; ſo that neither of them could be diverted from their Purpoſe. The Marriage was celebrated *January* the 1ſt, in the Year 1537, to the great Joy of all: And they both arrived in *Scotland* on the 28th of *May*, being attended by a French Navy. She lived not long after, but died of an *Hectick* Feaver *July* the 7th, to the great Grief of all, except the Prieſts, for they feared that her Life would have put an end to their Luxury and Ambition, becauſe they knew, ſhe was educated under the Diſcipline of her Aunt the Quen of *Navarre*. As for others, they conceiv'd ſuch a Grief for her Death, that then (as I think) Mourning began firſt to be in Faſhion in *Scotland*, which yet, after forty Years ſcarce continued to be worn, tho' the publick Manners declined, and ſeem'd too much to require it. Ambaſſadors were preſently ſent into *France*, Cardinal *David Beton*, and *Robert Maxwel*, to bring over *Mary* of the Houſe of *Guiſe*, Widow to the Duke of *Longueville*; for the King, preſaging the loſs of his Wife, had his Eye upon her. This ſame Year, the Earl of *Bothwel*, becauſe he had paſs'd over ſecretly into *England*, and alſo had held private Cabals with the Engliſh in *Scotland*, was baniſh'd out of *England*, *Scotland*, and *France*. Moreover, about the ſame time, many Perſons were accuſed and condemned for High-treaſon: *John Forbes*, an active young Man, the Head of a great Family and Faction, was brought to his End, it was thought by the Jealouſy of the *Huntly*'s; for there was one *Straughan*, a Man fit for any wicked Enterprize, who was many Years very familiar with *Forbes*, and was either privy to, or elſe Partaker or Author of, all his bad Actions: He being not as much reſpected by him as he thought he deſerv'd, deſerted him, and apply'd himſelf to his Enemy *Huntly*, and, before him, accuſed *Forbes* of Treaſon, or (as many think) he there plotted the Accuſation with *Huntly* himſelf, againſt him, *viz.* That *Forbes*, many Years before, had a Deſign to kill the King. The Crime was not ſufficiently prov'd againſt him, nor by [illegible] and unexceptionable

tionable Witneſſes; neither was the Plot of his Adverſaries, the *Huntly*'s, againſt his Life, hid in the Proceſs; yet, on the 14th of *July*, the Judges, who were moſt of *Huntly*'s Faction, condemn'd him, and he had his Head ſtruck off. His Puniſhment was the leſs lamented, becauſe, tho' Men believ'd him guiltleſs, as to the Crime he ſuffer'd for; yet, they counted him worthy of Death, for the Improbity of his former Life. *Strachan*, the Diſcoverer, becauſe he had concealed ſo foul an offence ſo long, was baniſh'd *Scotland*, and lived many Years after in *France*, after ſo lew'd and debauch'd a manner, that Men thought him a fit Inſtrument for to bring about any wicked End whatſoever. The King, not long after, as if he had repented of his Severity againſt *Forbes*, took another Brother of the *Forbes*'s into his Family; and he advanced another beſides to a rich Match, reſtoring to them their Eſtate, which had been confiſcated.

A few Days after, there was another Tryal, which was indeed very lamentable, on the account of the accuſed Parties, the new kind of Wickedneſs charged on them, and the heinouſneſs of the Puniſhment. *Joan Douglas*, Siſter to the Earl of *Angus* and Wife to *John Lyons*, Lord of *Glames*; alſo her Son, and her Husband, *Gileſpy Campbel*; *John Lyons*, Kinſman to her former Husband, and an old Prieſt, were accuſed of endeavouring to poiſon the King. All theſe, tho' they lived continually in the Country, far from Court, and their Friends and Servants could not be brought to witneſs any thing againſt them, yet were put on the Rack, to make them confeſs, and ſo were condemn'd, and ſhut up in *Edinburgh* Caſtle. The fifth day after *Forbes* was executed, *Joan Douglas* was burnt alive, with the great Commiſeration of all the Spectators: The Nobleneſs both of herſelf and Husband did much affect the Beholders; beſides, ſhe was in the Vigour of her Youth, much commended for her rare Beauty, and, in her very Puniſhment, ſhe ſhewed a manlike Fortitude. But that which People were moſt concern'd for was, That they thought the Enmity againſt her Brother, who was baniſh'd, did her more prejudice than her own (ſuſpected) Crime. Her Husband endeavoured to eſcape out of the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, but the Rope being too ſhort to let him down to the Foot of the Rock, he broke almoſt all the Bones of his Body in the Fall, and ſo ended his Days. Their Son, a young man, and of greater innocent Simplicity, than to have the ſuſpicion of ſuch a Wickedneſs juſtly charged upon him, was ſhut up Priſoner in the Caſtle; and, after the King's Death, was releaſed, and recovered the Eſtate, which had been taken away from his Parents. Their Accuſer was *William Lyons*: He afterwards perceiving,

ceiving, that ſo eminent a Family was like to be ruined by his falſe Information, repented when it was too late, and confeſs'd his Offence to the King; and yet he could not prevail to prevent the Puniſhment of the Condemned, or to hinder their Eſtates from being confiſcated.

The next Year following, on the 12th of *June*, *Mary*, of the Houſe of *Guiſe*, arrived at *Balcomy*, a Caſtle belonging to *James* Laird of *Lermont*; from whence ſhe was conveyed by Land to St. *Andrews*; and there, in a great Aſſembly of the Nobility, ſhe was married to the King. The beginning of the the Year following, which was 1539, many Perſons were apprehended, as ſuſpected of *Lutheraniſm*; and about the end of *February*, five were burn'd, nine recanted, but many more were baniſh'd; amongſt the Sufferers of this Claſs was *George Buchanan*, who, when his Keepers were aſleep, made his eſcape out of the Window of the Priſon, to which he was committed. This Year the Queen was brought to bed of a Son at St. *Andrews*; and the next Year of another in the ſame Place. Both this Year and the former, Matters were rather huſhed a little, than entirely compoſed; ſome Men wanting rather a Leader, than an Occaſion to rebel: For, tho' many deſired it, yet no Man durſt openly avow himſelf Head of any Inſurrection. And now the King having Heirs to ſucceed him, and by that means becoming more confident of a ſettled Eſtabliſhment, began to ſlight the Nobility as a ſluggiſh and unwarlike Generation, and not likely to attempt any thing againſt him, whoſe Family was now riveted and confirmed by Iſſue Male, ſo that he apply'd his Mind to ſumptuous and unneceſſary Buildings. He ſtood in need of Money for that Work; and, in regard he was as Covetous as he was Indigent, both Factions of Nobles and Prieſts were equally afraid, and each of them endeavoured to avert the Tempeſt from falling upon them, that it might light on the other. And therefore, whenever the King complain'd of the Lowneſs of his Exchequer amongſt his Friends, one Party would extol the Riches of the other, as if it were a Prey ready for the Seizure; and the King hearkened ſometimes to the one, and ſometimes to the other, and ſo kept both in Suſpence, between Hope and Fear: So that, when Ambaſſadors came at that time out of *England*, to Court, to deſire the King to give his Uncle a Meeting at *York*, promiſing ſome mighty Advantages by that Interview, and making a large Harangue concerning the Love and Good-will of their King towards him, the Faction, that oppoſed the Prieſts, perſuaded him, by all means, to meet at the Time and Place appointed. When the Eccleſiaſtical Party heard of this, they thought their Order would be quite undone, if they did not hinder the Meeting; and ſo diſturb'd the Con-

cord,

cord, by throwing in the Seeds of Diſcord betwixt the King and his Nobles. And, conſidering of all Ways how to effect it, no Remedy ſeemed more ready at Hand, for the preſent Matter, than to make an attack upon the King's Mind, which was not able to reſiſt offers of Money, by the Promiſes of large Subſidies: Accordingly they placed before his Eyes the greatneſs of the Danger, the doubtful and uncertain Credit of an Enemy's Promiſe; that he might have a great Sum of Money at Home, and more eaſily to be procured. Firſt of all, they promiſed to give him of their own, 30000 Ducats of Gold yearly, and all the reſt of their Eſtates alſo ſhould be at his Service; beſides enough to obviate future Emergencies, if any happened; and as for thoſe, who rebelled againſt the Authority of the *Pope*, and the King, and ſo endeavoured to trouble the Peace of the Church, by new and wicked Errors; and therefore would ſubvert all Piety, overthrow the Rights of Magiſtracy, and cancel Laws of ſo long ſtanding; out of their Eſtates he might get above an hundred thouſand Ducats more, yearly, into his Exchequer, by way of Confiſcation, if he would permit them to nominate a Lord-Chief-Juſtice in the Caſe, becauſe they themſelves could not, by Law, ſit in capital Caſes to condemn any Man. And that, in the managing the Proceſs againſt them, there would be no Danger, nor any delay in paſſing Sentence, ſince ſo many thouſand Men were not afraid to take the Books of the Old and New Teſtament into their Hands; to diſcourſe concerning the Power of the Pope; to contemn the ancient Ceremonies of the Church; and to detract from the Reverence and Obſervance, which was due to Religious Perſons, conſecrated to the Service of God. This they urged upon him with ſuch Vehemency, that he appointed them a Judge, according to their own Hearts, and that was *James Hamilton*, natural Brother to the Earl of *Arran*: Him they had oblig'd by great Gratuities before; and beſides, he was reſolv'd to inſinuate himſelf into the King's Favour, who long ſince had been offended with him) with the perpetration of ſome Act by way of Atonement, tho' it was never ſo cruel.

About the ſame time, *James Hamilton*, Sheriff of *Linlithgoe*, and Couſin-German to the other *James*, came into *Scotland*: He, after a long Baniſhment, when he had commenced a Suit againſt *James* the Baſtard, and had obtain'd Leave to return, for a time, to his own Country, underſtanding what Danger he and the reſt of the Favourers of the Reformed Doctrine were in, ſent his Son with a Meſſage to the King, juſt as he was going over into *Fife*; and, having very opportunely met with him before he went a-board, he filled his Head, which was naturally

ſuſpicious, with fearful Preſages, That this Commiſſion, granted to *Hamilton*, would be a Capital Matter, and pernicious to the whole Kingdom, unleſs he prevented this Sophiſtry by another Stratagem. The King, who was then haſting into *Fife*, ſent the young Man back to *Edinburgh*, to the Court called the *Exchequer-Court*, where he alſo commanded to aſſemble *James Lermont*, *James Kircaldy*, and *Thomas Erskin*, of whom one was Maſter of the Houſhold, the other Lord High-Treaſurer, neither of them averſe from the Reformed Religion; the third was highly of the Popiſh Faction, and his Secretary. Theſe were all ordered to meet: And the King commanded them to give the ſame Credit to the Meſſenger, as they would do to himſelf, if he were preſent; and ſo took the Ring off his Finger, and ſent it them as a known Token between them. They laid their Heads together, and apprehended *James* juſt after he had dined, and had prepared himſelf for his Journey, and committed him Priſoner to the Caſtle. But, having Intelligence by their Spies at Court, that the King was pacified, and that he would be releaſed; beſides the publick Danger, they were afraid alſo of their particular ſelves, leſt a Man, factious and potent, being releaſed, after he had been provoked by ſo great an Affront and Ignominy, ſhould afterwards meditate a cruel and bitter Revenge againſt them. They ſpeedily haſtened to Court, and inform'd the King of the imminency of the Danger; of the wayward Diſpoſition, Fierceneſs, and Power of the Man; all which they augmented, to raiſe the greater ſuſpicion upon him: So that they perſuaded the King not to ſuffer ſo crafty (and withal, ſo puiſſant) a Perſon, being alſo provoked by this late Diſgrace, to be ſet at Liberty, without a legal Tryal. The King came to *Edinburgh*, and from thence to *Seton*, where he cauſed *James* to be brought to his Tryal, and, in a Court legally conſtituted, according to the Cuſtom of the Country, he was condemned, and had his Head ſtruck off: his Body was Quarter'd after his Execution, and the Quarters hang'd up in the publick Places of the City. The Crimes objected againſt him, in behalf of the King, were, That, on a certain Day, he had broke open the King's Bed-chamber, and had deſigned to kill him: And that he had carry'd on ſecret Deſigns with the *Douglaſſes*, who were declared publick Enemies. Few were grieved for his Death, (becauſe of the Wickedneſs of his former Life) ſave only his own Kindred, and the Eccleſiaſticks who had placed all the Hopes of their Fortunes, in a manner, upon his Life alone.

From that time forward the King increaſed his Suſpicions againſt the Nobility; and beſides, his Mind was ſo diſtracted with

with Cares, that he could not enjoy his Sleep at quiet, but was every Night tormented with Dreams. There was one more remarkable than the reſt, which was much talked of, That, in his Sleep, he ſaw *James Hamilton* running at him with his drawn Sword; and that he firſt cut off his right Arm, then his left, and threatned him ſhortly to come and take away his Life, and then diſappeared; when he awaked in a Fright, and pondering many things about the Event of his Dream, at laſt word was brought him, that both his Sons died almoſt at one and the ſame moment of Time, one at St. *Andrews*, and the other at *Sterlin*.

MEAN while, there was not a certain Peace, nor yet an open War, with the King of *England*, who was before offended; inſomuch, that, without any Declaration of War, Preys were driven from the Borders of *Scotland*. Neither would the Engliſh, when called upon to make Reſtitution, give any favourable Anſwer: So that all Men ſaw, that *Henry* was in an high Indignation, becauſe the Interview at *York* was fruſtrated. And *James*, tho' he knew that War was certainly at hand, and therefore made Levies for that purpoſe, and had appointed his Brother the Earl of *Murray*, to be General of all his Forces, and had alſo made all neceſſary Preparation for a Defence, yet ſent an Ambaſſador to the Enemy, if 'twere poſſible, to compoſe Matters without Blows. In the mean time, *George Gordon* was ſent to the Borders, with a ſmall Force, to prevent the pillaging Incurſions of the Enemy. The Engliſh deſpiſed the ſmall number of Forces under *Gordon*, and therefore haſten'd to burn *Jedburgh*; But *George Hume*, with 500 Horſe, interpos'd, and charg'd them briskly; and, after a ſhort Fight, when they ſaw the *Gordons* coming, they were put into a Fright, and ſo fled away in Confuſion to eſcape their Enemies. There were not many ſlain; but ſeveral taken Priſoners. *James Lermont*, who was treating about a Peace at *New-Caſtle*, had ſcarce received his Anſwer, but, that the War might be carried on more cunningly, he was commanded to return, with the Engliſh Army: Moreover, *John Erskin*, and ..... were ſent Ambaſſadors from *Scotland* to meet the ſaid Army at *York*, where they were detained by *Howard* the General, and never diſmiſſed till they came to *Berwick*. *James*, being aſſured by his Spies, before the return of the Ambaſſadors, of the marching on of the Engliſh Army, formed his Camp at *Falkirk*, about 14 Miles from the Borders; but ſent *George Gordon* before, with ten thouſand Men, to prevent the plunderings of the Engliſh: yet he did nothing conſiderable, and had not ſo much as a light Skirmiſh with the Enemy. The King of *Scotland* was mighty earneſt to give Battle;

but the Nobility would not hear of it by any means; ſo that he was full of Wrath, and burſt out in a Rage againſt them, calling them *Cowards, and unworthy of their Anceſtors*, every now and then telling them, That, *ſince he was betrayed by them, he himſelf and his own Family would do that, which they had cowardly refuſed to do.* Neither could he be appeaſed, tho' they came about him, and told him, that he had done enough for his Honour; that he had not only kept the Engliſh Army, which was ſo long time a levying, and that had aſſaulted *Scotland* on a ſudden, (and that with Threats to do great Matters) from ſtraggling up and down the Country for Booty and Plunder; but alſo, for the ſpace of eight Days, that it remained in *Scotland*, had ſo pent them up, that they never marched above a Mile from the Borders: For, after they drew out of *Berwick*, they went as far as *Kelſo* up againſt the Stream; and there, being informed of the March of the Scotiſh Army, they paſs'd over the Ford, being ſo fearful to engage, that they ruſh'd into the River with the utmoſt Precipitation and Diſorder; and, as every one paſs'd over, they left their Colours, and made the beſt of their way Home. *Gordon*, in the mean time, who ſaw this at a Diſtance, ſtirred not at all, nor made he any Attempt upon them in their Rear, for which the King conceived an implacable hatred. *Maxwel*, to appeaſe the King's Anger as much as he could, promiſed, if he might have ten thouſand Men, to march into *England* by the *Solway*, and to do ſome conſiderable Service: And he would have been as good as his Word, if the King, being angry with his Nobles, had not given ſecret Letters, and a Commiſſion to *Oliver Sinclare*, Brother to the Laird of *Roſſelin*, which he was not to open till ſuch a time. The Contents were, That the whole Army ſhould acknowledge him for their General: *James*'s Deſign in it was, that, if his Army had had the better, the Glory of the Victory might not redound to the Nobles. When they were come into their Enemies Country and about 500 Engliſh Horſe appear'd on the neighbouring Hills, *Oliver Sinclare* was lifted up on high by thoſe of his Faction, and, leaning upon two Spears, cauſed the King's Commiſſion to be read; at which the whole Army was ſo offended, and eſpecially *Maxwel*, that they broke their Ranks, and throng'd confuſedly in one among another. Their Enemies, tho' accuſtomed to Wars, yet never hoping for ſo great an Advantage, when, from the upper Ground, they beheld things in ſuch a Confuſion amongſt them, ruſh'd upon them with a great Shout, (as their manner is) and ſo aſſaulted them as they were in a Fright, and ſuſpended between the Deſign of flying or fighting: And thus Horſe, Foot, and Baggage were all promiſcuouſly driven into the next Marſhes; where

where many were taken by the Engliſh, more by the Scotiſh Moſs-Troopers, and ſold to the Engliſh. When this Loſs of his Army was brought to the King, who was not far off, he was moved beyond meaſure with Indignation, Anger, and Grief, inſomuch that his Mind was diſtracted two ways; ſometimes to take Revenge of the perfidiouſneſs of his own People, (as he called it) and ſometimes to make preparation for a new War, and for the renewing of the publick Affairs. But, in that almoſt deſperate ſtate of things, it ſeemed the beſt way to make a Truce with the Engliſh, and to call back *Archibald Douglas*, Earl of *Angus*, on the beſt Conditions he could. But, his Body being worn out with Watching and Faſting, and his Mind overwhelmed with Cares, he died a few Days after, on the 13th of *December*, leaving his Daughter his Heireſs, a Child of about five Days old. He was buried the 19th of *January*, in the Monaſtery of *Holy-rood*, near his firſt Wife *Magdalene*. In his Life-time, his Countenance, and the make of his Body were very Comely, his Stature indifferently Tall, but his Strength above the proportion of his Body; his Wit was ſharp, but not ſufficiently cultivated with Learning; which was the fault of the Times; his Diet was ſparing; he ſeldom drank Wine; he was moſt patient of Labour, Cold, Heat, and Hunger; he would often ſit on Horſe-back, Night and Day, in the coldeſt Winter, that ſo he might catch the Thieves at unawares: And his Activity ſtruck ſuch a Terror into them, that they abſtained from their evil Purpoſes, as if he had always been preſent amongſt them: He was alſo well acquainted with the Cuſtoms of his Country, that he would give juſt Anſwers concerning weighty Matters, as he went his Journeys upon the Road, with a great deal of Readineſs and Prudence: He was eaſy of Acceſs even to the pooreſt. But his great Virtues were almoſt equalled by as many Vices; yet they had this alleviation, that it ſeems, they ought rather to be imputed to the Times in which he lived, than to his own natural Diſpoſition. For ſuch an univerſal Licentiouſneſs had over-run all, that publick Diſcipline could not be retrieved, but with a great deal of Strictneſs and Severity. That, which made him ſo covetous of Money, was, that, when he was under the Guardianſhip of others, he was educated with great Parſimony; and, as ſoon as ever he came to be of Age, he entered into an empty Palace, where he found all his Houſhold-ſtuff embezell'd; ſo that every Room of his Houſe was to be new-furniſh'd at once; and his Guardians had expended their own proper Patrimony on thoſe Uſes, which he wholly diſapproved: Beſides, thoſe, who had the Inſtruction of Youth, made him more inclinable to Women, becauſe by

that means they hoped to have him longer under their Tuition. A great part of the Nobility did not much lament his Death, becauſe he had baniſhed ſome of them, and kept many others in Priſon; and many, for fear of his Severity (a freſh Diſguſt being now added to their former Contempt) choſe rather to ſurrender themſelves to the Engliſh King, their Enemy, than to commit themſelves to the Anger of their own.

THE

HISTORY

OF

SCOTLAND.

Book XV.

THE King dying in the Flower of his Age, rather of Grief than any Diſeaſe, the Tumults of the former Times were rather huſh'd aſleep than compos'd; ſo that wiſe Men foreſaw ſo great a Tempeſt impending over *Scotland*, the like of which they themſelves never beheld, nor had even ever heard of in ancient Records. The King had not ſo much as order'd his own domeſtick Affairs, but had left a Daughter, born about eight Days before his Death, Heireſs to the Crown: As for thoſe of the Nobility, who had born ſway, either they were kill'd in Battle, or elſe were baniſh'd, or taken Priſoners by the Enemy: And, if they had been at home, yet, by reaſon of private Animoſities, or of Diſſention on the account of Religion, which were ſtifled out of Fear during the King's Life; but

now, that Reſtraint being taken off, were likely to break forth; they were at Diſcord amongſt themſelves: So that they were not in any probability of acting like Men of Sobriety and Diſcretion.

And beſides, they were at War abroad againſt a moſt powerful King; and every one ſpoke according to his Hope or Fear, what would be the uſe he would make of his Victory. He that was the ſecond Heir, and next to the Crown, as he was not commonly reported to have much of Virtue, even for the Management of his private Life, ſo he was as little noted for Counſel or Valour, to manage a Kingdom. As for the Cardinal, he thinking that, in thoſe publick Calamities, he might have an opportunity to aggrandize himſelf, that he might ſhew himſelf *ſome-body*, both to his own Order, and alſo to the French Faction, undertook an Attempt both bold and impudent. For he hired *Henry Balfore*, a mercenary Prieſt, to ſuborn a falſe Will of the King's, wherein he himſelf was nominated to the Supreme Authority, with three of the moſt Potent of the Nobility, to be his Aſſeſſors. He was in great Hopes that his Project would ſucceed, from the Diſpoſition of the Earl of *Arran*, which was not turbulent, but rather inclinable to Eaſe and Quiet. And beſides, he was near of Kin to him, for he was Son to the Cardinal's Aunt; and further, he was one of thoſe three Perſons, that made as it were a Triumvirate of Government. Moreover, the opportunity to invade the Supreme Power ſeem'd to require haſte, that he might prevent the return of the Priſoners, and of thoſe that were baniſhed out of *England*, that ſo they might have no Hand in conferring of this Honour upon him; for he was afraid of their Power and Popularity: Neither did he doubt, but that their Minds were alienated from him upon the ſcore of a different Religion: That was the Cauſe, that preſently after the King's Death he publiſhed the Edict, concerning the chuſing of four Governours of the Kingdom. He alſo bribed ſome of the Nobles, by Promiſes and Gifts, to engage them to his Faction, and eſpecially the Queen, who was ſomewhat diſaffected to the adverſe Party. But *Hamilton*, the Head of the contrary Faction, was a Man not ambitious, but rather willing to live in quiet, (as was offer'd) if his Relations would have ſuffer'd him: But they, ſtudying their own Honour and Intereſt, rather than his Honour, Night and Day puffed up the Mind of the young Gentleman with Hopes, and adviſed him by no means to let ſlip, ſo fair an opportunity put into his Hands; for they had rather have Things all in a Combuſtion, than to live in a fix'd and private condition of Life. And beſides, the Hatred of the Cardinal got them ſome Friends, and the Indignity of their Bondage under a mercenary Prieſt. They had alſo ſome

appear-

appearance of Hope, which, tho' uncertain in itſelf, yet was not inefficacious to ſtir up Men's Endeavours, That, ſince *Hamilton* was the next Heir, many of them entertained ſuch Thoughts as theſe, that a Female, ſo few days old, and which was the only Perſon betwixt him and the Crown, might meet with many Miſchances, either caſually, or by the Fraud of her Superviſors, before ſhe came to be marriageable. Thus they laid the Foundation of the greatneſs of the *Hamiltons* for a long time after; yet ſo that it ſeemed moſt adviſeable, not to neglect the Advantage which the preſent State of things offered, and thus to cheriſh an hope of the future Advancement of the *Hamiltons*; and, if that Hope deceived them, yet it would not be difficult for them to regain the Favour, or at leaſt the Pardon, of a new Princeſs, who, in the beginning of her Reign, would ſtudy to win the Reſpect of all Men.

WHILST Things were at this paſs in *Scotland*, the King of *England*, out of his extraordinary Joy for ſo unexpected a Victory, ſent for the chief of the Scotiſh Priſoners up to *London*; where, after they had been impriſon'd in the Tower two Days, on St. *Thomas*'s Day, which was the 21ſt of *December*, they were brought all through the City, where it was the longeſt, as if they were to be ſhown as a publick Spectacle to the People; and, coming to *White-Hall*, the King's Court, they were ſharply reprov'd by the Chancellor, as violators of the League: And, after he had made a large Diſcourſe concerning the Goodneſs and Clemency of his King, who had remitted much of the Rigour of Juſtice he might have uſed towards them, they were diſtributed about into ſeveral Families, and lodged among them as Priſoners at large. There were ſeven of the Nobility, and twenty-four of the Gentry beſides. But, when the News came three Days after, that the King of *Scots* was dead, and had left one only Daughter his Heireſs, *Henry* thought it a fit opportunity to conciliate and unite the Minds both of *Scots* and *Engliſh* in a band of Union, by eſpouſing his Son to their Queen. Upon this, he recalled the Priſoners to Court, and employed ſome fit Perſons to feel their Pulſes in the Caſe; where, being kindly entertained, and promiſing to contribute their Aſſiſtance towards the Match, as far as they might, without detriment to their own or the publick Diſhonour, on the firſt of *January*, at the beginning of the Year 1543, they were all releaſed, and ſent back towards *Scotland*. When they came to *Newcaſtle*, and had given Hoſtages to *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*, as to other Matters, they were free, and ſo returned home. There returned alſo with them the *Douglaſſes*, two Brothers, being juſt then reſtored to their Country, after fifteen Years Baniſhment. They were all received with the Gratulation

of

of the major part of the People. The Cardinal, who ſaw this Storm gather'd againſt him, as making no doubt, but the Priſoners and the Exiles would be both his oppoſers in the Parliament, had taken care to be choſen Regent before their coming; but he enjoy'd that Honour not long; for within a few Days, his Fraud, in counterfeiting the King's Will and Teſtament, being diſcovered, he was thrown out of his Place, and *James Hamilton*, Earl of *Arran*, made Regent. That which occaſion'd his ſetting up, was, becauſe ſome were willing to curry Favour with him, as the next Heir to the Crown: Others foreſaw, ſo long before, the Cruelty of the Cardinal in matters of Religion, and therefore provided againſt it, by leſſening his Power. Their Fear was increas'd upon this account, that there was found amongſt the King's Papers, after his Death, a Law, wherein the Names of above 300 of the Nobility were contained as Criminals; and amongſt them, he that was choſen Regent, was the firſt Perſon to have been queſtion'd. This made his Election very grateful to the majority, becauſe it ſeemed the moſt probable *Medium* to eaſe the Grievances of many, and to curb the Pride of the Prieſts: Beſides, he himſelf willingly read the Books, that contain'd Controverſies about Religion; and the quietneſs and retirement of his former Life, far remote from Court-Ambition, made many hope, that he would be ſober and moderate in his Government. Beſides, being out of the Magiſtracy, he had not yet diſcovered any Inactivity, or Sluggiſhneſs of Mind.

In a Parliament which was held in *May*, Sir *Ralph Sadler* came Ambaſſador from *England*, in order to a Marriage, and ſettling a Peace: He put ſome of the Nobility in mind of their Promiſe: Others, as Report goes, he tempted with Mony. The Queen, Cardinal, and the whole Faction of Prieſts, were not only againſt this Peace, but, by diſturbing ſome Members and Counſellors, and corrupting others, they would not ſuffer it ſo much as to be put to the Vote; ſo that, by the general conſent of almoſt the whole Parliament, the Cardinal, at the Inſtance of the Queen-Mother, was kept in a looſe kind of Cuſtody by *Seton*, who was perſuaded, for a certain Sum of Mony, in a little while after to let him go. When Peace ſeemed thus to be ſettled to the great Advantage of both Kingdoms, after ſo great a dread of an impending War, every Body thought it would be a laſting one; and therefore the Merchants, who, for ſome Years before, had been hindered from Trading, went thick and three-fold to Sea, and laded very many Ships with the beſt Commodities they could procure for the time allotted them to do. *Edinburgh* ſent out twelve Ships; other Cities of that Circuit (which is the richeſt part of *Scotland*) rigg'd out Ships, each according

cording to their reſpective Abilities: This Fleet, in confidence of the Peace with *England*, ſome of them drew nearer the Shoars than they needed to have done, and when the Wind was calm, there they lay at Anchor: Others entred into the Ports, and ſo lay'd themſelves open to the Injuries of the *Engliſh*, if any Tumult of War ſhould ariſe.

About the ſame time, *John Hamilton*, Abbot of *Paſley*, and *David Painter*, returned out of *France*. Theſe Men now threw off the Mask, with which they had diſguiſed themſelves before for ſo many Years, and began to play the old Pranks that were natural to them: They, as if they had been educated in the School of Profaneneſs, and not in that of Piety, were the Ring-leaders at Court, who prompted Men on to all manner of Impieties. The Cardinal, as he was reſtored to his Liberty unexpectedly, and likewiſe of a proud and haughty Diſpoſition, which was aggravated by the Affront he had receiv'd, and by the ignominy occurring in the detection of his Fraud, ſought out all occaſions whatſoever to diſturb this Concord: Firſt of all, he communicated this Matter to the Queen Dowager; and they both took it in great Indignation, that the *Douglaſſes*, (who, for the many Benefits they had received from the *Engliſh*, muſt needs be their faſt Friends) ſhould immediately, after ſo many Years Baniſhment, be admitted into the Parliament-Houſe, to debate the weightieſt Affairs of the Kingdom. Beſides, they all jointly feared a Change of the eſtabliſhed Religion, the Conſequence of which muſt needs be a breach of the League with *France*. Upon this, the Cardinal, by the conſent of the Queen, ſummon'd a Convocation of Prieſts, and extorted from them a great Sum of Mony, as fearing the univerſal Ruin of the whole Papal Church. Part of this Mony was paid to ſome of the Nobles of the adverſe Party, and many large Promiſes were made them beſides, to perſuade them not to give any Hoſtages to the *Engliſh*; and as for thoſe, who were newly return'd from their Impriſonment, and had left their Children or Kindred as Hoſtages for their Return, he deſir'd them, not to prefer thoſe (otherwiſe dear) Pledges before the Laws, the publick Safety, and their ancient Religion, whoſe Preſervation turn'd upon this ſingle Hinge; and that they would not run willingly into perpetual Bondage. Beſides, he cauſed the Eccleſiaſticks to carry it proudly and diſreſpectfully towards the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador inſomuch that the very Rabble reproached and abuſed his Retinue, and there was nothing he could could ſay or do, but what was all taken in the worſt Senſe. But the Ambaſſador reſolv'd to bear all Affronts, and weather out this Tide of Inconveniencies, till the Day for delivering the Hoſtages ſhould approach, that ſo he might give no occaſion of a Rupture on his part

And

And, when that Day came, he went to the Regent, and complained of the Affronts which had been offered, not ſo much to himſelf, as to his King, whom he repreſented; and inſiſted, that it was a violation of the Law of Nations: And he deſir'd him to give Hoſtages according to the Tenor of the League newly made, that ſo the Amity might be kept ſacred and inviolate, to the mutual Advantage of both Nations. The Regent, as to the Affronts offer'd, excus'd himſelf, and ſaid, he was ſorry for them, and that he would ſpeedily ſearch into the Matter; that ſo the Puniſhment of ſuch petulant Offenders ſhould be a ſufficient Teſtimony of the Love and Veneration he had for the *Engliſh* Nation. But as to Hoſtages, he anſwered, that he could not obtain them with the good Will of the States, neither was he able to compel them without publick conſent; for the Government, which he bore, was ſuch, that he received as much Law as he gave; and therefore all his Meaſures were diſturb'd by the great Sedition, which, he ſaw, the Cardinal had raiſed; that he was, as it were, carried down in the Stream of popular Fury, and could ſcarce maintain his own Station and Dignity. The new Hoſtages being thus deny'd, there was another thing as weighty as that, which fell under Debate, and that was concerning the Nobles lately taken Priſoners of War, who, upon their Releaſement, had given Hoſtages, and made ſolemn Aſſeverations, That, if there were not a Peace concluded, as *Henry* deſired, upon juſt and fair Terms, they would ſurrender themſelves Priſoners again. As for them, the Cardinal's Faction, and the reſt of the Eccleſiaſtical Order, dealt with them, partly by Reaſons, and partly by Examples, not to prefer their Eſtates, Kindred, Children, or any other thing, which might be dear to them, before the Love of their Country. And what was more, he threaten'd them with Auxiliaries from *France*, and that all *Europe* conſpired for the Defence of their ancient Rights and Religion; and, if they acted contrary, they would betray their Country, and bring on the immediate Ruin of their ancient Families. They alſo deſir'd them in ſo dangerous a time, not to forſake their Country, for, if that were ſafe, they might hope for more Kindred and Children, but, if that were overthrown, then all was gone. Beſides, they diſcourſed much concerning the inexpiable Hatred betwixt the Nations, and of the Cruelty of the King, into whoſe Hands they were to come; thus blending Truths and Falſhoods together. Moreover, they alledged the Decree of the Council of *Conſtance*, That all Pacts, Contracts, Promiſes and Oaths, made with Hereticks, ought to be reſcinded and made void. The greateſt part of thoſe, who were concerned in this Matter, were willing to hearken to any colourable Pretence for their Fault, only there was one of them

them, who for no pecuniary Conſideration whatever could be taken off, no, nor by any Threats deterred from keeping his Word; and that was *Gilbert Kennedy* Earl of *Caſſils*: He had left two of his Brothers Hoſtages in *England*; and he openly profeſs'd, that, neither for Fear nor Favour, he would redeem his own Life with the loſs of his Brothers; but, whatever came of it, he would ſurrender himſelf back a Priſoner: And ſo, againſt the Deſire of many, went directly on his Journey to *London*. *Henry* much commended the reſolute Fidelity of the young Man; and, to the intent that all might know he had an eſteem for Virtue, he richly rewarded him, and ſent him back, with his two Brothers, into *Scotland*.

But *Henry*'s Mind was not more pacified towards *Gilbert*, than his Anger was implacable againſt the reſt of the *Scots*; and he accordingly laid an Embargo upon all the *Scots* Ships in all *Engliſh* Ports and Harbours, of which there was a great number, as I ſaid before, and ſo preſently declared War. His Menaces were great, as againſt the Violators, not only of Leagues, but even of the Law of Nations. And yet, tho' *Scotland* ſtood tottering in ſo dangerous a Condition, the Memory of Alliances, the common Love to their Country, and the reſpect of the publick Safety, were ſo far laid aſide, that the Flames of Sedition were blown up with more fierceneſs than ever; for the Faction of the Cardinal, and of the Queen Dowager, who were all for the *French*, ſent over Ambaſſadors thither, to tell them, that, unleſs they ſent in Aſſiſtance, the Matter was upon the very Point, that *England* and *Scotland* would make a Coalition into one Government; and how ſuch a Conjunction would concern *France*, the Experience of former Ages had ſhewn. But they made it their chief requeſt to the *French*, that they would ſend back *Matthew Stuart*, Earl of *Lenox*, into his own Country, who did not only emulate the Family of the *Hamiltons*, but was alſo their deadly Enemy, by reaſon of their having ſlain his Father at *Linlithgoe*. This young Man was greatly beloved, not only for his extraordinary Beauty and ſtately Mien, in the very Flower of his Youth, but chiefly upon the account of the Memory of his Father, who was ſo popular a Man, and alſo becauſe he was a ſingle Man: And there was a great Danger that ſo noble a Family, now reduced to a few, ſhould be utterly extinguiſhed; Beſides, he had many Clanſhips at home, and had alſo Affinity with many other great Families. What was ſtill further, the former King had deſign'd him to be his next Heir and Succeſſor, if he himſelf died without Iſſue Male; and he would have confirmed that his Intention by a Decree of the Eſtates (who have the Sovereign Power to order ſuch publick Affairs) if his Life had been prolonged Nay, there were ſome

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Flatterers, who endeavoured to elevate his generous Mind, which was of itſelf already raiſed up with the expectation of great things, but was not ſo well fortified againſt the Flattery of fraudulent Sycophants, to larger Hopes; for, beſides the Supreme Rule for about twenty Years, and the Dominion over his old Enemies, they promiſed him, that he ſhould marry the Queen Dowager; and, if the young Queen, who had the name only of Supreme Governeſs, ſhould miſcarry, then, without doubt, he would be the next King; and not only ſo, but alſo the lawful Heir of *James Hamilton*, lately deceaſed; for that the Regent was a Baſtard, and was ſo far from any juſt Expectation of the Kingdom, that he could not lawfully claim the Inheritance of his own Family: Beſides, they urged the Promiſes of the French King, who gave hopes of great Aſſiſtance in due time. When the plain-hearted and credulous young Man was thus perſuaded, he provided for his Voyage into *Scotland*. *Hamilton* was not ignorant of any of theſe things; and, to the End, that he might gain an Acceſſion of Strength to his own Party, by the Advice of thoſe Friends in whom he repoſed the greateſt Truſt, he reſolved to take away the young Queen from *Linlithgoe*, where ſhe yet was under the Power of her Mother; if he once got her, then not only the ſhadow of the Royal Name, which is an attractive thing amongſt the Vulgar, would be of his ſide, but he would likewiſe have the Power of beſtowing her in Marriage, and ſo make himſelf Arbiter of the Kingdom, to transfer it juſt as he pleaſed; which if he could obtain, then the King of *England* might be perſuaded to join with him in caſe of need.

THIS Deſign was much approved: But, as is uſual in Civil Diſcords, there are Spies on both ſides, who getting hold of proper Informations, acquainted the Cardinal with the Matter: He, gathering together ſome of the Nobility, whom he had corrupted with Mony, came to *Linlithgoe*, and to the great Burden of the Inhabitants, ſtaid there ſome Days, as a Guard to the Queen. In the mean time, *Lenox* arrived out of *France*, and was kindly received by the Regent, each of them diſſembling their Hate; then he went to *Linlithgoe*: Here he addreſſed the Cardinal, and then went to his own Houſe, where, in a meeting of Friends, he diſcours'd at large why he came over; at whoſe Command; by whom ſent for; and upon what Hopes: That he was promis'd not only the chief Magiſtracy, but alſo that the Heads of the Faction, with the Queen Dowager's Conſent, had aſſured him, that he ſhould marry her: And that, in order to the effecting of it, the King of *France* had encouraged him to expect Aid and Aſſiſtance from thence. They all aſſented to his Speech, and adviſed him not to be wanting to the Occaſion, which ſo

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freely had offer'd itſelf. And thus, with above four thouſand Men, he came to the Queen. *Hamilton*, who had levied and muſtered his Men, and with his Kinſmen about him, was reſolved to iſſue out of *Edinburgh*, and break thorow to the Queen; but now perceiving that his Forces were too weak, by the Advice of his Friends, and out of his own Diſpoſition alſo, which was enclinable to Peace, began to treat of an Accommodation. Accordingly ſome prudent Perſons were choſen on both ſides, who met at the Town of *Liſton*, almoſt in the middle way between *Edinburgh* and *Linlithgoe*: And an Agreement was made betwixt them on theſe Terms; That the Queen ſhould be removed to *Sterlin*; and that four of the prime Nobility, who had engaged themſelves in neither Faction, ſhould be choſen out to have an Eye over her Education; and thoſe were *William Graham*, *John Erskin*, *John Lindſy*, *and William Levingſton*, eminent Perſons, and all Heads of illuſtrious Families. They, by the Conſent of both Parties, took the Queen, and entred upon the Road leading to *Sterlin*, whilſt *Lenox* ſtood in Arms with his Men, till they had travell'd far enough to be out of Danger from the contrary Faction: And not long after, having performed the accuſtomed Ceremonies, ſhe took on her the Enſigns of Majeſty, and began her Reign at *Sterlin*, *Auguſt* 21.

THE Regent, perceiving, that the Favour of the Vulgar, by reaſon of his Inconſtancy, was alienated from him; and that his Forces were inferior to thoſe of the contrary Faction, began to entertain private Conferences with them under-hand: And indeed the Cardinal, who was of Kin to him by the Mother's ſide, intended only to frighten him; that ſo he might bring him over to his Party, rather than to ſubdue him by force of Arms: So that, having weakned him before, by taking off part of the Nobility from him, by his Largeſſes, and thereby render'd him cheaper, and of leſs Repute amongſt the Engliſh; he now, by the Intervention of his familiar Friends, who had more regard to Mony, than love to Truth, compell'd him to an unjuſt Combination; and perſuading him to come to *Sterlin*, there cauſed him to recant and change his Opinion, concerning all the controverted Points of Religion; not openly, that the Infamy of the Fact might be leſſened among the Vulgar; but in a Convent of the *Franciſcans*, in the Preſence of the Queen Dowager and the chief Nobles of the Court; and for fear of a Suit, which the Cardinal threatned to commence againſt him, for his whole Eſtate, he was ſo obſequious, that he put himſelf wholly under his Influences, inſomuch that he only retained the ſhadowy Name of a Regent. And by this Means, the Cardinal obtained, without Envy, what he had coveted by his ſu-

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borned Will, even to enjoy the Advantage of the whole Government; and that by the mean-ſpiritedneſs of the Regent, and the Avarice of his Relations, there ſeemed but one thing wanting to eſtabliſh his Power, and that was the Removal of *Lenox*, who was a great Block in the way of his Deſigns. At laſt, the Queen Dowager and Cardinal, fixed upon this Project, That, till an Anſwer came from *France*, ſhe ſhould hold the young Man's Mind in Suſpence, by giving him ſome hopes of marrying her; for they had written honourably of *Lenox* to the French King, as indeed they could do no other; for, next to God, they were indebted to him for reſtoring them to the Liberty they enjoy'd: But withal they deſir'd him, that ſeeing Matters were now quieted in *Scotland*, by that King's Liberality and Aſſiſtance, that he would be pleaſed to maintain the Courteſy he had done them, and to confirm the Peace which he had been the Cauſe of by their calling of *Lenox*; for, without that, things would never long continue in Peace, but one or other of the Factions muſt be deſtroyed. Thus they undermined *Lenox* privately; but in publick he was entertained with variety of Diverſions, by the Queen and Cardinal; inſomuch that the Court looſed the Reins to Luxury and Laſciviouſneſs, and was wholly given up to Plays and Feaſtings. The Day was ſpent in Tiltings, and ſuch kind of Man-like Exerciſes; the Night in Balls and Dancing. *Lenox* was inclinable, by Nature, to theſe Recreations, and was, beſides, much accuſtomed to them in the French Court. But now *James Hepburn*, Earl of *Bothwel*, ſtarted up as his Rival, and ſomewhat ſpurr'd up his Mind, almoſt ready to languiſh. This *James* was baniſhed by King *James* the Fifth; but preſently after his Death he return'd home, and aſpired to the Marriage of the Queen, by the ſame Arts as *Lenox* did: And indeed the Endowments of Nature and Fortune were very eminent in both of them, inſomuch that they might be ſaid to be rather Like than Equal. *Bothwel* matched him in other things, but in theſe ludicrous Combats and Feats of Arms, being inferior to him, he left the Court, and departed to his own Houſe. *Lenox*, when his Rival was removed, thought now, that all was ſecure on his part, and ſo he earneſtly preſs'd, that the Promiſes, made him by the Queen and Cardinal, might be performed. But perceiving at laſt, that he was fraudulently dealt with, and that *Hamilton*, his Enemy, was advanc'd by them to Honour, Authority, and the Supreme Power over all Men's Lives and Fortunes, his youthful Mind, which was not accuſtomed to ill Arts, but judg'd all others like himſelf, was ſo inflam'd with Anger, that he broke out into bitter Expreſſions, and ſolemnly ſwore, that he would ſuffer Want, Baniſhment, Death, nay, any thing whatſoever, rather than

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ſuch an Affront ſhould go unrevenged. Accordingly he returned to *Dunbarton*, wholly bent on Revenge, but, as yet, uncertain what Courſe to take to accompliſh it: there he received 30000 French Crowns from the King of *France*, (who had not yet certainly heard how Affairs ſtood in *Scotland*) to enable him to ſtrengthen his Party. That Mony gave ſome relief to his diſtemper'd Mind, becauſe it gave him room to hope that he was not wholly forſaken by the French King. But, being commanded to diſtribute the Mony, by the Advice of the Queen Dowager and Cardinal, yet he diſtributed a part of it to his own Friends, and ſent a part to the Queen. The Cardinal, who had already devour'd all that Booty in his mercenary Thoughts, was grievouſly troubled, not only at his Diſappointment and Loſs, but alſo at his (ſuppoſed) Diſgrace in the Matter; and therefore he adviſed the Regent preſently to levy an Army, and to march to *Glaſgow*, not doubting, but that he might there ſurprize *Lenox* and the Mony together. Their Deſign was made known to *Lenox*, and thereupon he ſpeedily levied 10000 Men; and, above all, his own Friends and Vaſſals. That, which much facilitated the compleating that Number, was the Indignation of ſome of the Nobles, Men, who, at the beginning, out of Love to Religion, and Hatred of the Cardinal, had been the Inſtruments to advance the Regent to that high Honour; but now they had chang'd their former Good-will into Hatred, becauſe he had delivered up, and as much as in him lay, betray'd his beſt-deſerving Friends, together with himſelf, into the Servitude of their moſt cruel Enemy, without ſo much as giving them any Notice of it.

THIS Frame of Spirit made a new (and indeed a ſcarce credible) Change in the *Scotiſh* Affairs; ſo that the Strength of the Parties remain'd entire, only they were headed by other Commanders. *Hamilton* and his Kin joined themſelves to the Queen Dowager and Cardinal; but his former Friends ſided with *Lenox*. With thoſe Forces, levied on a ſudden, *Lenox* came to *Leith*, and ſent ſome into *Edinburgh*, to tell the Cardinal, that he needed not to march to *Glaſgow* to fight him, for he would give him opportunity to do it any Day when he pleas'd, in the Fields between *Leith* and *Edinburgh*. The Cardinal, who had drawn the Regent to his Party, imagined, that the Power of the adverſe Party was ſo weakned by it, that he hoped none durſt look him in the Face; now, unexpectedly ſeeing himſelf challenged by a greater Army than he had to defend him, he did not refuſe the Combate in Words, but only defer'd the Day of Fight, upon ſeveral Pretences and Interpoſals, well knowing that *Lenox* could not long keep an Army together, conſiſting of Voluntiers, without Pay or Proviſion made for any long time. In the mean time, he endeavoured by Entreaties and

Promiſes, to work over the Minds of thoſe, who were moſt inclinable to his Party. *Lenox*, ſeeing that the Deſign was to lengthen out the War, and by no means to hazard a Fight, and begin a Siege, for want of Conveniencies neceſſary for ſuch a Work; and alſo perceiving that ſome of his Men had ſecret Conferences by Night, with the Enemy: to deliver himſelf out of theſe Straits, (his Friends, who had made ſecret Proviſion for themſelves, urging him likewiſe ſo to do) he was forced to capitulate with the Regent: And ſo he went to *Edinburgh* to him, and they tranſacted Matters ſome Days together, as if they had quite forgot their old Hatred and Animoſity.

AT length, when he came to *Linlithgo*, *Lenox* received Advices from his Friends, that ſome hidden Miſchiefs were brewing againſt him; ſo that, in the Night-time, he went privily to *Glaſgow*, and, having fortified the Biſhop's Caſtle with a Garriſon, and with ſufficient Proviſions, he went to *Dunbarton*: There he received more certain Information, that the *Douglaſſes* and the *Hamiltons* were agreed. And, becauſe ſome Suſpicions and Relicks of old Grudges were left betwixt the Factions, *George Douglas* and *Alexander Cuningham* were given as Hoſtages, the one for the Father, the other for the Brother. Though this was done for a Pretence and a Diſguiſe of a firmer Concord, and a Promiſe made, that they ſhould ſpeedily be releaſed; yet notwithſtanding they were detain'd till the coming in of the Engliſh Army: For the *Hamiltons* never thought themſelves ſecure, until thoſe Nobles, who had any Intereſt or Courage, were removed; that ſo by the Terror of their Puniſhment, others might be reſtrained from Inſurrections. Beſides, about the ſame time, *Lenox* was informed, that the King of *France* was wrought into a diſguſt againſt him by the malicious Practices of his Enemies.

IN the mean time, *Archibald Douglas*, Earl of *Angus*, and *Robert Maxwel*, Chief of a Noble Family, came to *Glaſgow*, to accommodate Matters (if it were poſſible) between the Regent and *Lenox*; but the Regent's Council perſuaded him, to apprehend the very Mediators for Peace; and thus, by a backway, to avoid the Tumult of the People, they were carried out, and ſent Priſoners to *Hamilton* Caſtle.

IN this poſture of Affairs in *Scotland*, when not only the *Engliſh*, but the Chief of the *Scots* alſo, were angry with the Regent, *Henry* of *England* thought it fit opportunity for him to puniſh the Violators, not only of the League, but of the Law of Nations too: Yet, before he would attack the *Scots* by Force, he ſent Letters full of juſt Complaints and Threats, to *Edinburgh*, blaming them for refuſing his Alliance, and ſo arrogantly as they did too, when he had ſo freely and generouſly offer'd

fer'd it; nay, that they had not only rejected that Alliance, but, though he had been kind to them, they ſcattered the Seeds of War, and had enforc'd him to arm againſt his Will. Theſe Letters did no good, and therefore he cauſed thoſe naval Forces which he had ready, with the firſt opportunity, to waft over the *Boulognois*, and ſet ſail for *Scotland*, aad to infeſt *Edinburgh* and *Leith*, (both which Towns had moſt affronted his Ambaſſadors) and the Country round about them, with all the Plagues and Miſeries of War. The Ships, arriving there, landed ten thouſand Foot, *May* the 4th, a little above *Leith*, who, without any Reſiſtance, enter the Town; for moſt of the Townſmen were abſent and intent upon their Merchandizing abroad. The King and Cardinal, being then at *Edinburgh*, and unprovided of all things, knew not what to do, but were ſo ſurprized, that they preſently ſet at Liberty thoſe four eminent Perſons, which they had in Durance, (as aforeſaid) not for any regard to the publick ſafety, but partly fearing, leſt otherwiſe their Kinſmen and Tenants ſhould refuſe to fight, if not join themſelves to the Enemy; and partly, alſo, that they might redeem the Good-will of the People, who, they knew, had a general diſtaſt againſt them upon many accounts; but they, not daring to truſt to the hatred of the Citizens, and of their Enemies too, fled to *Linlithgo*. The *Engliſh* ſtaid three Days at *Leith* to land their Ordnance and Baggage, and ſo prepar'd themſelves for the Aſſault. Having ſettled other Matters, they march'd to *Edinburgh*, pillag'd and burnt the City, and then diſpers'd themſelves to ſpoil the neighbouring Parts: They ruin'd many Villages, with ſome Caſtles and Seats of Noblemen. From *Edinburgh* they return'd to *Leith*, and, having a fair Wind, ſet Fire to the Houſes, hoiſted Sail, and went away.

ABOUT that Time, *Lenox* was certainly inform'd, that *Francis*, King of *France*, was wholly diſguſted at him: For the contrary Faction, by their frequent Letters and Meſſages, had perſuaded him, that 'twas *Lenox* alone, who, by reaſon of his old Enmity againſt the Adverſaries of his Father, hinder'd the publick Tranquillity and Concord of all *Scotland*; and that he was the Head of the Faction againſt the Regent, and a favourer of the *Engliſh*, and one who rather indulged his own private Animoſities, than promoted the common Cauſe; and, that if the King would recal him into *France*, Peace would be eaſily made up amongſt the reſt. When *Lenox* had received Intelligence by his Friends, what his Enemies had inform'd againſt him, he alſo writ to *Francis*, informing him in what Caſe he found the Affairs of *Scotland*, and how he and his Friends had, with a great deal of Pains, reſtored both Queens to their Liberty; and had put them into a poſture and capacity

to rule, having broken the Power of the adverſe Party; and out of a turbulent Tempeſt, had brought things to a great Tranquillity; and that nothing would be more acceptable to him, than to return into *France*, where he had lived rather longer of the two than in *Scotland*, and ſo to enjoy the ſweet Society of the Friends he moſt loved: But that he returned into his own Country, not of his own accord, but ſent by the King; and that he had done nothing there that his Majeſty, or himſelf, need to be aſhamed of: and, if he would not abridge him of his former Favour, he would ſhortly anſwer, nay, perhaps exceed the Hope he had conceived of him; but, if he ſhould call him away in the midſt of the career of his Deſigns, then he muſt not only leave the things, he had ſo excellently begun, unfiniſh'd, but alſo expoſe his Friends, Kindred, and Vaſſals whom he had engaged in the publick Cauſe, and who had been almoſt worn out with Toil and Labour, to Servitude and Torment, under an impious and cruel Tyrant, who, as much as in him was, had ſold both Queen and Kingdom to the Enemy; and who obſerved the Pacts and Promiſes, he made to Men, no more religiouſly than he did the Duties of Piety towards God; for, within a few Years, he had changed his Religion three times: Neither was it to be wonder'd at in him, who looked upon Oaths and Promiſes, not as Bonds obliging to Fidelity and Truth, but the ſpecious covers of Perfidiouſneſs and Treachery. And therefore, he moved earneſtly, that the King, and thoſe of his Council, would conſider, whether, in ſo great an Affair, they would believe him, all whoſe Anceſtors had devoted themſelves, their Lives, Honours, and Fortunes, for the increaſe of his Grandeur, and who, indeed, had been honoured and rewarded by him with many Benefits, which yet were rather Teſtimonies of their good Acceptance, than juſt Rewards and Compenſations of their Labours; or elſe a Man, who would change his Friends and Foes, at the blaſt of every Wind, and who depended on the Arbitrement of Fortune alone.

THO' many were not ignorant, that his Allegations were true, yet the *French* King was ſo influenc'd by the *Guiſe's*, the Queen Dowager's Father and Uncle; and who, in all things, endeavoured to promote her Concerns, that his Heart and Ear were both ſhut againſt *Lenox*'s Requeſt; inſomuch, that he would not permit *John Campbel*, a Man of approved Virtue, ſent by *Lenox*, to have Audience, or ſo much as to come into his Preſence, but kept him in the nature of a Priſoner, and had Spies ſet upon him to watch him, that ſo he might not write back any thing of the Deſigns in agitation at the *French* Court: Yet notwithſtanding this their Caution, there were

were ſome who told him all. When *Lenox* heard this, by the Diſpatches which were ſent him, his troubled mind was variouſly hurried betwixt Anger and Shame; he was aſhamed to leave his Enterprize which he had begun, unfiniſhed; and the rather, becauſe he thought, that he was not able to ſatisfy the Love of his Friends and Kindred, whom he had drawn with him into the ſame Danger, but by the Sacrifice of his Life. As for the reſt, his Anger was highly inflamed, eſpecially againſt the Queen Dowager and the Cardinal, by whoſe perfidious Contumely he was caſt into theſe ſtraits; but he was chiefly offended with the King of *France*, complaining that he had brought him upon the Stage, and now, in the midſt of his Acting, had forſaken him, and joined himſelf with his Enemies. Whilſt his Thoughts thus fluctuated, not knowing where to fix, News was brought him, That all the Inhabitants on this ſide Mount *Grantzbain*, who were able to bear Arms, were commanded, by Proclamation, againſt ſuch a Day, to appear at *Sterlin*, and to bring ten Days proviſion along with them, that they might be ready to march whereſoever the Regent ſhould command them: And accordingly they came at the Day appointed, and the Regent commanded them to *Glaſgow*. There he beſieged the Caſtle ten Days, and battered it with his Braſs Guns, but in vain; yet, at laſt, a Truce was granted for a Day, and the Guards tampered with; ſo that the Caſtle was ſurrender'd upon Quarter, and Indemnity to the Garriſon-Soldiers: yet, notwithſtanding, all of them but one or two, were put to Death.

In the mean time, *Lenox*, being forſaken by the *French* King, and alſo cut off from any hope of other Aid, made trial by his Friends, how the King of *England* ſtood affected towards him; and, finding it fair weather there, he reſolved for *England*: But, before he went, he had a great mind to perform ſome notable Exploit againſt the *Hamiltons*; and, communicating his Deſign to *William Cuningham*, Earl of *Glencarn*, they two, at a Day appointed, with their Tenants and Adherents, reſolved to meet at *Glaſgow*, and from thence, to make an inroad into the County of *Clydſdale*, which, almoſt all, belonged to the *Hamiltons*. When the Regent heard of this, he reſolved to be beforehand with them, and ſo to ſeize upon *Glaſgow*, and prevent the place of meeting; but *Cuningham*, with a great party of his Men, entered the Town before, and there expected the coming of *Lenox*; but, hearing of *Hamilton*'s approach, and of his Deſign, he drew out his Men into the adjoining Fields, and, according to the number of thoſe he had, ſet them in array. There were about 800 of them, part of his own Clanſhip, and part of the Citizens of *Glaſgow*, who favoured his Cauſe, and thus, with greater Courage than Force, he joined Battle, and fought ſo

valiantly, that he beat the firſt Rank of the Enemy back upon the ſecond, and took the Braſs-pieces they had brought with them. But whilſt the Fight was hot about the Regent's Quarter, and the Matter was in great hazard there, on the ſudden *Robert Boyd*, a brave and valiant Man, came in with a ſmall party of Horſe, and thruſt himſelf into the midſt of the Fight, where the hotteſt Service was: He occaſion'd a greater Fear and Trepidation, than ſo ſmall a number need to have done; for both Armies believed, that great Aſſiſtance was come to the *Hamiltons*. This Miſtake quite changed the Fortune of the Day; whilſt one thought the Aſſiſtance was come into his Party, the other to his Enemies. There were ſlain, in the Battle, about 300 on both ſides; the greateſt part was of the *Cuninghams*, and amongſt them two Sons of the Earls, gallant Men both: Neither was the Victory unbloody to the *Hamiltons*, for they loſt conſiderable Perſons on their ſide too. But the greateſt Miſchief fell on the Inhabitants of *Glaſgow*; for the Enemy, not contented with the Blood of the Townſmen which they had killed, nor with the Miſeries of thoſe, who ſurvived, nor yet with the plunder of their Houſes, they even took away the Folding-doors of their Houſes, and the Shutters of their Windows, and their Iron-Bars: Neither did they forbear inflicting upon them every kind of Calamity, but only the firing of their Houſes, which were ſo torn and deformed before. The event of this Battle wrought a great change in Mens Minds, ſo that *Lenox*'s Friends and Kinſmen refuſed to venture the Matter to the hazard of a ſecond Encounter; not ſo much, becauſe their Enemy's Force was increaſed, and theirs leſſened; nor that, becauſe having loſt ſo many valiant Men, they could not ſpeedily gather together a new ſupply from Places ſo remote; as, that they were unwilling to give any new Provocation to *Hamilton*, or by too much Obſtinacy to offend him, under whoſe Government, they knew, they muſt ſhortly come.

Lenox, being thus deſerted by the *French*, and the greateſt part of the *Scots* too, made *George Sterlin* Governour of the Caſtle of *Dunbarton*; and he himſelf, with a few in his Company, ſail'd for *England*, againſt the Advice of his beſt Friends, who were willing he ſhould have ſtayed ſome Months in that impregnable Caſtle, and ſo waited for a new turn of Affairs, which, they doubted not, would ſhortly come to paſs. But he was reſolved for *England*, where he was honourably received by the King, who, beſides his other Reſpects, gave him *Margaret Douglas* in Marriage: She was Siſter to *James*, laſt King of *Scotland*, whom the Earl of *Angus* had by the Siſter of *Henry* King of *England*; a Lady in the Flower of her Age, of great Comelineſs and Beauty. In the mean time, the Queen Dowa-

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ger received into her Protection that Scotiſh Faction, which, by the departure of *Lenox*, was left without an Head, and which obſtinately refuſed to come under the Power of *Hamilton*, (whoſe Levity they knew before, and whoſe Cruelty they now feared) for ſhe was afraid, that they might be inrag'd in ſuch an hurry of things, and ſo deſperately engage in ſome new Commotion.

THE *Hamiltons* rejoiced at the departure of ſo potent an Enemy; but however, not being ſatisfied with the Puniſhments already inflicted, they uſed their Proſperity very intemperately: For, in the next Convention held at *Linlithgoe*, they condemned him and his Friends, confiſcated their Goods, and baniſhed them the Land. A great ſum of Money was raiſed out of the Fines of thoſe who redeemed their Eſtates out of the Exchequer, but not without great Diſguſt, and the high Offence of all good Men. In the midſt of theſe domeſtick Seditions, the *Engliſh* entered *Scotland*, and committed great Spoil and Deſolation on *Jedburgh*, *Kelſo*, and the Country thereabout. From thence they went to *Coldingham*, where they fortified the Church and the Tower, as well as they could for the time, by making Works and leaving a Garriſon, and ſo departed: And the Garriſon-Soldiers made great havock in all the adjacent Parts; partly out of a greedineſs for Plunder, and partly, that the Country thereabouts might not afford Proviſions to the Enemy when they beſieged them. They, who ruled the Roaſt in *Scotland*, the Queen Dowager, Cardinal, and Regent, by the Advice of the Council, put out a Proclamation, That the Noblemen, and the moſt diſcreet and able of the Commons, ſhould come in, with eight Days Proviſion, to march where-ever the Regent led them. In a ſhort time, about 8000 met together, and in a very ſharp Winter too, who, having batter'd the Tower of the Church of *Coldingham* with their great Guns, ſtood to their Arms all that Day and Night, to the very great fatigue both of Horſe and Man. The Day after, the Regent, either out of tenderneſs and inability to endure military Toil, or fearing the Invaſion of the Enemy, (for he was informed from *Berwick*, a neighbouring Town, that the *Engliſh* were upon their March) unknown to his Nobles, and with but a few in Company, mounted on Horſeback, and with full ſpeed fled back to *Dunbar*. They, who endeavour to excuſe the Baſeneſs of this Flight, ſay, that he was afraid, leſt his Army (out of Hate preconceived on many former Accounts) would have delivered him up to the *Engliſh*. His Departure occaſioned a great Diſturbance in the whole Army, and the rather, becauſe the Cauſe of his Flight was unknown; and therefore many thought, that 'twas the more conſiderable, and that they had greater Reaſon to fear. This made ſome obſtinately reſolve to run home,

the neareſt way they could, and leave their Guns behind them: Others, who would ſeem a little more Provident and Stout, were for overcharging them, that ſo they might break in pieces at a Diſcharge, and become uſeleſs to the Enemy. But *Archibald* Earl of *Angus* withſtood them all, telling them, that they ſhould not add ſo foul an Offence to their baſe Flight: But not being able to retain them, either by his Authority or Entreaty, he burſt out into theſe Words, with a loud Voice, ſo that many might hear him: *As for me*, ſaid he, *I had rather chuſe a noble Death, than to enjoy my Life, tho' in Plenty and Security, after the guilt of ſo foul an Action: You, my Friends and Fellow-Soldiers, conſider what you will do: As for me, I will bring back theſe Guns, or elſe I will never return back hence alive; my Honour and my Life ſhall go together.* This Speech affected ſome Few, whoſe Honour was dearer to them than their Lives, but the reſt were ſo diſheartned by the ſhameful Flight of the Regent, that they broke their Ranks, and went every one home in a ſcatter'd confuſed manner. *Douglas* ſent the Guns before, and he, with his Party, followed in good Order in the Rear; and, tho' he was preſt upon by the *Engliſh* Horſe, (whom the Tumult had excited) yet he brought the Ordnance ſafe to *Dunbar*. This Expedition, raſhly undertaken, and as baſely performed, diſcouraged abundance of the *Scots*, and raiſed up the *Engliſh* Spirit to an intolerable height, as turning the Cowardice of the Regent to their own Praiſe: And therefore *Ralph Evers*, and *Brian Laiton*, two brave Engliſh Cavaliers, overran all *Merce*, *Teviot*, and *Lauderdale*, without any Reſiſtance, and made the Inhabitants of thoſe Countries ſubmit themſelves; and, if any were refractory, they waſted their Lands, and made their Habitations deſolate; nay, the undiſturb'd courſe of their Victories made them ſo reſolute and inſolent, that they propounded the Bay of *Forth* to be the Boundary of their Conqueſt. And with this Hope they went to *London*, and crav'd a Reward from *Henry* for their good Services. Their Petition was referred to the Council; and, in the Debate held about it, *Thomas Howard*, Duke of *Norfolk*, who had made many Expeditions againſt the *Scots*, and had done them much Miſchief, underſtanding, that, in that troubleſome poſture of Affairs in *Scotland*, it was no hard Matter to overrun naked and unguarded Countries, and to compel the Commonalty, when they had no other Refuge, to take an Oath of Fealty to them; and withal knowing the Conſtancy of the *Scots*, in maintaining their Country, and their Reſolution in recovering it, when loſt; upon theſe Conſiderations, 'tis reported, that he adviſed the King to give them all the Land which they could win by the Sword; and alſo to allow them a ſmall Force to defend it, till the *Scots* there were inured to the

Engliſh Government. This Gift they willingly receiv'd, and the King as willingly gave: Upon which, their vain boaſting being as vainly requited, they return'd joyfully to the Borderers, having obtained 3000 Soldiers in Pay, beſides the Borderers, who are wont to ſerve without any Military Stipend. Their return mightily diſturb'd all the Borderers, becauſe they had no Hopes of any help from the Regent, in regard he was influenc'd in all his Counſels by a Prieſt, eſpecially by the Cardinal. At this time, *Archibald*, Earl of *Angus*, being much affected with the publick Diſgrace, and alſo concerned upon the account of his own private Loſſes, (for he had large and fruitful Poſſeſſions in *Merch* and *Teviotdale*) ſent to the Regent to prevent it. The Regent deplor'd his own Solitude, and complain'd how he was deſerted by the Nobility. *Douglas* told him, it was his own, not the Nobility's fault, for they were willing to ſpend their Lives and Fortunes for the good of the Publick; but he had ſlighted his Advice, and was wholly govern'd by a few ſorry Prieſts, who were Cowardly a-broad, and Seditious at home: for they, being exempted from Danger themſelves, did abuſively ſpend the Fruits of other Men's Labours upon their own Pleaſures. 'This, (ſaid he) is the Fountain, from 'whence Suſpicions ariſe between you and the Nobility; 'which, in regard you cannot truſt one another, is a great hin-'drance to the publick Service: But, if you will communicate 'Counſels and Concernments with them, who will not refuſe 'to lay down their Lives, in executing what ſhall be reſolved 'upon; I do not deſpair, but we may yet perform as noble 'Exploits as ever any of our Anceſtors did, in Times equally, 'or, at leaſt, not much leſs troubleſome, than the Days we 'now live in. But, if by our own Slothfulneſs, we ſuffer the 'Enemy to conquer by piece-meal, he will quickly force us to 'a Surrender or a Baniſhment, and, which of the two is more 'miſerable and flagitious, can hardly be determined. As for 'us Two, I know that I am accuſed by my Enemies of Trea-'chery, and you of Cowardice: But, if you would do that 'ſpeedily, which you are not able to avoid doing in the end, 'tis not a fine ſpun Oration, but 'tis the Field of Battle, and 'the edge of the Sword, that muſt clear us of theſe Imputations. The Regent told him, that he would be wholly guided by him and the Nobles: Upon which the Council was ſummoned about an Expedition; and by their Advice a Proclamation was publiſhed in all the neighbouring Countries, that the whole Nobility there ſhould, with all the ſpeed they could, repair to the Regent, whereſoever, he ſhould be; and they the Day after, with their preſent Force, which were not above 300 Horſe, march'd for *England*. There came in to them ſome of

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the *Lothianers* and *Merch-men*, but not very many, ſo that when they reached *Mulroſs*, upon *Tweed*, they reſolv'd to ſtay there till more Force came up to them; but the *Engliſh*, who were already got as far as *Jedburgh*, being inform'd by their Spies, of the inconſiderable Force of the Enemy, march'd with about 5000 Men out of *Jedburgh*, directly towards *Mulroſs*, not doubting, but that they ſhould Surprize the Regent and his Party unawares, being but few, and they alſo tired with their March.

BUT the *Scots*, having Advices from the *Scouts*, of the *Engliſh*, withdrew to the next Hills, from thence, in Safety, to behold what Courſe the Enemy would take. The *Engliſh*, being thus diſappointed of their Hope, wander'd up and down in the Town and Monaſtery of Monks, which were pillag'd a little before, being intent upon what Prey they could find, and there they ſtaid till break of Day. As ſoon as 'twas light, they were returning to *Jedburgh*, and the *Scots*, having receiv'd a ſupply of almoſt 300 of the Men, of *Fife*, under the Command of *Norman Leſly*, Son to the Earl of *Rothes*, (a young Man, of ſuch Accompliſhments, that he had not his Match in all *Scotland*) grew from hence more encouraged, and ſo, with a ſlow March, they retir'd to the Hills, which lie about the Town of *Ancram*: There *Walter Scot*, (of whom mention is made before) an active and prudent Perſon, came in to them with but a few in his Company, excuſing the ſtraitneſs of time, and telling them, that his whole Party would be ſpeedily with them: His Advice was, that they ſhould ſend their Horſe to the next Hill, and ſo all of them run equal Hazard on Foot, and wait for the Enemy on the low Grounds; for he did not doubt, but that their Servants carrying up their Horſe to the higher Grounds, would make the *Engliſh* believe, that they were running away, and that would occaſion them to haſten their March. And accordingly, leſt the *Scots* ſhould get off without fighting, and be again to be ſought out with a great deal of Pains, before the Night came the *Engliſh* came up to them in three Battalions; for they hoped to end the Buſineſs with one light Skirmiſh: and, becauſe their Hopes were ſuch, each one exhorted his Fellow to make haſte, tho' they had continued their March Night and Day before, under their heavy Arms, that ſo by a ſhort Toil they might get long Reſt, Renown and Glory. Theſe Exhortations added to their Courage, as much as the Toil of the March abated their Strength, ſo that their two firſt Battalions fell in amongſt the *Scots*, who were prepared for the onſet, as into an Ambuſh; yet, truſting to their Number, they ſtood to their Arms, and fought ſtoutly. But two things (wiſely forcſeen) were a great help to the *Scots*, for both the Sun was almoſt at Weſt, and darted with his full Beams in the Faces of the Enemy; and alſo

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the Wind, which was somewhat high, carried back the smoak of the Gunpowder upon the Battalions behind, insomuch that they could not see their way; and besides, whilst they were panting, by reason of their March, it mightily troubled them with its noisom smell. The first Battalion of the *English* fell back upon the second, the second on the third; where, by their Intermixtures one with another, and the pressing of the *Scots* upon them, they all broke their Ranks, and were driven back; so that all were so full of Fear and Terror, that none knew his own Colours, or his Captain. Thus, whilst every one provided for his own Safety, no Man remembered the publick Danger and Disgrace. The *Scots* followed thick and close after them, so that now there was no more fighting, but slaying. At Night the *Scots* were called back to their Colours, and taking a view of the slain, they lost only two of their own; of the *English*, besides Commanders, there died about 200 Soldiers, and amongst them some of Note. There were about 1000 Prisoners taken, and of them above 80 Gentlemen. This Victory, happening beyond all Mens Expectation, was so much the more acceptable: the Fruit and profit of it all redounded to the Regent, but almost all the Honour to the *Douglasses*.

About this time, by the Fraud, as 'tis thought, of *George Gordon* Earl of *Huntly*, a Contention arose, in which almost all the Family of the *Frasers* was extinguish'd There was, betwixt them and *Mac Rainald*, an old Grudge, which had been often manifested to the loss of both Parties; and *Huntly* was inwardly fill'd with Indignation, that they alone, of all the neighbouring Families, refused to come under his Clanship. For, when the Neighbour Islanders gather'd together what Forces they could, against the Earl of *Argile*, there was hardly any Man in that tract of the Country, but bore Arms on one side or other. But, the Matter being composed without Blows, as they were returning, they sever'd from him another way: The *Mac-Rainalds* having Notice of it, got their Clanships together, and set upon them most furiously, and the *Frasers*, being fewer in number, were overcome, and all slain to a Man. And thus that numerous Family, which had oft so well deserved of their Country, had been wholly extinguish'd, unless by God's good Providence, (as we have Reason to believe) 80 of the chief of the Family had left their Wives at home big with Child, all of which, in due time, brought forth Male-children, and they all lived to Man's Estate.

At the same time, the King of *England* heard, that his Army was beaten and wasted in *Scotland*, and that an Ambassador was sent by the Regent to the King of *France*, to acquaint him with the Victory, and to desire Aid of him, against the Demands

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and Threats of the King of *England*; and likewiſe to inform againſt *Lenox*, in defamation of his Departure into *England*. As for Aid, he could ſcarce obtain any, becauſe the *French* knew for certain, that *Henry* was juſt upon the point of paſſing over with great Forces into *France*, only they ſent 500 Horſe, and 3000 Foot, not ſo much to defend the *Scots* from the Incurſions of the *Engliſh*, as to hold them in play, that they might not fall with their whole Strength upon *France*. *Henry*, that Summer, did not think it fit, to ſend greater Forces to the Borders of *Scotland*, becauſe he was of opinion, that the Garriſons were ſufficient to reſtrain the Excurſions of the *Scots*; and beſides, he knew well enough, that the *Scots*, in ſuch a perplexed State of their Affairs, could not raiſe a great Army that Year, to attack any well-fortified Places.

THE Scotiſh Ambaſſador in *France* raiſed ſome mean and pitiful Objections againſt *Lenox*, in his Abſence, ſcarce worth the anſwering, as, that he had concealed the Money ſent to him; that by reaſon of his Diſſentions with the Cardinal, the Cauſe of the Publick was betray'd; and, as for his Departure into *England*, he took ſpecial care to exaggerate that Affair in a moſt invidious manner. The King of *France*, who, by means of falſe Rumours, had conceiv'd ſuch an Anger againſt *Lenox*, that he would by no means admit of his clearing himſelf, or making the leaſt Apology againſt thoſe Calumnies, nay, he had impriſoned *Lenox*'s Brother, Captain of his Guards, without giving him a hearing: when the Truth began a little to appear, he then indeed, as 'twere, in excuſe for his raſh proceeding, wanted ſome colour to hide it; and, accordingly commanded an Examination to be made of the Crimes objected againſt *Lenox*. And the Enquiry was committed to the Care of *James Montgomery* of *Lorge*, Commander of the *French* Auxiliaries, a Man active and good enough, but a bitter Enemy to *Lenox*; 'twas put into his Hands at the Inſtance of the *Guiſes*, becauſe they were not able to diſtinguiſh ſeparately the Cauſe of their Siſter from the Perfidiouſneſs of the Cardinal. *Montgomery* arriv'd with his *French* Auxiliaries (lately mention'd) in *Scotland*, on *July* the 3d. in the Year 1545. where, by ſhewing the Letters, and declaring the good Intentions of the King of *France* towards them in the Council, he obtained, that an Army ſhould be levied, but only of the better ſort, who were to beat the Charges of the War; and they were to meet upon a ſhort Day. And accordingly, at the time appointed, there met 15000 *Scots* at *Hadington*, and, marching to the Borders, they formed their Camp over againſt *Werk*, a Caſtle in *England*. From thence, almoſt every other Day, they marched with their Colours into *England*, and carried off a great deal of Booty. The Enemy endeavour'd to

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reſiſt their Incurſions, but in vain; they made ſome light Skirmiſhes, but without Succeſs, ſo that the *Scots* waſted all the Country for ſix Miles round. They continu'd this manner of Action for the ſpace of ten Days, never going ſo far into the Enemies Country in the Day-time, but that they could return back to their Camp at Night. In the Interim, *Montgomery* and *George Hume* put it very earneſtly to the Regent, that he would remove his Camp to the other ſide of the *Tweed*, that ſo they might make freer Inroads upon the parts adjacent, and ſpread the Terror of their Army to a greater Diſtance; but all their Sollicitations were in vain. For the Regent, and thoſe of the Council about him, were againſt it, becauſe they were deſtitute of all Neceſſaries for ſtorming of Caſtles; ſo that they disbanded the Army, and returned home. The other took up their Winter-Quarters as every one thought fit: But *Montgomery* went to *Sterlin* to the Court; where, knowing of the Calumnies raiſed againſt *Lenox* by his Enemies, tho' he was himſelf highly diſguſted at him too, yet he rebuked the Cardinal very ſeverely; that, without any Provocation on *Lenox*'s part, he had loaden ſo noble and innocent a Perſon with ſuch calumnious Imputations, and had compell'd him, even againſt his Will, to join with the Enemy.

ABOUT the ſame time, Inroads were made on both ſides, on all parts of the Borders, with very different Events. *Robert Maxwel*, the Son of *Robert*, a young Gentleman of ſingular Valour, was taken Priſoner by the *Engliſh*: There was nothing memorable done beſides. At the beginning of the following Winter, *Montgomery* return'd to *France*, and the Cardinal carried about the Regent with him through the neighbouring Provinces, upon pretence, to reconcile and heal the Seditions and Diſtempers of all Parties. Firſt, they came to *Perth*, where four Men were puniſh'd for eating Fleſh on a Day prohibited; and alſo a Woman and her Infant were both put to Death, becauſe ſhe refuſed to call upon the Virgin *Mary* for Aid, at the time when ſhe was in Labour. Then they applied themſelves to the Overthrow of all the Reformed, univerſally: They went to *Dundee*, and, as themſelves gave out, 'twas to puniſh ſuch as read the *new Teſtament*; for, in thoſe Days, that was counted a moſt grievous Sin: And ſuch was the blindneſs of thoſe Times, that ſome of the Prieſts, being offended at the novelty of the Title, did contend, that Book was lately written by *Martin Luther*, and therefore they deſired only the *Old*. There 'twas told them, that *Patrick Grey*, chief of a Noble Family in thoſe Parts, was coming with a great Train, and the Earl of *Rothes* with him. The Tumult being appeaſed, the Regent commanded both of them to come to him the Day after; but

that

the Cardinal, thinking it not ſafe, to admit two ſuch potent and factious Perſons, with ſo great a Train, into that Town, which was the only one highly addicted to the Reformed Religion, perſuaded the Regent to return to *Perth*. The Noble-Men, when they were ready for their Journey, heard the Regent was gone to *Perth*, they immediately, upon the firſt Notice, followed him thither; and, when they came in ſight of the Town, the Cardinal was ſo afraid, that, to gratify him, the Regent commanded them to enter the City ſeverally, and a-part; and the next Day after they were both committed to Priſon: yet *Rothes* was ſoon releaſed, but *Grey* was delivered with more difficulty afterwards, becauſe he was more hated and feared by them. Before they went from thence, the Cardinal thought good to abate the Power of *Ruven*, Mayor of the City; ſo that the Regent took away the Mayoralty from him, and gave it to the Laird *Kilfans*, a Neighbour-Laird, *Grey*'s Kinſman. *Ruven* was envied by the Cardinal, becauſe he favoured the Reform'd Religion: And as for *Grey*, he was not wholly averſe to the Reform'd neither, nor yet any great Friend of the Cardinal's: For, by this Means, the Cardinal did not doubt, but, if they two fell out, many of the neighbouring Parts would join themſelves to each of them, in regard of being derived from ſuch Illuſtrious Families, and having each numerous Domeſtics; and ſo the more of them fell on either ſide, the fewer Enemies he ſhould have left alive. Thus the Mayoralty of *Perth*, which for many Years had continued as Hereditary in the Family of the *Ruvens*, was tranſlated to *Charters*, Laird of *Kinfans*, to the mighty great Indignation of the Citizens; who took it much amiſs, that their ancient Freedom of Voting in their Aſſemblies, was taken away: But the new Mayor was ſent to bring them to a ſenſe of Obedience by Force, if they offered to reſiſt. His Deſign was to Aſſault the City in two Places. *Grey*, who had taken the whole Matter upon his ſingle ſelf, attack'd it from the Bridge over the River *Tay*: The other Party were to carry their Guns up the Stream, and ſo to ſtorm the open ſide of the Town; but, becauſe the Tide hinder'd them, they did not come up in time. *Grey* makes his Attempt from the Bridge (from which *Ruven* had purpoſely withdrawn his Guards into the next Houſes, that ſo it might ſeem to the Enemy as if it was undefended) and, when he ſaw none in Arms to oppoſe him, he boldly march'd up into the Body of the Town; upon which *Ruven* ſallied out of the adjoining Houſes on a ſudden, and gave him a brisk charge, which routed him and his whole Party; but in flight through narrow Paſſages, the one hindred another: For the laſt, ſtriving to gain the Mouth of the Paſſage, gave a ſtop to the firſt; and in this Confuſion many were trod under Foot,

and

and ſixty fell by the Sword. The Cardinal, when he knew that *Ruven* had got the Victory, was a little concern'd at it; yet glad however, that ſo many of his Enemies were deſtroyed; for, as he deſpaired ever to make them his Friends, ſo he counted it a Gain to him, to ſee them mutually deſtroying one another. The Cardinal having thus paſt over as much of *Angus*, as he thought convenient at that time, brought the Regent, after the Winter Solſtice, to St. *Andrews*, to endear his Mind ſtill more and more to him, if poſſible; for, tho' he had his Son, the Earl of *Arran*, as a Pledge, yet, as often as he thought and meditated upon the Fierceneſs of the Scotiſh Nobilty, and compared it, in his Mind, to the Strength of the oppoſite Faction, and to the Inconſtancy of the Regent; he was afraid, that he might be perſuaded by his Enemies, and ſo wrought over to them with the ſame Levity, as he had firſt joined himſelf with him. There he entertained him, with a ſmall Retinue, with Sports and Paſtimes twenty Days at *Chriſtmas*: He gave him many Gifts to pleaſe him for the preſent, and promiſed him more for the future; and, after much Diſcourſe together, concerning the State of the Kingdom, he came a little more ſecure to *Edinburgh*.

THERE a Convocation of Eccleſiaſticks was held *Jan.* 12. In that Aſſembly many things were canvaſs'd up and down concerning the retaining of the old Liberty of the Church, and the Puniſhment of the enormous Crimes of ſome Prieſts; but, in the midſt of their Debates, before they could conclude of any thing, News was brought to them, that *George Wiſeheart*, a Peacher of the Goſpel, one very acceptable to the People, was entertained at the Houſe of a Noble Perſon, called *John Cockburn*, about ſeven Miles from the City. They preſently detatch'd a party of Horſe thither, to demand the offender: But *Cockburn* alledg'd ſeveral things in excuſe, on purpoſe to create ſome Delays, that ſo he might have an opportunity to convey him away ſecretly; of which the Cardinal being inform'd, poſted thither with the Regent, even in the dead time of the Night, and beſet all the Avenues of the Houſe; and yet their Promiſes, Flatteries, and Threats, prevailed not at all, till they ſent for the Earl of *Bothwel* out of the next Diſtrict: He, being the chief of all the *Lothianers*, eaſily obtained that *George* ſhould be deliver'd up to him; but firſt he paſs'd his Word, that no Harm or Damage ſhould come to him. The Prieſts, having now gotten this Prey into their Hands, carried him from *Edinburgh* to St. *Andrews*; and there, about a Month after, they aſſembled a great Company of Eccleſiaſticks of all ſorts, to determin concerning his Doctrine: This was done to blind Men's Eyes with the pretence of a Judicatory, and of a legal Proceeding; for all Men knew,

knew, what they would determine concerning him before-hand. By the conſent of them all, the Cardinal, by his Letters, deſir'd the Regent to give out his Mandate for a Civil Judge to ſit upon the Offender, for he himſelf, by the Pope's Canon Law, could not ſit upon the Life or Death of any Man) that ſo he, that was already judg'd an Heretick by the Prieſts, might be alſo ſentenc'd to Death by the Secular Power. The Regent was not likely to have made any ſcruple in granting his Requeſt, but that *David Hamilton* of *Preſton*, his Kinſman, had interpoſed and kept him back, who ſometimes adviſed, and ſometimes entreated, threaten'd, and ſometimes chid him, in order to ſtop the Proceſs againſt *George*: The ſum of his Diſcourſe is ſuppoſed to be this, *That he very much wonder'd upon what account the Regent ſhould veſt ſo great an Authority in any Man againſt the Servants of God, and who had no other Crime objected againſt them, but that of preaching the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt; and eſpecially to ſuch, whoſe wretched Lives, and brutiſh Cruelty, made them quite careleſs, what Torments they put an innocent Man to, whoſe Integrity of Life, his very Enemies were forc'd to confeſs, even againſt their Will; and, for his Learning, he himſelf knew it to be great; that further, he himſelf had been formerly a great Favourer of him, and it: 'Twas by his Commendation, that he was advanc'd to the Supreme Magiſtracy; and alſo, that he had given forth Edicts to declare his aſſent to his Doctrine publickly, and had undertook to defend it; nay, he had exhorted all in general, and each Man in particular, to read, and underſtand, practice, and exemplify it in their Hearts and Lives: Conſider therefore with your ſelf,* ſaid he, *what will Men think? what will Men ſay of you? Conſider the Mercies God Almighty hath beſtowed upon you: The King, an active Man, and your Enemy, was taken away, who walk'd in the very ſame Steps you now tread: They, who brought him to Ruin by their Advice, are, at this Minute, doing their utmoſt endeavour to deſtroy you: They have oppoſed you from the beginning with the Weight of all their Power; and now they ſeek, with fraudulent Counſel, to enſnare and undo you. Call to Mind* (Sir) *the Victory given you over your Subjects without Blood-ſhed, and over your Enemies too, tho' having much greater Force than your ſelf, to your great Renown, and their deſerv'd Ignominy. Remember, for whoſe ſake you thus deſert God, and oppoſe your and his Friends: Awake, I beſeech you, and diſpel that Miſt, which wicked and ill-deſigning Men have caſt before your Eyes; remember* Saul *King of* Iſrael, *how he was raiſed up from a low to a ſovereign Eſtate, and how many Bleſſings he received from God, as long as he was obedient to his Law; but, when he ſlighted and turn'd aſide from his Commands, how miſerably was he puniſh'd? Compare the Succeſs of your Affairs, from the beginning to this very Day,*

with

'with his Proſperities; and, unleſs you alter the courſe of your 'Deſigns, expect no happy Iſſue, (nay, rather a worſe End than 'he: For he deſigned the ſame Projects which you are now 'upon, and that to gratify ſome baſe Varlets, who can neither 'hide their open Wickedneſſes, nor do ſo much as endeavour 'to diſſemble them.

THE Regent was affected at the Advice of his Friend, and writ back an Anſwer to the Cardinal, That he ſhould not precipitate the Proceſs, but let the whole Matter lie dormant, till he came himſelf: For he was not willing to conſent to the Condemnation of the Man, till he had more diligently enquir'd into his Cauſe: And, if the Cardinal did otherwiſe, the Man's Blood ſhould light on his Head; for he teſtify'd by thoſe Letters, that he himſelf was entirely clear from it.

THE Cardinal was unexpectedly ſurprized by this Anſwer; he knew well enough, that, if Delays were made in the Caſe, the Priſoner would be deliver'd, as being a popular Man; and beſides, he would not ſuffer the thing to be brought to a Debate, partly, becauſe the Man having been already condemned by the Eccleſiaſticks, he would have no Recognition made; ſo that he was angry to a degree of Rage, and perſiſted in the Reſolution he had taken: And his Reply was, That he did not write to the Regent, as if he had not ſufficient Authority independently of him, but for a ſpecious pretence to the Vulgar, that his Name might be to the Condemnation. Upon that, *George* was brought out of Priſon, and *John Windram*, a learned Man, and an hearty, (tho' ſecret) favourer of the Cauſe of Religion, was commanded to mount a kind of Pulpit there erected, and to preach: He took his Text out of *Matt.* xiii. which ſays, That *the Good Seed is the Word of God, but the Evil Seed is Hereſy*: In his Diſcourſe, defining Hereſy, he ſaid, it was a falſe Opinion, evidently repugnant to the holy Scriptures, and maintained with obſtinacy; and that it was occaſioned, and alſo ſupported and foſtered, by the Ignorance of the Paſtors of the Church, who did not know, how (either to convince Hereticks or) to reduce thoſe who were gone aſtray, by the ſpiritual Sword, which is the Word of God. Afterwards he explained the Duty of a Biſhop, out of the Epiſtle to *Timothy*, and ſhewed, that there was only *one* way to find out Hereſy, which was to bring it to the *Teſt* of the Word of God. At length, when he came to a Concluſion, though what he ſpake made againſt Prieſts, who were there aſſembled not to refute Hereſies, but to puniſh thoſe who oppoſed their licentious Arrogance; yet, as it all things went well on their ſide, they haled forth *George* to a Pulpit or Scaffold, built in the Church; that ſo they might obſerve their accuſtomed Form

in Judgment: Over-againſt him there was another Pulpit, which *John Lauder*, a Popiſh Prieſt, mounted; and the reſt ſtood all about him, as 'twere, to judge, but there was not the leaſt appearance of Judgment, or of a free Diſpute in the Caſe; for the Accuſer thundered out many odious and abominable Slanders, ſuch as are wont to be commonly forg'd againſt the Preachers of the reformed Religion, with mighty bitter Expreſſions: And thus, having ſpent ſome Hours, *George* was brought back again to the Caſtle, and lodg'd in the Governour's Chamber, ſpending great part of his Time, that Night, in Prayer. The next Morning, the Biſhops ſent two *Franciſcans* to him, to acquaint him that his Death was at hand, and to know, whether they ſhould confeſs him, as is uſual in ſuch Caſes? He told them, he had nothing to do with *Friars*, nor had any Mind to diſcourſe them; but, if they were willing to gratify him in that one Point, then he deſired to confer with that learned Man who preach'd the Day before. Accordingly the Biſhops gave him leave to go to the Caſtle, and *George* had a long Diſcourſe with *Windram*, who, after he had ceas'd weeping, (which for a while he could not refrain) very friendly demanded of him, whether he would receive the Sacrament of the *Lord's Supper*? With all my Heart, ſaid *George*, if I may receive it under both kinds of Bread and Wine, according to Chriſt's Inſtitution. *Windram* return'd to the Biſhops, and told them, that *George* very ſolemnly profeſs'd, that he was innocent of the Crime of which he was accuſed; which he ſpoke not to deprecate his Death, now at hand, but only to teſtify his Innocency before Men, as 'twas before ſufficiently known to God. The Cardinal was much inraged; *Ay*, ſays he, *We know well enough what you are.* Being further demanded, whether he would admit him to receive the Sacrament; he talk'd a little with the Biſhops, and, with their Conſent, made Anſwer, That *'twas not fit that a ſtubborn Heretick, condemn'd by the Church, ſhould enjoy any Benefits of the Church.* That Anſwer was return'd to him; and, about nine of the Clock, the Friends and Officers of the Governour of the Caſtle ſat down to Breakfaſt; they asked *George*, whether he would eat with them? *Very willingly*, ſaid he, *and much more ſo than in former Times, becauſe I perceive you are good Men, and Fellow-members with me of the ſame Body of Chriſt; and becauſe, I know, that this is the laſt Meal I ſhall eat on Earth. And for you* (ſpeaking to the Governour of the Caſtle) *I deſire you, in the Name of God, and for that Love which you bear to our Lord and Saviour* Jeſus Chriſt, *that you'll ſit down a while with us, and vouchſafe me the Hearing, whilſt I give you a ſhort Exhortation, and ſo pray over this Bread, which, as Brethren in Chriſt, we are about to eat, and*

and then I will bid you heartily Farewel. In the interim the Cloth was laid (according to Cuſtom) and Bread ſet on, when *George* made a brief and clear Diſcourſe for about half an Hour, concerning Chriſt's laſt Supper, his Sufferings and Death. But, above all, he exhorted them to lay aſide Anger, Envy, and Malice, and to have mutual Love impreſs'd on their Minds; that ſo they might become perfect Members of Chriſt, who daily intercedes for us with his Father, that our Sacrifice might be accepted by him to eternal Life. When he had thus ſpoken, he gave Thanks, and then brake the Bread, and gave to every one a piece, and then the Wine, after he himſelf had drank in the ſame manner, intreating them to remember the Death of Chriſt now in the laſt Sacrament with him; as for himſelf, a bitterer Portion was prepared for him, for no other Reaſon, but his preaching the Goſpel. And then, having again given Thanks, he returned to his Chamber, and concluded with Prayer. A while after, two Executioners were ſent to him by the Cardinal, one of them put a black Linnen Shirt upon him, and the other bound many little Bags of Gun-powder to all the Parts of his Body: In this Dreſs they brought him forth, and commanded him to ſtay in the Chamber without the Governour's. And, at the ſame time, they erected a wooden Scaffold in the Court before the Caſtle, and made up a Pile of Wood. The Windows and Forts of his over-againſt it were all hung with Tapiſtry and Silk Hangings, with Cuſhions for the Cardinal, with his Train, to behold and take Pleaſure in the joyful Sight, even the Torture of an innocent Man; thus endeavouring to curry Favour with the Vulgar, as the Author of ſo notable a Prank. There was alſo a great Guard of Soldiers, not ſo much to ſecure Execution, as for a vain Oſtentation of his Power; and beſides, Braſs Guns were plac'd up and down in all convenient Places of the Caſtle. Thus, whilſt the Trumpets ſounded, *George*, was brought forth, mounted the Scaffold, and was faſtened with a Cord to the Stake, and, having ſcarce obtain'd Liberty to pray for the Church of God, the Executioners fir'd the Wood, which immediately took hold of the Powder that was tied about him, blew it up into Flame and ſmoke. The Governour of the Caſtle, who ſtood ſo near that he was ſing'd with the Flame, exhorted him, in a few Words, to be of good chear, and to ask Pardon of God for his Offences: To whom he replied, *This Flame occaſions Trouble to my Body indeed, but it hath in no wiſe broken my Spirit: But he, who now ſo proudly looks down upon me from yonder lofty Place, (pointing to the Cardinal) ſhall, e'er long, be as ignominiouſly thrown down, as now he proudly lolls at his Eaſe.* Having thus ſpoken, they ſtraitned the Rope, which was tied about his Neck, and ſo ſtrangled him. His Body, in a few

Hours was conſum'd to Aſhes in the Flame: And the Biſhop, being yet mad with Hate and Rage, forbad every Body, upon great Penalties, to pray for the Deceaſed.

AFTER this Fact, the Cardinal was highly commended by his Faction, and extoll'd to the very Skies, that he alone, when others declined it, had ſlighted the Authority of the Regent, and performed ſo noble an Exploit, whereby he had curb'd popular Inſolency, and had couragiouſly undertook, and as happily manag'd the Defence of the whole Eccleſiaſtical Order. If the Church had formerly had (ſay they) ſuch ſtrenuous Aſſertors of its Liberties, it would never have been brought to that paſs, as it is at this Day, (*i. e.*) to truckle under; but it would have given Law to all, and received it from none. This luxuriant and ſuperlative Joy of the Prieſts, for their obtained Victory, rather irritated than diſcouraged the Minds, not only of the promiſcuous Vulgar, but even of ſome great and noble Perſons too: They fretted that things were come to that paſs by their own Puſillanimity and Cowardice; and now they thought ſome bold thing or other was to be attempted and hazarded, or elſe they muſt remain Slaves for ever. Led by this ſame Motto, more Company came in to them, whoſe Grief forc'd them to break out into Complaints againſt the Cardinal. So they encouraged one another to rid the Cardinal out of the way, and either to recover their Liberty, or loſe their Lives. For what hope of thriving, ſaid they, can there be under ſo arrogant a Prieſt, and ſo cruel a Tyrant, who made War againſt God, as well as Man, and thoſe, not his Enemies only, as were all ſuch as had Eſtates, or were any way Pious? If he bore but a Grudge againſt a Man, he would hale him as a Hog out of the Sty, to be ſacrific'd to his Luſts. And beſides, he was a publick Encourager and Maintainer of War, both at Home and Abroad; and, in his private Capacity, he mix'd the Love of Harlots with lawful Marriages: Legitimate Wedlock he diſſolv'd at Pleaſure; at Home he wallowed in Luſt among his Minions, and Abroad he ravag'd to deſtroy the Innocent. The Cardinal himſelf, tho' he did not diſtruſt his own Power, yet knowing how People ſtood affected towards him, and what Reports were ſpread up and down concerning him, thought it his beſt way to ſtrengthen his Power, by making what Additions he could, one way or other. For this End he went to *Angus*, and married his eldeſt Daughter to the Son of the Earl of *Crawford*: The Marriage was ſolemniz'd in great State, and (almoſt) with a Royal Magnificence. Whilſt theſe things were in agitation, he receiv'd Intelligence by his Spies, that the King of *England* was making great Naval Preparations to infeſt the Scotiſh Coaſts, but eſpecially the Inhabitants of *Fife*, whom he threatned moſt: And, as ſoon as he re-

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ceiv'd theſe Advices, he return'd to St. *Andrews*, and there appointed a Day for the Nobles, eſpecially thoſe, whoſe Eſtates lay near the Sea, to meet, and conſult in common, what Remedy to apply to the preſent Evil. And, to do it more effectually, he determined to take a View, of all the Sea-Coaſts, together with the owners of the *Lands*, and ſo, in a manner, to go a Circuit about all *Fife*; and to fortify all convenient Places, and to put Garriſons into them. Amongſt the reſt of the Noblmens Sons, who came in to the Cardinal, *Norman Leſly*, Son to the Earl of *Rothes*, was one, of whom I have made mention ſeveral times before: He had done great and eminent Services for the Cardinal, but, on a time, there fell out a Diſpute between them concerning a private Buſineſs, which made them Cold to one another, and Strangers for a while; but *Norman*, for great Promiſes made him, quitted his Right to the Matter in conteſt. After a few Months, coming to demand of the Cardinal the performance of what was promiſed him, they came from a plain to a pretty warm Diſcourſe, and afterwards to downright Railing, uttering ſuch reproachful words one to another, as unbecame them both. And thus they parted in a great Rage, the Cardinal fretting that he was not treated with that Deference which he thought due to his Dignity; and *Norman*, full of Wrath and Rage, as being circumvented by Fraud; ſo that he returned home with Thoughts full of Revenge, and inveighed openly amongſt his Friends, againſt the intolerable Pride of the Cardinal; inſomuch that they all agreed to take away his Life: And, that the Matter might paſs with the leſs Suſpicion, *Norman*, with five only in his Company, came to St. *Andrews*, and took up his uſual Inn, that ſo the Deſign of cutting him off might be concealed, by reaſon of the ſmall Retinue he had with him. There were Ten more in the Town privy to the Conſpiracy, who all, in ſeveral Places, expected the Watch-word: With this ſmall Company did he undertake ſo great an Enterprize; and that in a Town which was full of the Cardinals Train, Relations, and Attendants. The Days were then very long, as they uſe to be in thoſe Countries, towards the end of the Spring, *viz.* about *May* 7. And the Cardinal was fortifying his Caſtle for his Defence, in ſo great haſte, that the Work-men continued at it almoſt Night and Day; ſo that, when the Porter, early in the Morning, opened the Gates to let in the Work-men, *Norman* had plac'd two of his Men in Ambuſh, in an Houſe hard by, who were to ſeize the Porter; and, when they had made themſelves Maſters of the Gate, they were to give a Sign, agreed on, to the reſt: By this Means they all entered the Caſtle without any Noiſe; and ſent four of their number to watch the Cardinal's Chamber-door,

that no Tidings might be carried in to him: Others were appointed to go to the Chambers of the reſt of the Houſhold, to call them up, (for they well knew both the Men and the Place); them they rouz'd up, being half a-ſleep; and, calling them all by their Names, they threatened immediately to kill them, if they made but the leaſt Out-cry; ſo that they led them all, in profound Silence, out of the Caſtle, without doing them any hurt at all. When all the reſt were turn'd out, then they alone were Maſters of the Caſtle; and then thoſe, who watched at the Cardinal's Door, knocked at it. They within asked them their Names: They told them, and were imediately let in; having, as ſome write, paſs'd their Words, that they would hurt no Body; and when they were enter'd, they diſpatch'd the Cardinal, after having given him many Wounds. In the mean time, a Noiſe was ſpread about the Town, that the Caſtle was taken; inſomuch as that the Cardinal's Friends, half drunk, and half a-ſleep, ſtarted out of their Beds, and cried out *Arm.* Thus to the Caſtle they poſted, and called out with threatening and opprobrious Words, for Ladders; other things they alſo brought neceſſary for a Storm. They, who ſaw them out of the Caſtle, that they might blunt the preſent impetuouſneſs of their Minds, and call back their mad Spirits to conſider themſelves, crying out to them, demanded, why they made ſuch a Buſtle? for the Man was dead whom they ſought to reſcue: And with that Word they threw the dead Body out in the ſight of them all; even out of that very Place, where, before, he had rejoicingly beheld the Execution of *George Wiſeheart.*

WHEREUPON, many reflected, within themſelves, upon the Inconſtancy of human Affairs, and that unexpected Event. Many alſo were affected with the Prediction of *George Wiſeheart,* concerning his Death, which then came into their Minds; and many other things alſo, which that holy Man had foretold, not without the ſpecial Inſpiration of God's Spirit, as we have cauſe to believe, and as the Event ſoon after made appear. The Cardinal's Friends and Kinſmen, quite aſtoniſh'd at this unexpected Sight, ſoon ſculk'd away. When the Matter was divulg'd all over the Kingdom, Mens Minds were variouſly affected, as they either hated or loved the Cardinal; ſome thought it a brave, others an impious Action. There were many alſo, who, being in a different way of Worſhip from him, were afraid of their Lives, and others were offended at his intolerable Arrogance: Theſe did not only approve the Fact, but came to congratulate the Committers of it, as the Reſtorers of their ancient Liberties; and ſome of them ventur'd their Lives and Fortunes in their Quarrel. The Court was terribly alarm'd at the News, as having loſt part of their Council; but, by the Advice of thoſe

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which were preſent, they ſent forth a Proclamation, that the Murderers ſhould come in within ſix Days, to give Sureties to anſwer Matters at a Day, which was to be nominated for that purpoſe: But they had a ſtrong Caſtle over their Heads, and in it all the Cardinal's Money, and his Houſhold-ſtuff; and beſides, they had the Regent's eldeſt Son with them, who was given in Hoſtage to the Cardinal, as is related before: ſo that they gave no Credit to the Promiſes of their Enemies, whoſe Levity and Perfidiouſneſs they had ſufficient Experience of before, and therefore they refuſed to hearken to any Conditions of Peace; and for that Reaſon they were Out-law'd. Thus the Matter was protracted, partly by the Threats and vain Promiſes of the one Party, and the Diffidence of the other, from the Month of *May*, till the fifth of *November*; and then the Regent, by the Importunity of the Queen-Mother, and the malicious Clamours of the Prieſts, took Arms, and lay three whole Months before the Caſtle, battering it with his Braſs Guns; but, in the fourth Month, almoſt at the end of Winter, he diſmiſs'd his Army, without carrying the Place; and went to *Edinburgh*, to be preſent at the Convention of Eſtates, which he had before ſummon'd to be held in *February*.

THEY, who held the Caſtle, being thus out of all fear of their Enemy, did not only make frequent Excurſions into the neighbouring Parts, and commit Depredations with Fire and Sword all round; but, as if the Liberty gotten by their Arms, were to be ſpent in Whoredoms, Adulteries, and ſuch Vices, they ran into all the Wickedneſs, which idle Perſons are ſubject to; for they meaſured Right or Wrong by no other Rule but their own Luſt: Neither could they be reclaimed by *John Knox*, who then came to them, and often warn'd them, that God would not be mocked, but would take ſevere Puniſhments on thoſe, who were Violators of his Laws, even by thoſe whom they leaſt dream'd of; yet his Exhortations could not ſtop the Courſe of their Impiety.

BESIDES, this domeſtick Miſchief raging even in the very Bowels of the Kingdom, what added extremely to it was a War with *England*: For the Engliſh had paſs'd over the *Solway* with their Forces; and put the People in a terrible Panick. They were not contented with the Pillage and Prey, but they fired ſome Places, took ſome ſtrong Holds, and put Garriſons in them. Neither were Matters quieter in the other parts of the Borders; *Robert Maxwel*, upon whom the greateſt part of the Storm fell, came to *Edinburgh*, to ſollicit for Aid, when almoſt all was loſt: He alledged, that the Country was made deſolate; that their Caſtles were taken and kept by their Enemies; that the Husband man was driven away from his Habitation, and

forc'd to live in much Want, on the Charity of his Friends; and that they ſuffer'd all this, becauſe they would not change nor forfeit their Allegiance to their King. But, if no Courſe was taken for their Relief, in ſome ſhort time, their Miſeries would compell them to give themſelves up to the Engliſh; and ſo would their Neighbours too, for fear they ſhould undergo the like. This Complaint was the Cauſe that Aid was promiſed him to recover his own; and the Regent, marching his Army thither, formed his Camp by the River *Meggat*. There the Cardinal's Friends earneſtly deſired of him to call *George Leſly*, *Norman's* Father, who was then in the Camp, to his Anſwer, and not to carry ſo potent a Man with him, as his Companion, in the War, whoſe Faith was ſuſpected, or rather, who was an open Enemy. The Earl, tho' the Time and Place did not favour it, yet was willing immediately to put himſelf on the Trial: Upon that, the Names of the Judges or Jury were (according to Cuſtom, which I have elſewhere mentioned) impannell'd, and none of them exepted againſt by the adverſe Party; yet by all their Votes, he was acquitted. From thence they marched to the Caſtle of *Langham*, and drove out the *Engliſh* there; and, as they were reſolved to attempt other Forts, they were recall'd by a ſudden Meſſage. For News was brought them, that the *French* Fleet was ſeen not far from the Promontory of St. *Ebb*, conſiſting of one and twenty Ships. The Regent, imagining what the Matter was, that they were come to beſiege the Caſtle of St. *Andrews*, (as had been agreed between them) march'd joyfully home: There he diſcours'd *Leon Strozy*, Admiral of the *French* Fleet; and they both agreed to lay cloſe Siege to the Caſtle; which they did, with ſuch wonderful diſpatch, that many of the Garriſon-Soldiers, who were abroad, could not come in, and many Country-men, who had no hand in the Conſpiracy, but occaſionally came into the Caſtle about their private Affairs, could not get out. They planted their Braſs-Guns upon the Towers of the two Churches, which ſtood near on both ſides the Caſtle, which ſo annoyed the whole Court within the Caſtle-walls, that the Beſieged could hardly ſtir in or out. And afterwards they brought bigger pieces of Ordnance, and play'd upon part of the Wall, which ſtood between two Towers: and that was ſoon batter'd down, becauſe the latter Buildings were not at all cemented with the former; Mighty was the Noiſe of its downfal. When this happen'd, they within, who before truſted to their Fortifications, and were ready to expoſe themſelves, at all Adventures, to ſtop any Breach, began now to be afraid; and calling together a Council of War, becauſe they fear'd the Cruelty of the Regent, in revenging the Death of his Kinſman; (ſuch Sentiments making deep Impreſ-

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ſions on infirm Minds) they ſurrendered the Caſtle and themſelves to *Leon Strozy*, only upon Quarter for Life. Then *Leon* ſent in his Men to pillage the Caſtle; where were found, beſides a great Quantity of Proviſions of all ſorts, all the Cardinal's Money and Houſhold-ſtuff, and all the Wealth of the Garriſon-Soldiers, and of many others alſo, who had laid up their Goods there, as in a place of Refuge: There alſo they found the Regent's Son, who was before given in Hoſtage, by his Father, to the Cardinal; and, when he was ſlain, was detain'd there. The Caſtle was demoliſh'd by Advice and Order of Council; and a few Days after, *Leon* ſet ſail with his Priſoners, for *France*. Theſe things came to paſs in *Auguſt* 1547.

ABOUT the ſame time, News was brought, that the *Engliſh* had prepared great Forces both by Land and Sea, to invade *Scotland*, and to demand the performance of the Treaty, which was made four Years before with the Regent, concerning the Marriage of the Queen of *Scotland* to the King of *England*'s Son. This ſudden Report mightily affected the Regent, who was Faint-hearted enough of himſelf; for he had then no foreign Aid, neither did he much confide in his own Forces: For the Papal Faction were offended at his Levity, and the Friends of Exil'd *Lenox*, having been cruelly treated by him, retained the Seeds of their old Hatred aagainſt him; yet, upon his Proclamation, there came in great Numbers to *Edinburgh*. From thence they march'd to the Mouth of the River *Esk*, which runs through *Lothian*, and there waited the Approaches of the *Engliſh*. In the mean time, the *Scotiſh* Horſe rode up towards the Enemy in their March, and challenged them to fight, by this means creating ſome Trouble to them in their Paſſage: But the *Engliſh* General, who knew that the *Scots* were better than his own Men at ſuch tumultuary Skirmiſhes, had given Command, that none of his Troops ſhould march out to encounter them. At laſt, upon the importunity of *Grey*, Commander of the Horſe, he was perſuaded to ſend out ſome Troops of Horſe well-arm'd, and of Cuiraſſiers, that ſhould ſuddenly ruſh in upon them, when they were unprepared for Reſiſtance. The *Scots*, grown fearleſs of the Enemy, but now aſtoniſh'd at the ſudden Onſet, broke their Ranks, and fled for their Lives, and about 800 of them were either ſlain or taken: Of the *Engliſh* alſo, who preſs'd too eagerly on the purſuit, ſeveral were taken Priſoners, amongſt which were ſome eminent Horſe-Officers. From that Day forward there was no memorable Action performed by the *Scotiſh* Horſe. The *Engliſh* had their Camp at the Town of *Preſton*, a little more than a Mile from them. From thence they might behold the number of the *Scotiſh* Army from the high Ground; and, perceiving them to be more than they thought, they advi-

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ſed what courſe to take, and reſolved to ſend Letters to the *Scots*, that ſo, if juſt and equal Conditions might be agreed upon, the Matter might be compos'd rather by Treaty, than by Force. The Contents of the Letters were; *They earneſtly deſir'd the* Scots; *to remember, that both Armies profeſs'd the Chriſtian Religion, to whom (unleſs they renounced their Profeſſion) nothing ought to be more dear than Peace and Tranquillity, and nothing more to be abhorr'd than Arms and War upon an unjuſt Foot: That the Cauſe of the preſent War was not Covetouſneſs, Hatred, or Envy, but a Deſire of perpetual Peace, which could be no ways ſo firmly cemented, as by Marriage, which had been already promiſed by the publick Decree and Conſent of all the Eſtates, and ratified by a League, and that, on ſuch Conditions, as were more advantageous to the* Scots *than* Engliſh; *not to reduce them to an Eſtate of Servitude, but to a joint Society of Life, and Participation, and Communion, of all their Fortunes: Which Marriage would be ſo much the more beneficial to the* Scots *than the* Engliſh, *becauſe the Weaker might expect Advantage from the Stronger, as being poſſeſs'd with a greater Fear, leaſt he might be wrong'd by him: And, at the preſent, in caſting up Accounts of things, you are firſt to conſider the Caſe, that it is very neceſſary your Queen ſhould marry; that Neceſſity was inevitable; and that it was a difficult thing to moderate it; and that the ſole Power of chuſing her an Husband was left to the Eſtates: If they would chuſe a Family upon the account of Dignity and publick Advantage, whom could they pitch upon better, than a neighbouring King, born in the ſame Iſland, ally'd in Blood; inſtituted in the ſame Laws; educated in the ſame Manners and Language, and ſuperior, not in Power alone, but in all external Ornaments and Acceſſions of Dignity? And beſides, this Marriage would bring with it a perpetual Concord, and an Oblivion of all old Reſentments. But, if they had any Thoughts of bringing in a Stranger amongſt them, to govern the Kingdom, that differ'd from them in Language, Laws, and Cuſtoms, they ſhould conſider, how many Inconveniencies were lodg'd in the Womb of that Deſign, which they might eaſily foreſee by the Examples of other Nations; and 'twere better ſo to do, than to learn it by Trial and feeling the Smart of it. As for themſelves, if they found the Spirits of the* Scots *not wholly averſe from an Agreement, they were ready to remit ſomething of the Rigour of Law and Right; and that they would be content the young Queen ſhould be educated under Scotiſh Supervifors, till ſhe came to be marriageable, and fit, by the Advice of the Nobles, to chuſe an Husband for herſelf; and, till that time came, both ſides ſhould abſtain from War and Rapine; and that the Queen ſhould not be tranſported beyond Sea, nor that any Treaty ſhould be entertained by the* Scots, *concerning her Marriage with the* French, *or any other foreign Prince. If the* Scots

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would faithfully promiſe this, they would preſently depart and withdraw their Forces; and, as for what Damage they had done, ſince they entred Scotland, *they would make ſuch Reſtitution, as indifferent Men ſhould award.*

Theſe Letters were brought to the Regent, who communicated them to his Brother *John*, Arch-biſhop of St. *Andrews*, whom he had aſſum'd into the Place and Authority of the Cardinal, and to ſome few others: They, in hopes of a ſure Victory, gave him Advice to ſuppreſs them; for they were afraid, that if the Equity of the Propoſals were made known, the *Scots* would be taken off, and hearken to terms of Peace; and therefore they gave out, through the whole Army, that the *Engliſh* were come on purpoſe to take away their Queen by Force, and to reduce the Land to their own Subjection. And the Regent, being naturally unactive, had choſen four, no more verſed in Military Affairs than himſelf, who did turn and wind all things at their Pleaſure: Thoſe were his three Kinſmen and Allies, *John* his Brother, Arch-biſhop of St. *Andrews*, and Abbot of *Dumfermlin*; *George Dury*; *Alexander Beton*; and the fourth was *Hugh Riggs* a Lawyer, noted more for his big Body, corpulency, and bulky Strength, than for any Military Skill. Theſe Men did ſo puff up the Regent with the vain Hope of Victory, that, being of himſelf inconſtant and variable in his Deſigns at every blaſt of Wind, he ſhut his Ears againſt the Advice of all others. This being ſo, when the Regent's private Favourites had caus'd the Report, which they themſelves had raiſed, to ſpread all over the Army, they ran haſtily and unanimouſly to their Arms. *Archibald Douglas*, Earl of *Angus*, led the Van; *George Gordon*, Earl of *Huntly*, brought up the Rear: Each of them had 10000 fighting Men; and the Regent had about the ſame Number in the main Battle. In this Poſture, a Report was ſuddenly rais'd, that the *Engliſh* were fled away; and it was not altogether without Ground, for they, wanting Proviſion, and not being able to fetch it from far, nor to forage for it in the Neighbour-hood, which was ſo unfurniſh'd afore, thought it the beſt way to preſerve themſelves, if they left their Baggage behind them; and march'd long Marches backward; but, having ſo many arm'd Men ready to ingage, ſeeing they durſt not come down into the Campagn, nor could deceive the Enemy by going about, they waited his coming on the higher Ground. On the other ſide, the Regent was impatient of Delay, and ſent one to *Douglas* to march on with ſpeed; but he, knowing that the *Engliſh* could not long keep that Ground for want of Proviſion, waited to fall on the Rear, made no great haſte, till he was ſtirred up by another Meſſenger from the Regent: Then, and not before, he paſs'd over the River, the main Battle and the Rear following

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ing at a great Diſtance after. The *Engliſh*, who were about to depart, perceiving *Douglas* to draw towards them upon the Speed, ſent out *Grey*, Commander of the Horſe, with his whole Body, to meet him, and ſtop his Career, till the Foot had poſſeſs'd themſelves of a neighbouring Hill; or, if he ſaw Cauſe, he was to diſturb them in their Ranks; for, ſeeing the major part of them were arm'd after the *French* Mode, they thought the *Scots* would never be able to bear the brunt of their Charge: But a Brigade of the *Scots*, marching in cloſe Order together, holding forth their Stand of long Pikes before them, as a Fence, received the Aſſault: There the Van of the *Engliſh* running in upon, and intangling themſelves amongſt the Pikes, the reſt thought themſelves ambuſcado'd, and ſo returned to their Body, telling them, that the *Scots* Ranks could no more be broken, than if they charg'd againſt a Wall. Upon that, the *Engliſh* Horſe were about to leave the Foot, and fly; but, by the Perſwaſion of their Commanders, and their mutual encouraging one another, and withal, all hoping for a more advantageous Ground to fight in, they were retain'd, and renew'd their Rank. The *Scots* were held from marching forward to the oppoſite Hill, chiefly upon this account, becauſe they perceived *Jambo*, a Spaniard, with ſome Troops of his Country-men, Harquebuſiers, coming down obliquely from the Hills, as if he would fall on their Flank; and therefore, that no ſudden Emergency might cauſe them to divide their Brigade, and alſo, that they might not be attack'd on their Flanks, they wheeled about leiſurely from the right aſcent of the Hill. The main Battel, when they ſaw the Van leaving their Station, thought that they were running away; and ſo they broke their Ranks too, and betook themſelves to flight. The *Engliſh* ſeeing this from the high Grounds, ſent out their Horſe, and trod many of them under Foot in the purſuit. During all this March from *Esk* to the *Engliſh* Camp, the *Engliſh* Navy plaid upon the Flank of the *Scots* out of their Ships, and did them much Miſchief. All the Ways were ſtrow'd with Arms, by Reaſon of the great Slaughter which was made; and Numbers of them likewiſe were drowned in the River. The *Engliſh* were moſt ſevere againſt the Prieſts and the Monks; (for thoſe of that Tribe, who were luſty and able to bear Arms, came into the Field) and there were many who imputed the loſs of the Day to them, who had arrogantly refuſed honeſt Conditions of Peace, and who, if they had the Victory, would have uſed it as cruelly towards their own Country-men, as their Enemies. In the firſt Charge, the *Engliſh* loſt about 200 Horſe, but of the *Scots* there fell the prime of all the nobleſt Families, with their Relations and Tenants, who counted it the vileſt and wickedeſt thing in Nature to deſert them; and many were taken in the

the Purſuit. The High-landers gathered themſelves together in a round Body, kept their Ranks, and returned ſafe Home: At firſt they march'd through craggy Places, and inconvenient for Horſe; and, if they were ſometimes neceſſitated to deſcend into the Plains, yet the *Engliſh* Horſe, who follow'd the Purſuit in a ſcatter'd way, durſt not attack them. This Battle, amongſt a few others, was very calamitous to the *Scots*: It was fought the 10th of *September*, in the Year 1547. The Engliſh having got the Victory, which was ſo much the more joyful, becauſe it was unexpected, march'd five Miles further with all their Forces; and there they ſtaid eight Days, ſending out Parties every Day ſix Miles round, who burn'd and deſtroy'd all within that Compaſs. They attempted nothing conſiderable beſides, ſaving the fortifying the deſolate Iſlands of *Inch-Keith* and *Inch-Colm*, in the Bay of *Forth*; and, in the Bay of *Tay*, they took the Caſtle *Brockty*; and, in their return by Land, they took, by Surrender, the Caſtles of *Faſcaſtle* and *Hume*, which the Garriſons ſurrender'd out of Fear; and they raiſed Forts, one at *Lauder*, and another in the Ruins of *Roxborough* Caſtle.

Their ſudden Departure gave ſome Relief to the *Scots*, and a breathing time for them to meet together to conſult about the main Chance. The Regent, preſently after the Fight, came with that part of the Nobles which were with him, to the two Queens at *Sterlin*, and to the Nobility attending there: The Regent and his Brother were very ſad and dejected for the Calamity which happen'd by their Default, and the Queen Dowager ſhew'd many outward Signs of Grief in her Speech and Countenance; But they, who knew her Heart, judg'd that ſhe was not much concerned to ſee the Arrogance of the *Hamiltons* ſo curbed and chaſtiſed; but, to be joyous in a publick Calamity, they, who uſe to cover the Faults of Princes under honeſt Diſguiſes, are wont to call Greatneſs of Mind. Beſides, the *Dowager*, ever ſince the Death of the Cardinal, had uſed all Ways and Means to throw the Regent out of his Office, and to inveſt the Supreme Authority in herſelf; but ſhe knew ſhe could never effect it, as long as they were uppermoſt, and had all fortified Places in their Hands: In all her Diſcourſe, ſhe heighten'd the Fear ſhe had from the *Engliſh*, and complained of the Weakneſs of their own Domeſtick Forces, and propounded the Dangers imminent from the civil Diſſentions amongſt them: She communicated her Deſign to thoſe, who ſhe knew were ill-affected to the *Hamiltons*. When the Nobles were in Conſultation about the grand Affairs of the Kingdom, a Decree was made, that the Queen ſhould retire to *Dunbarton*, whilſt the Nobility debated concerning the Eſtate of the Kingdom: *John Erskin* was made Governour of it, an unqueſtionable favourer

vourer of the Queen's Faction, and *William Levingſton*, a Friend to the *Hamiltons*, was join'd in Commiſſion with him. Ambaſſadors were were likewiſe ſent into *France*, to demand Aids of their King *Henry* againſt their common Enemy, according to the League made with him: Hopes were alſo given them, that the Queen would come over into *France*, and marry the *Dauphine*. But the *French* were intent upon their own Affairs, and their Auxiliaries were ſlower than the preſent Danger required.

IN the mean time, the *Engliſh* entred *Scotland* on both ſides of the Borders: The Earl of *Lenox*, as if he had been ſent for by his Friends, came to *Dumfries*; for his Father-in-Law *Angus*, and his old Friend *Glencarne*, had promiſed him two thouſand Horſe and Foot of the Neighbouring Parts to aſſiſt him, if he would leave the *Engliſh* and come over to them; But, when he came to the Place appointed, there were hardly three hundred come together, and thoſe too were ſuch, as uſed to live on Robberies. Theſe and ſome other things of the like Nature, being very ſuſpicious, and eſpecially the wavering Mind of *John Maxwel*, who had already given Hoſtages to the *Engliſh*, made *Lenox* believe that he was betray'd; and therefore he reſolv'd to circumvent his Enemies with the like Fraud: He retained with him *Glencarn*, *John Maxwel*, and other chief Men of the *Scots*, who had treated with him concerning his Tranſition and Return into his own Country, and in the middle of the Night march'd toward *Drumlanerick*, with ſix hundred Horſe, part of the *Engliſh*, and part of the *Scots*, who had yielded to them: When they came to the appointed Place, he ſent out five hundred, to commit what Spoil they could in the neighbouring Parts, that ſo he might draw out *James* Douglas, owner of the Caſtle, into his Ambuſh: He, imagining ſuch a thing, kept within his Hold till 'twas Day; and then, being out of fear of Treachery, he march'd out with his Men, and paſs'd over the River *Nith*, and preſs'd in a ſtraggling manner upon the Plunderers, charging them in their Rear, as they were retreating. They, having got a convenient Time and Place to rally, turn'd back upon him with great Violence, and ſtruck ſuch a Terror into them in the Straits of a Ford, that they diſordered their Ranks, kill'd ſome, and took many conſiderable Priſoners. This light Expedition ſtruck ſuch a Terror into the greateſt part of *Galway*, that they ſtrove which of them ſhould yield firſt to the *Engliſh*, partly to gratify *Lenox*, and partly fearing, leſt, being forſaken by their Neighbours, they ſhould lie open to all Affronts. The *Scotiſh* Regent, fearing, leſt in ſuch a general Confuſion, if he did attempt nothing, he ſhould altogether diſpirit his Men, who were diſcouraged enough before, beſieg'd the Caſtle of *Brockty*; and, having lain before it almoſt three Mouths, without performing

forming any thing conſiderable, he drew off his Men, leaving only an hundred Horſe under the Command of *James Halyburton*, an active young Man, to infeſt the neighbouring Places, and to hinder any Proviſions from being carried in by Land to *Brockty*, or to the Garriſon which the *Engliſh* had plac'd on an Hill adjoining. Theſe Matters paſs'd at the end of that Year. In the beginning of the next, which was 1548, the *Engliſh* fortified *Hadington*, a Town in *Lothian* upon the *Tine*, and burned the Villages, and plundered the Country about, which was the richeſt part of *Scotland*; and they form'd another Garriſon at *Lauder*. *Lenox*, about the end of *February*, having paſs'd over the Weſt-border, hardly eſcap'd an Ambuſh laid for him by part of thoſe, who had yielded themſelves; but returning to *Carliſle*, he revenged himſelf, by puniſhing ſome of the Hoſtages, eſpecially *John Maxwel*, the chief Author of the Revolt, according to the Contents of ſome Letters he had receiv'd from the King of *England*. During theſe Tranſactions, *Henry* of *France*, who ſucceeded his Father *Francis*, ſent Forces to the Sea, to be tranſported into *Scotland*, about ſix thouſand Men, of which three thouſand were *German* Foot, Commanded by the *Rhine grave*; about two thouſand *French*; and one thouſand of divers Nations, all Horſe: They were all commanded to obey Monſieur *Deſſy* a *Frenchman*, who had been a Commander in *France* ſome Years, and had done good Services there. They landed at *Leith*, and were ordered to Quarter at *Edinburgh*, till they had recover'd their Sea-ſickneſs. The Regent, and the Forces with him, marched to *Hadington*, where they block'd up all the Paſſages, and laid a cloſe Siege to the Place. He iſſued a Proclamation into all Parts, in purſuance whereof, in a ſhort time, there came in to him about eight thouſand *Scots*. There the Nobility aſſembled, and the Conſultation was renewed concerning the Queen's going into *France*, and marrying the *Dauphin*; a Council was call'd in a Monaſtery of Monks, without *Hadington*, in the very Camp. In that Convention there were various Diſputes; ſome ſaid, that, if they ſent away the Quen, they muſt expect perpetual War from *England*, and Bondage from the *French*. Others were of Opinion, that, by reaſon of Agreement in Religion, and the Condition of the preſent Times, it was beſt to embrace the Terms offered by the *Engliſh*, which were a Ten Years Peace, with no bad Covenants or Obligations on the *Scots*: For the Sum of the League was, That, *If the King of* England, *or Queen of* Scotland, *died within Ten Years, all things ſhould be, on both ſides, as they were before; and, though no fortuitous Event ſhould happen between, yet the Kingdom might be hereby freed from its preſent Preſſures, which had almoſt broke its Strength; and the Soldiery, who were almoſt all loſt in the*

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late Battle, might have time to grow up and increaſe in a long continued Peace; and, that inteſtine Diſcord being laid a-ſleep, they might more maturely conſider of the Grand Affairs, than they could do amongſt Drums and Trumpets: And, in ſuch Conſultations, Delays were ſometimes of great Advantage, and raſh precipitate Doings were attended with ſpeedy Repentance. Thus they. But all the Papiſts favoured the *French*, and ſome others too, whom *French* Bounty had either foreſtalled, or elſe had rais'd up to great Advantage; amongſt whom was the Regent; he had an yearly Revenue of 1200 *French* Piſtols promiſed him, and the Command of one hundred Cuiraſſiers; ſo that moſt Voices carried it for the Queen's going into *France*. The Fleet, which was to convey her, rode at *Leith*; and, making as if they would go away, they ſailed about all *Scotland*, and came to *Dunbarton*, where the Queen went on Ship-board, (having ſtaid ſome Months for its Arrival) in the Company of *James* her Brother, *John Erskin*, and *William Levingſton*: She met with much foul Weather, and contrary Winds, but at laſt landed in *Bretaign*, a a Peninſula in *France*; and went by eaſy Journies to the Court.

In *Scotland*, whilſt the War ſtopp'd at *Hadington*, yet the common People, in ſeveral Places, were not wanting to the preſent Occaſion; for, the Garriſons of *Hume* and *Faſcaſtle* doing great hurt to the Neighbourhood, the *Scots* obſerving, that *Hume* was negligently guarded by Night, got up to the Top of a Rock, where the Confidence of the Place's being inacceſſible made thoſe within leſs watchful; and ſo they killed the Centinels, and took the Caſtle. And not long after, when the Governor of *Faſcaſtle* had commanded the Country thereabouts to bring in a great Quantity of Proviſions into the Caſtle, at a certain Day, the Country upon this Occaſion, came in great Numbers, and unlading their Horſes, they took up the Proviſion on their Backs, to carry them over a Bridge made betwixt two Rocks, into the Caſtle; as ſoon as ever they were entered, they threw down their Burdens, and, upon a Sign given, ſlew the Guards; and, before the reſt of the *Engliſh* could come in, they ſeized on their Arms, and placed themſelves in the Avenues: And thus, ſetting open the Gates, for their own Party to enter, they made themſelves Maſters of the Caſtle. In the mean time, the Naval Force of the *Engliſh* was not idle; for the whole ſtreſs of the Land-War lying upon *Hadington*, their Commanders thought that the neighbouring Parts were weakened, and put beyond all Power of Defence, ſo that they landed in *Fife*. And accordingly they paſs'd by ſome Sea-Towns, which were well Inhabited, and came to St. *Minnars* Kirk, a Place well enough Peopled, that from thence they might march by Land to greater Towns, but leſs fortified, where the Pillage might

might be more worth their Labour. *James Stuart*, the Queen's Brother, receiving the Alarm, with the People of St. *Andrews*, and a few of the Country-men who were left at Home, made towards them; and, in his way, many of the Neighbourhood ſtruck in with him. The *Engliſh* were already landed; and about 1200 of them ſtood ready in their Arms for the Encounter. The Great Guns which they had landed, ſtruck ſuch a Dread into the Country-men, that they quickly fled; but *James*, after he had a little ſtopp'd their Fear, charg'd the Enemy ſo briskly, that, tho' he had but a raw and tumultuous Band along with him, he ſoon routed them, and drove them toward the Sea, killing many upon the Spot, and many in the Purſuit: Not a few of them were drowned in haſting to their Ships; one Boat, with all its Paſſengers, was ſunk, whilſt they endeavoured in Throngs, to get on board. 'Tis reported, that there were 600 ſlain in the Fight, and 100 taken Priſoners. Then the Fleet preſently ſail'd to *Mern*, a Country leſs inhabited; their Deſign was to ſurprize *Monroſs*, a Town not far from the Mouth of the River *Dee*: They reſolved to land in the Night, and therefore they ſtaid at Anchor, out of ſight of Land, as long as there was any Light in the Sky. But, as they were making to Shoar in the Dark, they diſcovered themſelves by their own Imprudence, by hanging out Lights in every Boat; *John Erskin* of *Downe*, Governour of the Town, commanded his Men to Arm, without making any Noiſe; and he divided them into three Bodies; he placed ſome behind an earthen Bank, which was rais'd on the Shoar, to hinder their Landing; he, with ſome Archers lightly arm'd, made directly towards the Enemy; and a third Band of Servants and promiſcuous Vulgar he plac'd behind a neighbouring Hill, backing them with a few Soldiers, to govern the Rabble. Matters being thus order'd, he, with his Archers, fell upon the Enemy, in their Deſcent, and maintain'd a ſharp Diſpute with them, till, in a tumultuary kind of Fight, he had drawn them on to the Banks; there he join'd his other Party, who ſtood ready at their Arms, and they all fell on the Enemy; yet they had not given Ground, unleſs the laſt Body had ſhewn themſelves with Colours flying from the next Hill; then they made ſuch haſte to their Ships, that of about 800, which came on Shoar, hardly the third part eſcaped to their Ships.

IN the mean time great Sallies were made about *Hadington*, not without Loſs on either ſide, but moſt of the *Engliſh*: Whereupon, they being in ſome want of Proviſions, and fearing a greater; and perceiving alſo, that the Relief prepared came ſlowly on, and that they were ſo weakened, as to be hardly able to admit of the Delay: In the interim, two brave Soldiers, *Robert Bovy*, and *Thomas Palmer*, were commanded to march thither

from *Berwick*, with 1000 Foot, and 300 Horſe, and to make all the Speed they could. Theſe all fell into an Ambuſh laid for them, and ſcarce a Man of them eſcaped alive. The *Engliſh* reſolv'd to ſend more Aids, but the *French*, diſcovering their Deſign, blocked up the narrow Paſſages, by which they were to march; but *Deſſius*, being deceived by one of the Enemy's Scours, that he had taken, who told him, that the *Engliſh* were far off, and were marching another way, to relieve the Beſieged, left the Straits he had paſſed, and went to another Place. In the interim, the *Engliſh* marched thorow to their intended Poſt, without any hindrance: They brought with them 300 freſh Men, Powder and Ball, and ſuch other Proviſion as the Garriſon ſtood moſt in need of.

Whilſt theſe things were acted at *Hadington*, which did not a all make to the main of the War, News was brought, that the *Engliſh* had levied a compleat Army to raiſe the Siege: Whereupon *Deſſius*, knowing that he was not able to encounter the Forces which were coming, removed his Leaguer farther off from the Town, and ſent back his great Guns, all but ſix ſmall Field-pieces, to *Edinburgh*. Upon the coming of the *Engliſh* Army, the Siege was raiſed, becauſe the *Scots* Commanders would not hazard the State of the Kingdom upon a ſingle Battle; ſo that the *Scots* marched every one the next way home; the *French* alſo, though much preſs'd upon by the *Engliſh*, yet got well off. The *French* Soldiers, in their return, ſlew the Governor of *Edinburgh* and his Son, together with ſome of the Citizens who joined with them, becauſe they refuſed to admit them into the Town with all their Forces, in regard they knew, they could ſcarce keep them from Plundering. *Deſſius* in the interim, leſt the Sedition ſhould increaſe, drew off; and withal ſuppoſing that the Enemy would be more ſecure at *Hadington*, becauſe of their good Succeſs, reſolved to make an Attempt to ſurprize it on a ſudden. Thither he marched all that Night, and by break of Day ſlew the Centinels, and came up to the Walls: They took the Fort before the Gate, kill'd the Watch; ſome endeavoured to break open the Gate: They alſo ſeized upon the Granaries of the *Engliſh*. In this Hurry, the Noiſe of thoſe who were breaking open the Gates, and the Huzza's of the *French*, crying out *Victory*, *Victory*, rouz'd up the *Engliſh* from their Sleep, which they had newly fallen into. In this great Confuſion a Souldier ſet fire to a Braſs Gun, placed caſually againſt the Gate, that he might, in a preſent Danger, make Trial of a doubtful Remedy. The Bullet broke through the Gate, and made a Lane in the thick Ranks of the *French*; ſo that, what between the Exclamations of the Soldiers, crying out *Victory*, and the Noiſe of the Gates which were broken, ſuch

ſuch a confuſed Clamour was carried to the Rear, that they were ſurprized with Fear, not knowing the Cauſe, and ſo fled; which occaſioned the reſt to follow after. The *French*, being thus repuls'd, march'd into *Teviotdale*, which the *Engliſh* had done great Damage to: There, under the Conduct of *Deſſius*; they drove the Enemy from *Jedburgh*, and made many Inroads into Engliſh Ground, not without conſiderable Advantage. At length, when they had waſted all the Country, beſides their daily Duty, they were alſo in great Want; and the Commonalty pitied them the leſs, becauſe of their Prank at *Edinburgh*; for they looked upon that ſeditious Attempt as a Step to Tyranny. And, from that time forward, the *French* did nothing worth ſpeaking of. The King of *France* was made acquainted by a Letter from the Regent, and Queen Dowager, how *Deſſius* ſpent much time on light Expeditions, and unprofitable ones; and that he was more injurious to his Friends than Enemies; and that the *French* Soldiers were grown ſo inſolent, ſince the Tumult at *Edinburgh*, that, by reaſon of the inteſtine Diſcord, all was like to be ruined. Whereupon *Deſſius* was re-called, and Monſieur *Paul Terms*, a good Soldier, and prudent Commander, was ſent with new Supplies for *Scotland*. *Deſſius* thought it would be for his Honour to recover the Iſland *Keith*, which was taken a few Days before, and was begun to be fortified; ſo that he got together a Fleet at *Leith*, and went aboard with a ſelect Company of *Scots* and *French*. The Queen was a Spectator of the Action, and egg'd them on, ſometimes particularly, ſometimes all in general. After he had landed in the Iſland, he drove the *Engliſh* into the uttermoſt Corners, kill'd almoſt all their Officers, and compell'd them to a Surrender, but not without much Bloodſhed. This was his laſt noble piece of Service in *Britain*, and then he ſurrendered up his Army to *Terms*. *Terms* drew forth the Army out of their Winter-Quarters, and commanded them to march towards the Northern Shires; he himſelf, *Deſſius* being diſmiſs'd, follow'd ſoon after, and laid Siege to the Fort of *Brockty*, and in a ſhort time took it, and alſo the Caſtle adjoining, from the *Engliſh*, putting almoſt all of both Garriſons to the Sword. When he was returned into *Lothian*, his great Care was to hinder Proviſions from being carried to *Hadington*; when, lo, upon a ſudden, a great Army of *Engliſh* and *Germans* ſhewed themſelves ready for the Encounter; whereupon he drew his Men backward, till he came to a Place of greater Safety. In the interim, the *Scots* Cavalry, which skirted upon the Enemy on every ſide, perceiving the *German* Baggage to be unguarded, plunder'd them in a Moment. In the mean time, Proviſions were carried into *Hadington*, without any oppoſition. During theſe Matters, *Julian*

Romerus, with a Troop of *Spaniards*, was taken in his Quarters, where he lay with as great Security as if all had been at Peace, and almoſt all his whole Party was deſtroyed. *Terms*, when the *Engliſh* Forces were march'd home, reſolv'd to return to the taking of *Hadington*. They were ſtout Men that defended the Town; But, in regard the Country was waſted all thereabouts, and Proviſions could not be brought from far but with great Hazard, and ſometimes certain loſs; and beſides, the *Engliſh* were troubled with great Seditions at home, and were further preſsd upon by a War with *France*: Hereupon the Garriſon of *Hadington*, having no hope of Relief, burnt the Town, and, on the 1ſt of *October*, 1549, march'd away for *England*.

And moreover, the Garriſon at *Lauder* was almoſt ready to ſurrender, as being in great Diſtreſs, for want of Neceſſaries, when lo, News was brought, on a ſudden, of an Agreement made between the *Engliſh* and *French*; which was publiſhed in *Scotland*, *April* the Firſt, 1550; and, the *May* following, all the Soldiers were tranſported back into *France*. That Peace, as to a Foreign War, laſted about three Years, but it was as troubleſome and pernicious as the hotteſt War; for thoſe who ſat at the Helm, the Regent, and his Brother, the Arch-biſhop of St. *Andrews*, were both extremely cruel and avaritious, and the Arch-biſhop very licentious in his Converſation; for, as if the Reins lay wholly looſe upon his Neck, he made his Will his Law. The firſt preſage of the enſuing Tyranny was the ſuffering the Murder of *William Creighton*, an eminent Perſon, to go unrevenged. He was ſlain by *Robert Semple*, in the Regent's own Palace, and almoſt in his Sight; and yet the Murderer was exempted from Puniſhment, by the Interceſſion of the Arch-biſhop's Concubine, who was Daughter to *Semple*. This Arch-biſhop, as long as the King liv'd, was one of his Confidents, and pretended a great Zeal for the Reformed Religion; but, when the King was dead, he ran into all the Meaſures of the wildeſt Impiety. Amongſt the reſt of his Miſtreſſes, he took away this young Madam *Semple* from her Husband, who was his Country-man, and Ally, and kept her almoſt in the place of a lawful Wife, tho' ſhe was not Handſome, nor a Woman of any Reputation, but rather noted for her Wantonneſs. After this follow'd the Death of *John Melvil*, a Noble-man of *Fife*, who was a great Intimate of the laſt King's. Some Letters of his were intercepted, written to a certain Engliſh-man in the behalf of his Friend, a Priſoner there: And, tho' there could be no ſuſpicion of Treaſon in the Caſe, yet the Author of them had his Head cut off. And that, which made the Matter ſtill worſe, was that the Eſtate was given to *David*, the Regent's youngeſt Son. The Loſs, ariſing by theſe wicked Practices, reach'd but a few,

but

but the Envy of them extended to many, and the bad Example almoſt to all. This unskilfulneſs of the Regent's managing the Government, together with the Sluggiſhneſs of all his former Life, did mightily offend the Commons; ſo that he every Day grew more cheap than other, eſpecially after the Suffering of *George Wiſeheart*; for moſt imputed the following Calamities to the Death of that religious Man; eſpecially they who knew the purity of Doctrine which *George* held forth, and admired the unblameableneſs of his Life; and moreover, who look'd upon him as divinely inſpir'd, becauſe of the many and true Predictions which he had made. Hereupon the Authority of the Regent grew every Day leſs and leſs. And ſoon after theſe, followed another, and that a more ſpreading Miſchief, which drew a general Complaint againſt him, which it was impoſſible to ſmother. There were Judicial Conventions appointed to be held throughout the whole Kingdom; the Pretence was to ſuppreſs Robberies, but the Event ſhew'd, that 'twas nothing elſe but to cover Oppreſſion under a plauſible Name: For Mony was extorted from all, Good and Bad, as much from honeſt Men as Thieves; and both were puniſh'd not according to the greatneſs of the Crime, but of Eſtate. Neither could he keep off his Cruelty and Avarice from the Reformed, tho' himſelf had formerly profeſs'd to be one of the Party, and now he had not the Cardinal as a blind for his Crimes; nay, the Mony, thus baſely got in the Name of the Regent, was as profuſely, and unadviſedly ſpent, by the Luſt of his Brother.

THE

HISTORY

OF

SCOTLAND

Book XVI.

MATTERS being thus ſettled at Home, the Queen Dowager took up a Reſolution to go into *France*, partly to viſit her Native Country, her Daughter, and Relations; and partly to ſecure her Hopes of attaining the Supreme Power, which ſeemed to be freely thrown upon her; and accordingly ſhe choſe thoſe to attend her on her Journey, who were Favourers of her Deſign. For this ambitious and politick Lady was full of Hopes, that the Regent would, by his own Miſmanagement, ſo ruin himſelf, as to make way for her to ſucceed him. She ſtaid with the *French* King above a Year; in which time ſhe inform'd him of the State of Affairs in *Scotland*, who heard her favourably; and, by means of her Brothers, ſhe eaſily obtain'd of him what ſhe deſired. The King of *France*, the better to bring about his Deſigns,

Deſigns, without any Tumult in *Scotland*, advanc'd to high Honours, all thoſe of the Scotiſh Nobility, every one according to his Degree, who had adhered to the *Queen Dowager*: They alſo, who were of Kin to the Regent, were in like manner preferred; his Son *James* was made Captain over all the Scotiſh Auxiliaries in *France*, and a yearly Penſion of 12000 French Piſtols promiſed him. *Huntly*, (whoſe Son had married his Daughter) was made Earl of *Murray*. Of the Sons of *Rothes*, by different Mothers, who quarrelled about their Patrimony, the youngeſt, who was Kin to the *Hamiltons*, was made Earl. The King of *France*, by the Advice of the Queen Dowager, ſends for *Robert Carnagy*, one of the Regent's Houſhold, who was lately ſent over by him into *France*, to give that King Thanks for his often Aſſiſtance of the *Scots* againſt the *Engliſh*: As alſo *James Painter*, Ambaſſador for ſome Years in *France*, in behalf of the Scots; beſides *Gawin*, Abbot of *Kilwinning*, all firm to *Hamilton*'s Faction. He declares to them, what he had before treated with the *Guiſes*: The Sum of which was, 'That 'the Regent would do the King an acceptable piece of Service, 'if he would give leave to the Queen Dowager to govern that 'little time of Magiſtracy which was left him; which, as 'twas 'but a juſt and equal Requeſt agreeable to their Laws; ſo, if 'he complied with him therein, he would take care, that it ſhould 'not be prejudicial to his Intereſts: Nay, he ſhould find, that by 'this Means, he had, in him, procur'd himſelf a faſt, firm, mu-'nificent Friend: He wiſhes them to inform him, how he had, 'at preſent, freely, and of his own accord, rewarded ſome of 'his Friends, by which he might eaſily judge, what Favours he 'might expect from him for the future. Thus *Carnagy*, loaden with great Promiſes, was diſmiſs'd, and ſometime after, *Painter*, the Scotiſh Ambaſſador, Biſhop of *Roſs*, was order'd to follow him. He, as being a Man of great Eloquence and Authority, dealt with the Regent and his Friends, to give up the Admi iſtration of Affairs into the hands of the Queen Dowager; and, with much ado, he obtain'd it: So that, for his Diligence and Faithfulneſs in that Service, the King of *France* gave him an Abbey in *Poictou*. The Queen, being now ſo ſecure of the Succeſs of things in *Scotland*, and having made ſufficient Proviſion, as ſhe thought, how to deprive the Scots of their ancient Liberty, and to bring them *A-la-mode de France*, was accompanied by Monſieur *D'Oſel*, as Ambaſſador, to carry things on, a ſharp Man, whoſe Counſel ſhe was to make uſe of in all things; and ſhe returned Home, by Land, through *England*. The next Year after ſhe followed the Regent, who kept Aſſizes in almoſt all Parts of the Kingdom, and ſo by Degrees made the Nobility her own. In this Progreſs, ſome few Offenders were puniſhed, the reſt were fined.

The Queen could not approve ſuch Proceedings, and yet ſhe was willing enough to hear them: For ſhe believed, that what Favour the Regent loſt, it all returned upon her. In the mean time, having won over the Nobility to her, ſhe uſed ſome Friends to deal with the Regent, that he would freely reſign up the Government. His Relations, upon the view of his Strength, perceived, that his Treaſure was low, and his Friends few; and that he would have much ado to make up and clear his Accounts; for King *James* the Fifth, at his Deceaſe, had left a great deal of Mony, Arms, Ships, Horſes, Braſs-Guns, and abundance of Houſhold-ſtuff (all which he had laviſh'd out amongſt his Friends in a few Years;) and that his Account would be ſpeedily called for, the Queen being now almoſt of Age. And, if he would extricate himſelf out of all theſe Troubles, by quitting the Government, it would be no great Loſs; for thereby he would but give up the Sway wholly to the *French*, which was entirely manag'd by their Counſels before: And he would have this Advantage alſo, that by laying down the invidious Title of *Viceroy*, or *Regent*, which however he could not long keep, he would procure Safety and Security to himſelf and his. This Proſpect pleaſed; ſo that an Agreement was made on theſe Conditions, That for what Goods of the late Kings, *Hamilton* had made uſe of, the *French* King would ſee him Indemnified; as alſo that he ſhould be free from any Account, on the pretence of Regency; only he was to take an Oath to reſtore what did appear not Imbezzild: However, in this he did not perform his Promiſe; for about twelve Years after, when his Caſtle of *Hamilton* was taken, after the Battle of *Langſide*, many things were there found which ſhewed his Perjury. Beſides, there were Preſents made him, and he was honoured with the Title of Duke of *Caſtelrot*, (which is a Town in *Poictou*, ſituate near the River *Vien*) and had a yearly Penſion of twelve thouſand French Piſtols; half of which Sum was paid for ſome Years. Another Condition was alſo added by the Suffrage of all the Eſtates; That, if the Queen died without Children, *Hamilton* ſhould be the next Heir. Theſe were the Conditions of the Surrender, which were ſent into *France*, that they might there be confirmed by the Queen, and ſome to be *Guarantees*. The Queen, by the Advice of her Mother, makes *Henry* the Second, King of *France*, *Francis*, Duke of *Guiſe*, and Cardinal *Charles*, his Brother, the *Guarrantees*: And the Regent, tho', by perſuaſion of *Painter*, he had promis'd to relinquiſh the Government, and the time to do it was very near; yet, when it came to the Point, according to his uſual Inconſtancy, he was at a great *Nonplus*; for he began to conſider, how ſhocking a thing it would be for him, to fall down from the Supreme Magiſtracy to a private Life, ſince then he ſhould be obnoxious

noxious to thoſe, whom in his Government he had wronged: On theſe Reflections he began to elude his Promiſe, and to frame Excuſes, in regard the Queen was not yet full twelve Years old. Thus, tho' thoſe Allegations might have been answer'd, yet the Queen Dowager choſe rather to retire to *Sterlin*, and there to expect the Expiration of the ſet Time for the giving up the Charge, than to make any Quarrel about a ſmall Matter, tho' never ſo true.

IN this her Retirement, the greateſt part of the Nobility came in to her, (Fortune favouring her ſide) whom ſhe ſought by all means to ingage in her Faction; and thoſe ſhe had ingag'd ſhe fix'd and confirmed, filling them all with abundance of Hopes, and making many Promiſes, both in general and particular, how obliging ſhe would be to them all, when ſhe was advanc'd to the Government, which they all knew ſhould ſhortly follow. She prevailed ſo much by theſe Artifices, that only two of the Nobility remained with the Regent, *John*, his baſe Brother, and *Levingſton*, his near Kinſman: All the reſt came over to the Queen. This Solitude of the Regent's Court, and the Fulneſs of the Queen's, was a plain Sign to him, that all the Eſtates were alienated from him, and ſo was glad to accept of thoſe Terms which he rejected before, only with this Addition, That the Queen *Dowager* would procure them to be ratify'd by the Three Eſtates in the next Parliament, and alſo by the Guarrantees in *France*.

ABOUT the ſame time, Affairs grew very troubleſome in *England*, by reaſon of the Death of K. *Edward* the Sixth, a young Prince of high Expectation, by reaſon of his rare Genius, and Propenſity to all kind of Virtue, which was not only born with him, but cultivated by Learning and Study.

AT the beginning of the next Spring, the Nobility aſſembled at *Sterlin*, where in a full Aſſembly, the Tranſactions with the Regent were, confirm'd which the Queen and Guarrantees had ſubſcrib'd. This Addition was alſo made, That the Regent ſhould keep a Garriſon at *Dunbarton*. And, to compleat all, a Parliament was indicted at *Edinburgh*, to be held the 10th Day of *April*, then next following, where all the Pacts and Agreements approved by the Guarrantees (as hath been ſaid) were produced; and, when they were read, the Regent aroſe, and openly abdicated himſelf from the Magiſtracy, and gave up the Enſigns of his Government to *D'Oſel*, who received them in the behalf of the Queen, who was abſent; and, by Command, deliver'd them up to her, who received them by a general Conſent. And thus being advanced into the Regent's Place, ſhe was carried with great Ceremony through the City, to the Palace in the Suburbs. And the Regent, who at his Entrance into the Parliament,

liament, was attended with a great number of the Nobility, and had the Sword, Crown, and Scepter carried before him, according to Cuſtom, now, being Degraded, mix'd himſelf amongſt the Crowd, in the Year 1559.

THIS was a new Sight in *Scotland*, and never heard of before that Day, that a Woman ſhould be, by the Decree of the States, advanced to the Helm of Government. Tho' Matters thus inclined to the *French* Intereſt, yet the *Scots* would never yield, that the Caſtle of *Edinburgh* ſhould be garriſon'd by them; if ſo, they feared, in caſe the Queen died without Iſſue, the *French* would then make it the Seat of their Tyranny; ſo that it was put into the Hands of *John Erskin*, as an indifferent Perſon, who was to ſurrender it to none, but by the Command of the Eſtates.

AFTER this, when the State of the Publick ſeemed to be ſomewhat ſettled, the Queen-Regent (as then ſhe was called) ſent out *George Gordon*, *Earl* of *Huntly*, to apprehend *John Murderach*, Chief of the Family of the *Mac-Reynalds*, a notorious Robber, who had play'd many foul and monſtrous Pranks. 'Tis thought that *Gordon* did not play fair in this Expedition; ſo that, when he return'd without doing the Buſineſs he was ſent about, he was kept Priſoner till the time appointed for his Anſwer. In the Interim his Relations excuſed him, and laid the blame of the Miſcarriage upon the Clanſhip of *Catan*. Thus they ſpread falſe Reports among the Vulgar; for they gave out, tho' untruly, that the *Macintoſhes* had ſpoiled the Deſign, by reaſon of their Animoſity againſt the *Gordons*. This Hatred between theſe two Clans aroſe upon this occaſion; When the Queen prepared for her Expedition into *France*, *Gordon* kept *William*, Chief of the *Catan* Family, as his Priſoner, a young Man well educated by the Care of *James*, Earl of *Murray*. There was no Crime prov'd againſt him, but only becauſe he would not put himſelf under his Clanſhip or Clientele; and, beſides, it turn'd to his Prejudice, that he was of Kin to *Murray*, as being a Siſter's Son. *Gordon*, having thus provok'd the Young-man, did not think it ſafe to vouchſafe him his Liberty, and ſo leave him behind him; neither could he find ſufficient Cauſe to put him to Death. And therefore he, by means of his Friends, perſuades him, being not verſed in ſuch ill Arts, to commit his Cauſe wholly to him; for, by theſe Means, *Gordon*'s Honour, and his own Safety, might be ſecured. *Gordon*, being thus made Maſter of the Life and Death of his Enemy, diſſembled his Anger, and deals with his Wife to put him to Death in his abſence; for thus he thought to caſt the Odium of the Fact upon her: But it fell out quite otherwiſe; for all Men knew the ill Diſpoſition of *Gordon*; and they were as well

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ſatisfied in the Integrity of his Wife, who was a good Woman, and had carried herſelf like a Regular and Noble Lady, in the whole courſe of her Life; ſo that every Body was ſatisfied that *Gordon* was the Author of that Counſel to his Wife. *Gordon* being thus in Priſon, the Queen-Regent's Council were of different Opinions, as to his Puniſhment; ſome were for his Baniſhment for ſeveral Years into *France*; others for putting him to Death. But both thoſe Opinions were rejected by *Gilbert*, Earl of *Caſſils*, the Chief of his Enemies: For he, fore-ſeeing by the preſent State of things, that the Peace between the *Scots* and the *French* would not be Long-liv'd, was not for his Baniſhment into *France*; for he knew a Man of ſo ill a Spirit, and ſo revengeful of thoſe who blamed or envied him, would, in the War, which the Inſolence of the *French* was like ſpeedily to occaſion, be a perfect Incendiary, and perhaps a General for the Enemy. And he was more againſt putting him to Death, becauſe he thought no private Offence worthy of ſo great Puniſhment, as to inure the *French* to ſpill the Blood of the Nobility of of *Scotland*. And therefore he went a middle Way, that he ſhould be Fin'd and kept in Priſon, till he yielded up the Right, which he pretended to have over *Murray*: And that he ſhould ſuffer all the Royal Revenues, ariſing out of the *Orcades*, *Schetland* Iſles, and *Mar*, to be quietly gathered by ſuch Collectors as the Queen-Regent did appoint, and he himſelf ſhould not meddle with any of the Publick or Regal Patrimony; and likewiſe ſurrender up his Preſidency over ſome Juridical Courts, which brought him in great Profit. Upon theſe Conditions he was diſmiſs'd. And having thus mollified the Mind of the Regent, and thoſe that could do moſt with her, at laſt he was admitted into the Privy Council.

IN the mean time, all Court-Offices, which had any thing of Profit to move Competitorſhip, were, by *Gordon's* Advice, given to Strangers, on purpoſe that he might breed a Diſguſt between the Queen-Regent, and the Nobility of *Scotland*, and ſo take Delight, though not an honourable one, in their mutual Conteſt and Deſtruction of each other: And the Earl of *Caſſils*, who fore-ſaw this Tempeſt before it came, began now to be accounted as a Prophet.

AFTER this, Matters were quiet till *July*, in the Year 1555. and the Queen-Regent having gotten this reſpite from War, apply'd herſelf to rectify the Diſorders of the State: She went to *Inverneſs*, and held publick Conventions in the Nature of Aſſizes, in all accuſtom'd Places, wherein many Diſturbers of the Peace were ſeverely puniſh'd. She ſent *John Stuart*, Earl of *Athol*, againſt *John Murderach*, to effect that which *Gordon*, in his Expedition, had failed in. He, beſides that Fortitude and Con-

Conſtancy, (Virtues proper to him) was alſo ſo Prudent and Succeſsful, that he took him, his Children, and whole Family, and brought them to the Queen. But *Murderach* being impatient of ſitting ſtill, or elſe excited by the Sting of an evil Conſcience, deceived his Keepers, 'ſcap'd out of Priſon, and fill'd all Places again with Blood and Rapine. The Regent hearing of this, was forced to undertake a Journey ſooner than ſhe determined, to bring him and other Malefactors to Juſtice: Which having done, ſhe returned; and, in a publick Aſſembly, reſtored ſome of thoſe who ſlew Cardinal *Beton*, that were popular Men, (whom the late Regent had baniſh'd) from their Exile; by which Fact of hers ſhe procur'd not ſo much Applauſe, as ill-will from the many new Taxes ſhe deviſed. It was thought, that *D'Oſel*, *Ruby*, and thoſe few *French* about the Regent, put her upon thoſe new Projects, to raiſe Mony, *i. e.* that Mens Eſtates ſhould be ſurvey'd and regiſter'd in Books made for that purpoſe; and that every one ſhould pay yearly a certain Sum tax'd upon him out of it, into a Treaſury ſet apart for that End, as a Fund for War; for with that Mony, thus kept in a peculiar Treaſury, mercenary Soldiers were to be raiſed, to guard the Frontiers, and ſo the Nobility might remain quiet at home, except ſome great Invaſion were made by the Enemy, which an ordinary Force could not reſiſt. The poorer ſort were much aggrieved at this new pecuniary Impoſition, and inveigh'd openly againſt it with bitter Words; but the greateſt part of the Nobility kept their Diſguſt within their own Breaſts, every one fearing, that, if he ſhould firſt oppoſe the Will of the Queen Regent, the whole Envy of the Refuſal would fall upon him alone. But the next Rank of People were as angry with the Nobility, for betraying the publick Liberty by their Silence, as they were with the Queen; and thereupon about 300 of them met together at *Edinburgh*, and choſe *John Sandeland* of *Calder*, and *John Wems*, out of their whole Body, and ſent them to the Queen-Regent; to repreſent to her the Ignominy in paying this Tax; and therefore they deſir'd it might not be aſſeſſed or levied upon them, becauſe of their Poverty: And alſo to inform her, that their Anceſtors had not only defended themſelves and their Eſtates againſt the *Engliſh*, when much more powerful than now they are, but alſo had made often Inroads into *England*; and that themſelves had not ſo far degenerated from their Anceſtors, but that they were willing to lay down their Lives and Fortunes, for the Good of their Country, if need required. And, as for the levying of Mercenary Auxiliaries, that 'twas a Matter full of Danger, to commit the State of *Scotland* to Men, without either Lands or Hopes, but who would do any thing for Mony; and, if occaſion were offered, their profound Avarice would invite

invite them to attempt Innovations; ſo that their Fidelity hung only on the Wheel of Fortune: But, ſuppoſing they were well qualified, and had a greater Love to the Country, than Reſpect to their own Condition, yet was it likely, nay, was it not incredible, that the Mercenaries ſhould fight more valiantly, to defend the Eſtates of others, than the Maſters of them would do, each Man for his own? Or, that a regard to a ſmall Salary or Pay, which was likely to ceaſe in time of Peace, would raiſe up a greater Courage in the Minds of the Commonalty, than in the Nobility, who fought every Man for his Fortune, Wife, Children, Religion and Liberty; Beſides this Project concerns the very Vitals of the *Scotiſh* Empire, and 'twas a thing of greater Conſequence, than to be debated at this time, and in this Age of our young Queen; for, if twere granted, it could be effected without any Sedition; yet this new way of managing a War is both uſeleſs, and alſo much feared and ſuſpected by the Generality; eſpecially ſince, out of the Tribute of the *Scots*, Men none of the richeſt, Mony enough could hardly ariſe to maintain a Guard of Mercenaries, for the Defence of the Frontiers; and therefore it was to be feared, that the Event of this Counſel would be, to open the Door of the Frontiers to the Enemy, not to ſhut it: For, if the *Engliſh*, living in a richer Kingdom, ſhould erect a fuller treaſury for that Uſe, there was no doubt, but they might maintain Forces, double to ours with leſs Burden to their own People; and then they would break in, not only upon the Frontiers, but even in the very Body of the Kingdom. The other part of their Oration, I know not whether it be not better to ſuppreſs in Silence, than declare it amongſt the Vulgar; Some Mutterings there were; Who will collect this Mony? What great part of it muſt neceſſarily be expended upon Diſtrainers and Treaſurers, as a Reward for their Pains? Who will undertake that it ſhall be ſpent for publick Uſes, and not on private Luxury? 'Tis true, the Probity and Temperance of our noble Princeſs, who now rules, gives us great Hope, nay Confidence, that no ſuch thing will be; yet, if we conſider what hath been done by others Abroad, and by our ſelves at Home, we cannot contain or ſo govern our ſelves, but muſt needs fear, that what hath *once* been done, may poſſibly be done *again*. But, to let theſe things paſs, which perhaps we have no cauſe to fear; let us come to that wherein our Anceſtors plac'd their greateſt Hope of Defence, to maintain their Liberty againſt the Arms of an overpowring Enemy. There was no King of *Scotland* ever judg'd wiſer than *Robert*, the firſt of that Name; and all confeſs, that he was the moſt Valiant of Princes: He, at his Death, as he had often done in his Life out of a Proſpect to the good of his Subjects, gave this Advice, That

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the *Scots* ſhould never make a perpetual Peace, no nor one for any long time, with the *Engliſh*. For he, out of the Wiſdom of his own Nature, and alſo by his long Experience, and Exerciſe under both Conditions, proſperous and adverſe, knew well enough, that, by Idleneſs and Sloth, the Minds of Men would be broken with Pleaſure, and their Bodies alſo grow languid; for, when ſevere Diſcipline and Parcimony is extinct, Luxury and Avarice grow up as in a Soil untill'd, accompany'd alſo with an impatience of Labour, and a Slothfulneſs, occaſion'd by continued Eaſe, averſe from and hating military Life; by which Miſchiefs, the Strength of Body and Mind being enervated and weakened, they abandon Virtue, which is exerciſed by Sufferings; and that a ſhort and unaccuſtomed Eaſe and Pleaſure is over-ballanced by ſome notable Calamity to enſue.

UPON this Oration, the Queen-Regent fearing an Inſurrection, if ſhe had perſiſted in her Opinion, remitted the Tribute, and acknowledged her Error. 'Tis reported, ſhe was often heard to ſay, 'That it was not *Herſelf, but no obſcure Men of the* Scots *themſelves, who were the Authors and Architects of that Deſign.* By thoſe Words, ſome thought ſhe meant *Huntly*, a Man Fierce of his own Diſpoſition, and newly releaſed from Priſon; and, as it ſeems, more mindful of the Injury of his Impriſonment, than of the Reſpect ſhewn in his Deliverance. And therefore, when he ſaw, that the Regent was intent upon this one thing, to accuſtom the *Scots* to pay Tribute, fearing that thereby her Power would increaſe, and the authority of the Nobility would be weakened and infring'd, in regard ſhe, being a Foreigner, ſought to bring all things into the Power of her own Country-men, it was thought he gave this Counſel to her, which ſuited well with her Mind, as to the raiſing of Mony, which ſhe was then about; for otherwiſe the Advice was plainly deſtructive, hoſtile, and pernicious; for he knew well enough that the *Scots* would not pay ſuch great Taxes; neither would they be as obedient Subjects as they had been before. Some thought, that *David Painter*, Biſhop of *Roſs*, found out this way of Tax, for he was a Man of great Wit and Learning; he had receiv'd many Favours from the *Hamiltons*, and was a Friend to their Family and Deſigns.

THE next Year, which was 1557, while the Ambaſſadors of *Scotland* were treating about Peace at *Carliſle*, the King of *France* ſent Letters to *Scotland*, to deſire the Regent to declare War againſt *England*, according to the League: The Cauſe was pretended to be, becauſe the Queen of *England* had aſſiſted *Philip* of *Spain*, her Husband, who was engag'd in fierce War againſt *France*, by ſending him Forces into the *Netherlands*.

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The *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors return'd, without either confirming any ſettled Peace or War: Whereupon the Regent call'd together the Nobility, at the Monaſtery of *Newbottle*, where ſhe declar'd to them the many Incurſions the *Engliſh* had made upon the *Scotiſh* Ground; what Preys they had taken, and, when Reſtitution was demanded, none was made; ſo that ſhe deſir'd the *Scots* to declare War againſt *England*, both to revenge their own Wrongs, and thereby alſo to aſſiſt the King of *France*: Yet ſhe could not prevail with the Nobility to begin firſt; and therefore, by the Advice, as 'tis thought, of *D'Oſel*, ſhe brought about the Matter another way; She commanded a Fort to be built at the Mouth of the River *Aye*, againſt the ſudden Incurſions of the *Engliſh*, wherein alſo ſhe might ſafely lay up great Guns, and other Neceſſaries for War, as in a ſafe Magazine; from whence ſhe might fetch them upon occaſion, and ſo ſave Labour of carrying them from the remoter Parts of the Kingdom, whereby much time would be ſpent; and, beſides the troubleſomeneſs of the Carriages, opportunity of Action would be loſt. Theſe Conveniencies were viſible enough, but ſhe had another Reach in it; ſhe knew, that the *Engliſh* would do their utmoſt to hinder the Work, and not ſuffer a Garriſon to be erected under their Noſes, ſo near *Berwick*. Thus the Seeds of War (which ſhe deſired) would be ſown, and the fault of taking up Arms caſt upon the Enemy: And the Event anſwered her Expectation. For the *Scots*, being provoked by the Wrongs of the *Engliſh*, whilſt they were compell'd to defend their own Borders, eaſily aſſented to the Regents deſire, to make War upon *England*: Whereupon the Ambaſſadors ſent into *England*, to make a Peace, were call'd back, a Proclamation was made, and a Day appointed for a general Rendezvouz at *Edinburgh*; When the Camp was form'd at *Maxwel Heugh*, and the Council had not yet decreed any thing concerning the manner of carrying on the War, they, who were forward to gratify the Regent, and oblige the *French*, ran up and down, plundering about *Werk-Caſtle*, ſituate in the Borders of *England*: *D'Oſel* had brought ſome *French* Troops thither, and ſome Ordnance, as many as he thought were ſufficient to take in the Caſtle, and carried them over the *Tweed*, without ſtaying for the Order of the Council, which highly incenſed the Scots Nobility againſt him; for, in ſo doing, he ſeem'd to aim, that the whole Honour of ſuch an Expedition ſhould rather redound to himſelf, than to his Maſter, as alſo to make the Scots obnoxious to, and under his Command, who were wont to have the chief Command themſelves. Thus the Scots were mightily offended, that they were ſo ſlighted by a private Man, and a Stranger too, ſo as to be led by the Noſe by him, without ſo much as asking their Opinions, as was formerly

merly wont to be done: And thus, by doing things of his own Head, without conſulting the Nobility, he had arrogated more to himſelf, than ever any of their own Kings had done.

HEREUPON, the matter was deliberated in Council, where it was unanimouſly agreed, that they would not venture the Strength of the Kingdom againſt an Enemy, at the Humour of every private Perſon; eſpecially, ſeeing they were never wont to obey their own lawful Princes in that Caſe, but after Matters had been open'd and ſeriouſly debated in Council, before they were reſolv'd upon; and therefore *Oſel's* Imperiouſneſs, in the Caſe, was nothing but an Eſſay, to try how capable they were to bear the Yoke of Slavery: Whereupon they commanded *Oſel* to draw back the Ordnance; and if he refus'd, he ſhould be puniſh'd as a Traytor. The Queen-Regent, and *Oſel* himſelf, highly reſented this Affront: The Regent thought that her Majeſty was impair'd thereby; and the other, that his Maſter's Honour (whoſe Ambaſſador he was) was concern'd: But they, being the weaker, were forc'd to yield for the preſent; and there ſeemed no Remedy to occur, but that the Queen of *Scots*, who was now marriageable, ſhould marry the *Dauphin*, as ſoon as conveniently it could be effected; for then the Wife, being in the Power of her Husband, the Authority of the Council would be much leſſened.

DURING that Winter, there were various Excurſions made, and with different Succeſs; but one was moſt memorable at the Foot of *Cheviot-hills*, where a Fight was maintain'd a long while, between the Duke of *Norfolk* and *Andrew Carr*. The Victory was a long time doubtful, but at laſt inclin'd to the *Engliſh*, and *Carr* was taken Priſoner, many brave Men being wounded on both ſides. Hereupon an Aſſembly was Indicted at *Edinburgh*, to be held in *October*, to hear the Letters ſent from the *French* King. In which, after a Prolix Enumeration of the ancient Leagues between them, and their mutual Obligations to one another, he deſir'd the Scots Parliament, that a Choice might be made of fit Perſons, out of all the Three Orders, with ample Commiſſion, who, in regard his Son, the *Dauphin*, about the end of *December*, was entering upon the Year fit for Marriage, according to the Law, might be ſent Ambaſſadors to conclude the Marriage, which was almoſt already made, (for the Queen of *Scots* had been carried over into *France* upon that Hope) and thus the Nations, which were anciently Confederate, would now coaleſce into one Body; and the old Friendſhip between thoſe People would be connected by an indiſſoluble Bond. This if they would do, he made them magnificent Promiſes, that, whatever Fruits of Benevolence they hoped for from Allies, the ſame they might expect from him.

THO'

THO' all the *Soots* knew to what End this haſte of the French King was directed, and that there were ſhortly like to be Diſputes between them concerning their Liberties, yet they all came, in great Obedience, to the Indicted Parliament, where, without much ado, eight Ambaſſadors were choſen, to go over into *France*, to finiſh the Marriage: Three of the Nobility, *Gilbert Kennedy*, Earl of *Caſſils*, *George Leſly*, Earl of *Rothes*; to whom were added, *James Fleming*, Earl of *Commerland*, Chief of his Family; three of the Eccleſiaſtical Order, *James Beton*, Arch-biſhop of *Glaſgow*, *Robert Read*, Biſhop of the *Orcades*, and *James Stuart*, Prior of the Monaſtry of St. *Andrews*, and the Queen's Brother; and two of the Commons, *George Scaton*, becauſe he was Governor of *Edinburgh*, and *John Erskin*, Laird of *Down*, or *Din*, Governor of *Montroſs*, of a Knight's Family, but comparable for Dignity to any Noble man. After they had ſet Sail, and were yet on the Coaſt of *Scotland*, they were toſs'd with a very high Wind; and, being farther at Sea, they met with ſuch a terrible Tempeſt, that two of the Ships were ſunk, not far from *Boloign* in *France*, a Town of the *Morini*. The Earl of *Rothes* and the Biſhop of the *Orcades* were carry'd to Land in a Fiſher-boat, and were the only two that eſcap'd of all the Paſſengers. The reſt of the Fleet, having long combated with the Waves, at length arriv'd in other leſſer Ports of *France*; where, when all the Ambaſſadors were again met, they haſten'd to Court. There they began the Treaty about the Marriage: All yielded to it, but the *Guiſes* were mighty forward to have it haſten'd, both becauſe they judg'd that Affinity would be a great acceſſion of Authority to their Family; as alſo becauſe opportunity ſeem'd to favour their Deſign, in regard *Annas*, Duke of *Montmorancy*, who was eſteemed the wiſeſt of all the French Nobility, and who was moſt likely to oppoſe the Match, was a Priſoner of War. He indeed was not willing the Matter ſhould be ſo precipitated, for ſeveral other Cauſes, in the Judgment of of many very juſt and conſiderable Perſons; becauſe the Power of the *Guiſes*, (which was ſuſpected by the Wiſe, and began to be intolerable to all) might not grow to that height, as to be unſafe for Kings themſelves. For, of the five Brothers of the *Guiſes*, the eldeſt was Captain-General of all the Forces, which ſerv'd in *France*. The next was ſent into *Lombardy*, to ſucceed *Charles Coſſeus*: The third was ſent over into *Scotland*, with ſome Supplies, to Command the Army there: The fourth had the Command of the Gallies at *Marſeilles*: And all Mony-matters paſs'd under the Hand of *Charles*: So that neither *Soldier* nor *Sea* could ſtir in all the Territories of the French King, without their Approbation and Good-liking. Some Men commiſerated the Fortune of the beſt of Kings, and it brought into re-

membrance the Condition of thoſe Times, when, by reaſon of Court-Factions, the Kings of *France* have been ſhut up in Monaſteries, as in Places of a milder Baniſhment.

THE Court, for ſome time, being tranſported with theſe nuptial Revels, when they came to themſelves, call'd the *Scots* Ambaſſadors into Council, where the Chancellor of *France* dealt with them to produce the Crown, and the other Enſigns of Royalty; and that the Queen's Husband ſhould be created King of *Scotland*, according to Cuſtom. To whom the Ambaſſadors anſwered in ſhort, That they had received no Commands concerning thoſe Matters. The Chancellor reply'd, That no more was deſir'd of them, at preſent, than what was in their Power, *viz.* That when theſe Matters came to be debated in the Parliament of *Scotland*, they would give their Suffrages in the Affirmative, and give it under their Hands, that they would do ſo. That Demand ſeem'd to be fuller of Peremptorineſs than the former, and therefore they thought it beſt to reject it with great vehemence and diſguſt; inſomuch that their Anſwer was, *That their Embaſſy was limited by certain Inſtructions and Bounds, which they neither could nor would tranſgreſs, but, if they had been left free from any Reſtriction at all, yet it was not the part of faithful Friends, to require that of them, which they could not grant without certain Infamy and Treachery, tho' there were no danger of Life in the Caſe: That they were willing to gratify the French, their old Allies, as far as the juſt Laws of Amity requir'd; and therefore they deſir'd them to keep within the ſame Bounds of Moderation of making their Demands.*

THUS the Ambaſſadors were diſmiſs'd the Court: And, tho' they haſten'd Home, as ſoon as they could; yet, before they went a Shipboard, four of the chief of them, *Gilbert Kennedy*, *George Leſly*, *Robert Reed*, and *James Fleming*, all true Patriots, departed this Life, as did likewiſe many of their Retinue, not without ſuſpicion of Poiſon. It was thought, that *James*, the Queen's Brother, had alſo taken the ſame Doſe; for, altho' by reaſon of the ſtrength of his Conſtitution and his Youth, he eſcap'd Death at that time, yet he lay under a conſtant weakneſs of Stomach, as long as he liv'd.

THAT Summer, Matters were at that dubious paſs in *Britain*, that there ſeem'd rather to be no Peace, than a War; for there were Skirmiſhes and Plunderings on both ſides, and Villages burnt; Incurſions were mutually made, and not without Blood. Two of the Nobility of *Scotland* were carried away Priſoners by the Engliſh, *William Keith*, Son to the Earl of *Merch*, and *Patrick Grey*, Chief of a Family (ſo call'd) among the *Scots*; the other Calamities of War fell on Perſons of meaner Rank.

ABOUT

ABOUT the ſame time, the *Engliſh* ſent a Fleet under the Command of Sir *John Clare*, to infeſt the Coaſts of *Scotland*, they came to the *Orcades*, intending there to Land, and to burn *Kirkwall*, a Biſhop's See, the only Town in that Circuit. When they had made a Deſcent with a good part of their Force, a fierce Tempeſt ſuddenly aroſe, which carry'd their Ships from the Coaſt into the Main; where, after a long conteſt with the Winds and Waves, they at length made Sail for *England* back again: They who were put a-Shoar were every one ſlain by the Iſlanders.

THIS Year, and the Year before, the Cauſe of Religion ſeem'd to lie Dormant; for it being ſomewhat cruſh'd by the Death of *George Wiſheart*, one party accounted themſelves well ſatisfy'd, if they could worſhip God in their own Tongue, in private Aſſemblies, and diſpute ſoberly concerning Matters of Divinity; and the other Party, after the Cardinal was ſlain, ſhew'd themſelves rather deſtitute of an Head, than not deſirous of Revenge: For he, who ſucceeded in his Place, rather coveted the *Mony* than the *Blood* of his Enemies, and was ſeldom Cruel, but when it was to maintain his Luxury.

IN *April*, *Walter Mills*, a Prieſt, none of the moſt Learned, was yet ſuſpected by the Biſhops, becauſe he left off to ſay Maſs; whereupon he was haled to their Court. Tho' he was weak by Conſtitution of Body and Age, extream Poor, and alſo brought out from a naſty Priſon, and lay under ſuch high Diſcouragements; yet he anſwer'd ſo ſtoutly and prudently too, that his very Enemies could not but acknowledge, that ſuch greatneſs and confidence of Spirit, in ſuch an enfeebled Carcaſe, muſt needs have a ſupport from above. The Citizens of St. *Andrews* were ſo much offended at the Wrong done him, that there was none found who would ſit as Judge upon him; and all the Tradeſmen ſhut up their Shops, that they might ſell no Materials towards his Execution; which was the cauſe of his Reprieve for one Day more than was intended. At laſt, one *Alexander Somerval*, a Friend of the Arch-biſhop's, was found out, a great Villain, who undertook to ſit as Judge upon him, for that Day. This is certain, the Commonalty took his Death ſo hainouſly, that they heap'd up a great Pile of Stones in the Place, where he was burnt, that ſo the Memory of his Death might not end with his Life. The Prieſts took order to have it thrown down for ſome Days, but ſtill, as they threw it down one Day, it was rais'd up the next, 'till at laſt the Papiſts convey'd the Stones away to build Houſes with, about the Town. *July* the 20th was the Day appointed by the Biſhops, for *Paul Meffen*, an eminent preacher of God's Word in thoſe Days, to come to his Anſwer. There was a great Aſ-

ſembly of the Nobility at that time, ſo that a Tempeſt ſeem'd unavoidable; whereupon the Proceſs was deferr'd to another time: Several were condemn'd, but it was of thoſe that were Abſent; who, that they might not be terrify'd with the ſeverity of the Puniſhment, were commanded to come by the firſt of *September*, and Pardon was promis'd them, if they recanted.

The ſame firſt of *September* was St. *Giles*'s Day, whom the Inhabitants of *Edinburgh* look on as their Tutelar Saint, carouſing to him in great Goblets, and making high Entertainments for their Neighbours and Gueſts. The Regent, fearing, leſt in ſuch a confus'd Rabble ſome Tumult ſhould ariſe, was willing to be preſent herſelf at the Wake. The Papiſts were very glad of her coming, and eaſily perſuaded her to ſee the Show and Pageant, wherein St. *Giles* was to be carried about the City; but St. *Giles*, alas! did not appear, for he was ſtolen out of his Shrine by ſome Body or other. However, that St. *Giles* might not want a Pageant, nor the Citizens a Show upon that Feſtival Day, there was another young *Gilesling* (forſooth) ſet up in his room. After the Regent had accompanied him through the greateſt part of the Town, and ſaw no danger of any Inſurrection, ſhe retired, weary as ſhe was, into an Inn to repoſe herſelf. But preſently the City-Youths pluck'd down the Picture of St. *Giles*, from the ſhoulders of thoſe who carried him, threw him into the Dirt, and ſpoil'd the Glory of the whole Pageantry. The Prieſts and Friars running ſeveral ways for Fear, created a belief of a greater Tumult: But, when they had underſtood that there was more Fear than Danger in the thing, and that the whole Matter was tranſacted without Blood, they crept again out of their Holes, and gathered themſelves together to conſult about the main Chance; where, tho' they were quite out of Hopes to recover their ancient Repute; yet they diſſembled Confidence, as if their former Power had remained: And, to try how to retrieve their Affairs in ſo deſperate a Caſe, they thought to ſtrike Fears into their Enemies, and apointed a Convocation to be held at *Edinburgh*, *November* 8. When the Day of their convening came, the Prieſts met in the Church of the *Dominicans*, and there cited *Paul Meffin* by Name, whom, in a former Aſſembly, they had commanded to appear: He, not appearing, was baniſh'd, and a ſevere Puniſhment denounc'd on thoſe, who would receive him into their Houſes, or ſupply him with any Neceſſaries, to ſupport his Life. But that Commination did not terrify the Inhabitants of *Dundee* from doing their Duty, for they ſupplied him with Proviſion, and harbour'd him from one Houſe to another; nay, and even dealt with the Regent, by ſome Men who were in Favour at Court, that his Baniſhment might be remitted; but all the

Prieſts

Prieſts ſtrenuouſly oppos'd it; and beſides, they offered a great Sum of Mony to it, ſo that nothing could be done.

Whilſt theſe things were acting, ſome eminent Perſons, eſpecially of *Fife* and *Angus*, and ſome chief Burghers of ſeveral Towns, travell'd over all the Shires of *Scotland*, exhorting all the People to love the ſincere preaching of the Word, and not to ſuffer themſelves, and their Friends of the ſame Opinion in Religion with themſelves, to be oppreſs'd and deſtroy'd by a ſmall and weak Faction; alledging, if their Enemies would tranſact the Matter by Law, they ſhould eaſily caſt them; but, if they chuſe Force rather, they were not inferior to them. And they had Schedules, or Writing-Tables, ready, for thoſe who were pleaſed therewith to ſubſcribe their Names. Theſe firſt aſſumed the Name of *Congregation*, which was made more famous afterwards by thoſe, who joined themſelves thereto.

Theſe aſſertors of the purer and reform'd Religion, foreſeeing that Matters would ſoon come to ſome Extremity, by joint Conſent determin'd to ſend ſome Demands to the Queen, which unleſs they were granted, there was likely to be no probability of a Church, neither could the Multitude be reſtrained from an *Inſurrection*. They choſe Sir *James Sandeland* of *Calder*, a worthy Knight, venerable both for his Age, and for his well-ſpent Life, to carry their Deſires to the Regent, who open'd the Neceſſity of ſending ſuch a Meſſage, and requeſted, in the Name of all, who ſtood for the reformation of Religion, 'That all 'publick Prayers and the Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, 'ſhould be celebrated by Miniſters in their Mother-Tongue, 'that all the People might underſtand them: That the Election 'of Miniſters, according to the ancient Cuſtom of the Church, 'ſhould be made by the People; and that they, who preſided 'over that Election, ſhould enquire diligently into the Lives 'and Doctrines of all that were to be admitted; and, if by the 'Negligence of former Times, unlearned and flagitious Per'ſons had crept into Eccleſiaſtical Dignities, that they might be 'removed out of the Miniſtry, and fit Perſons ſubſtituted in 'their Places. The Prieſts were even mad, and ſtorm'd mightily, that any Man durſt appear and own ſo impudent a Fact, as they call'd it: But, when their Heat was a little allay'd, they anſwer'd, that they would refer the Matter to a publick Diſputation; and indeed, what Danger could there be in that, when they themſelves were to be Judges in their own Cauſe? On the other ſide, the Sticklers for the Reformation alledg'd, That the Matter ought not to be determined by the Wills of Men, but by the plain Words of Holy Scripture. The Prieſts propounded alſo other Terms of Agreement, but ſuch

ridiculous ones, that they are not worthy of an Anſwer; as, If the Reformers would keep up the Maſs in its ancient Honour; If they would acknowledge Purgatory after this Life; If they would yield to pray to Saints, and for the Dead, that then they would alſo yield, that they ſhould pray in their Mother-Tongue, and celebrate the Sacraments, Baptiſm, and the Lord's-Supper, in the ſame. The Reformers preſſed the Regent, (as before) that in ſo juſt a Cauſe, ſhe would pleaſe to gratify them with an Anſwer, agreeable to Equity and Reaſon. The Regent favoured the Cauſe of the Prieſts, and ſecretly promiſed them her Aſſiſtance, as ſoon as opportunity was offered. And ſhe commanded the adverſe Faction to uſe Prayer, celebrate the Sacraments, and perform other religious Exerciſes in their Mother-Tongue, but without Tumult; only their Teachers were not to make any publick Sermons to the People at *Edinburgh* or *Leith*. Tho' this Condition was carefully obſerv'd by them, yet many Teſtimonies, that her Affection was alienated from them, did daily appear: And the Papiſts at *Edinburgh* us'd almoſt the ſame Anſwers to the Demands which were brought in by the Nobility; only this they added farther, 'That, as to the 'Point of electing Miniſters, in ſuch kind of Queſtions, they 'were to ſtand by the Canon-Law, or to the Decrees of 'the Council of *Trent*. Neither did they, in that Aſſembly, attempt any thing in their own Matters, only commanded the Biſhops to ſend ſecret Informers into all Pariſhes of their Dioceſſes, who were to take the Names of all the Violators of the Papiſtical Laws, and bring them in to them: And, tho' they plainly perceived that their Threats were little eſteemed, yet, truſting to the publick Authority, which was on their ſide, and having Confidence in the Arms of *France*, they inſulted over their Inferiors as imperiouſly as ever they did before. To mitigate their Minds in ſome ſort, and to deprecate their ſevere and bitter Sentence againſt the Preachers of the Goſpel, *John Erskin*, Lord of *Down*, a Man Learned, Good, and Affable, was ſent to them: He intreated them, out of that Piety which we all owe to God, and Charity towards Men, that they would not think it much, at leaſt, to tolerate People to pray to God in their Mother-Tongue, when they were met together for that Service, for that was according to Scripture-Command. They were ſo far from granting his Requeſt, that they us'd him with more bitter and arrogant Words than formerly, adding alſo more cruel Threatnings and Reproaches; and, leſt they might ſeem to have acted nothing in that Aſſembly, they cauſed ſome thread-bare popiſh Laws to be printed, and faſten'd upon the Doors of Churches, which, becauſe they were commonly ſold

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for a Groat, the common People called them the *Quadrantary*, and ſometimes the *Triobolar* Faith.

Moreover, they, who the Year before had perform'd the Embaſſy in *France*, came into the Aſſembly, and eaſily obtain'd, that their Tranſactions ſhould be ratified: And after that the *French* Ambaſſador was introduc'd, who, after he had made a long Oration concerning the ancient and long continued Good-will of the *French* Kings toward all the *Scotiſh* Nation, did earneſtly deſire of them all, both ſingly and jointly, That they would ſet the Crown (which he, by a new and monſtrous Name, called *Matrimonial*) upon the Head of the Queen's Husband, alledging, that he would gain but an empty Name, without any occaſion of Power or Profit: He alſo uſed many other flattering Words, not neceſſary here to be repeated; which, the more accurate they were in a trifling Buſineſs, by ſo much the more they were ſuſpected, as Coverts of concealed Fraud: Yet the Ambaſſador, partly by immoderate Promiſes, and partly by earneſt Entreaties, and partly by the Favour of ſome, who collogued with the future Power, gain'd the Point, that the Crown was ordered for the *Dauphin*; and *Gileſpy Campbel*, Earl of *Argyle*, and *James*, the Quen's Brother, were choſen to carry it to him. Theſe Perſons, perceiving that they were ſent abroad to their own ruin, in regard the *French* Ambition hung as a Storm ready to fall upon their Heads, made no great haſte to fit up their Equipage, but deferred their Preparation from Day to Day, until they had ponder'd all things, and taken ſurer Meaſures of what was likely to enſue, eſpecially ſince now a nearer and more eminent degree of Honour offered itſelf: For *Mary*, Queen of *England*, being Dead, the Queen of *Scots* carried herſelf as her Heir, and bore the Arms and Enſigns of *England*, engraving the ſame on all her Houſhold-ſtuff, and Furniture; and, tho' *France* was at that time miſerably diſtreſſed in aſſerting their Power and Dominion over *Milan*, *Naples*, and *Flanders*, yet, ſhe added to the reſt of her Miſeries this Mock-Title of *England*. The wiſer ſort of the *French* ſaw this well enough, but they were forc'd to comply with the *Guiſes*, who then could do all at Court; for by this vain kind of Splendor, they thought to add much to the *French* Name.

Beſides, the Regent having receiv'd the Decree concerning a Matrimonial Crown, ſeem'd to have put on a new Diſpoſition, for ſhe turn'd her ancient Affability, which was acceptable to all, into an imperious Arrogance; And, inſtead of gentle Anſwers, wherewith before ſhe uſed to ſooth both Factions, as, That it was not her Fault, but that of the Times, that ſhe could not promiſe ſo largely as ſhe deſir'd, before that Decree was paſs'd: Now ſhe thought herſelf Secure, and therefore us'd

another kind of Language and Deportment. A Parliament was ſummoned to be held at *Sterlin, May* 9. and, whereas ſhe had often ſaid, That, *now ſhe was free from other Cares, ſhe would not ſuffer the Majeſty of Government to be debaſed, but endeavour to reſtore it to its ancient Glory, by ſome eminent Example*: Theſe Words portended a Storm enſuing, and therefore many applied to her for her Favour; and, amongſt the reſt, to make their Requeſt more likely to be granted, upon the account of the Dignity of the Meſſengers, *Alexander Cuningham*, Earl of *Glencarn*, and *Hugh Campbel* Sheriff of *Air*, a worthy Knight; were ſent to her. When they came, ſhe could not contain herſelf, but muſt needs utter this Speech, as a Witneſs of her Impiety, *Do you, and your Miniſters, what you will or can, yea tho they preach never ſo ſincerely, yet they ſhall be baniſh'd the Land.* They replied, in great Humility, *That ſhe would call to Mind what ſhe often promiſed them.* She anſwered, *That Promiſes of Princes were no further to be urged upon them for Performance, than it ſtood with their Conveniency.* Whereupon they rejoin'd, *That then they renounced all Allegiance and Subjection to her*; and adviſed her to conſider, what Inconvenience was likely to enſue hereupon. She was unexpectedly ſtruck with this Anſwer, and ſaid, *She would think upon it.* And, when the fierceneſs of her Anger ſeem'd ſomewhat to abate, it was again kindled much more violently, when ſhe heard, that the Inhabitants of St. *Johnſtons* had publickly embraced the *Reformed Religion*: Whereupon ſhe turn'd to *Patrick Ruthen*, Mayor of the Town, commanding him to ſuppreſs all thoſe Tumults for innovating of Religion. His Anſwer was, *That he had Power over their Bodies and Eſtates, and thoſe he would take care ſhould do no hurt*; *but that he had no Dominion over their Conſciences.* At which Anſwer ſhe was ſo inrag'd, that ſhe ſaid, ſhe *hoped none would think it ſtrange, if he were ſhortly made to repent his ſtubborn Impudence.* She alſo commanded *James Haliburton*, Sheriff of *Dundee*, to ſend *Paul Meffen* Priſoner to her; but he was adviſed thereof by the Sheriff, and ſo gave way to the Time, and ſlipp'd out of Town. She wrote alſo to the Neighbour-Aſſemblies to keep the *Eaſter* following after the *Popiſh* Manner. But, when none obey'd her therein, ſhe was ſo inrag'd, that ſhe cited all the Miniſters of the Churches of the whole Kingdom to *Sterlin*, to appear there on the 10th of *May* enſuing.

When that Matter came to be noiſed abroad, the *Evangelicks* exhorted one another, that they and their Miniſters would alſo appear at the Meeting, ſo that there was a great Multitude of thoſe that were likely to be at that Aſſembly; which tho' they came unarmed, yet the Regent feared, that things would not

not go well on her ſide: Whereupon ſhe ſent for *John Erskin* of *Down*, who happened to be in town at that time, and prevail'd with him to cauſe the unneceſſary concourſe of the People to withdraw, which would not be very difficult for him to do, becauſe of the great Authority he had amongſt them; and in the mean time ſhe promiſed ſhe would act nothing againſt the Men of that Perſuaſion. Many there were, who being made acquainted with this Promiſe of the Regent, changed their purpoſe of going thither, and returned Home; yet nevertheleſs, ſhe, on the Day appointed for the Aſſembly, call'd over the Names of thoſe who were ſummon'd, and thoſe who did not anſwer to their Names ſhe Out-lawed. *Erskin*, ſeeing what little Credit was to be given to her Promiſes, and fearing to be ſeized on by force, had withdrawn himſelf, and found the Lords *Strathearn*, *Angus*, and *Merns*, yet in a Body, tho' doubting of the Faith of the Queen: They finding, by his Diſcourſe, (what they ſuſpected before) that the Queen's Rage was implacable, and that the Matter could no longer be diſſembled, prepared themſelves againſt her with open Force.

MATTERS ſtanding in this tickliſh Poſture, *Knox* aſſembled the Multitude at *Perth*, and made ſuch an excellent Sermon to them, that he ſet their Minds, already moved, all in a Flame. After Sermon, the greateſt part of the Audience went home to Dinner, but a few of the meaner ſort, ſuch as were alſo enraged with Anger and Indignation, ſtaid behind in the Church. Amongſt them a poor Prieſt thinking to try how they ſtood affected, prepared himſelf to ſay Maſs, and drew out a large Frame, or rather Idol Caſe, in which was contained the Hiſtory of many Saints curiouſly Engraven. A Young-Man ſtanding by cried out, that what he did was intolerable; upon which the Prieſt gave him a Box on the Ear; the Youth took up a Stone, and, thinking to hit the Prieſt, the Blow lighted on the Frame, and brake one of the Pictures; the reſt of the Multitude, being in a Rage, ſome fell upon the Prieſt and his Frame, others upon the Shrines and Altars; and thus, as 'twere in a moment of Time, they demoliſh'd all the Monuments of ſuperſtitious, or profane Worſhip.

THESE things were done by the meaner ſort, while the richer were at Dinner: With the ſame furious Violence, they ran ſeveral ways to the Monaſtery of the Friars, the reſt of the common People ſtill flocking in to them: And, tho' the Friars had provided ſome Aid againſt ſuch Aſſaults, yet no Force was able to reſiſt the raſh Violence of the Multitude. The firſt Aſſault was made upon the Images and Church-ſtuff, and the poorer ſort ran in to Plunder. The *Franciſcans* were furniſh'd with Houſhold-ſtuff, not only plentiful, but ſtately, more than would

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ſerve ten times as many as they were. The *Dominicans*, though not ſo opulent as they, yet had enough to evince the Profeſſion of Begging to be a very vain one; ſo that one wittily call'd them (not Friars *Mendicants*, but) *Friars' Manducants*. The Poor ſeized on all the Wealth; for they, who had Eſtates, to prevent all ſuſpicion of Covetouſneſs, ſuffered ſome of the Monks, and eſpecially the *Prior* of the *Carthuſian*, to go off with great Quantities of Gold and Silver: Nay, the abſtinence of the Soldiers from Plunder was as incredible, as their celerity in demoliſhing the Buildings was wonderful. For thoſe large Houſes of the *Carthuſians* were ſo haſtily overthrown, and even the Stones carried away, that, within two days time, there was hardly the Sign of any Foundation left. When the News of all this came to the Queen, with ſome Exaggerations, they ſo inflamed her lofty Spirit, that ſhe ſwore, that ſhe would expiate this nefarious Wickedneſs with the Blood of the Citizens, and with the burning of the City. The Inhabitants of *Cowper* in *Fife*, hearing of this procedure of Affairs at *Perth*, they alſo, by general Conſent, either broke the Images, or threw them out of the Church, and thus cleanſed their Temple: At which the Parſon of the Pariſh was ſo grieved, that, the Night following, he laid violent Hands on himſelf. The Regent was amazed to hear this News, and ſent for *Hamilton*, the Earls of *Argyle* and *Athol*, with their Allies and Clanſhips, to come to her; and, though ſhe deſired, by her haſty proceeding, to prevent the Preparations of her Enemies, yet the Carriage of the Braſs-Ordnance was ſo tedious, that it was about the 18th day of *May*, before they came to the Parts adjoining to that City. When the Nobles that were at *Perth* heard of the Preparations that the Regent had made againſt them, they alſo ſent Meſſengers to their Friends, and to the Reformed all about, not to deſert them in this laſt Extremity of Life and Fortune. Whereupon all the Commonalty came zealouſly and ſpeedily in, and ſome alſo out of *Lothian*, that they might not be wanting to the common Danger: But *Alexander Cuningham*, Earl of *Glencarn*, exceeded them all in his Force and Readineſs; for he, hearing how things ſtood, gathered together 2500 Men Horſe and Foot, and led them on Night and Day, through rough and by Ways, till he came to *Perth*. *James Stuart*, natural Son of the late King, and *Gileſpy Campbel*, Earl of *Argyle*, were, as yet, in the Army of the Regent: For, though they were the chief Authors of reforming Religion, yet, becauſe all hopes of Concord were not quite loſt, they ſtaid there; that ſo, if Peace might be made on juſt Terms, they might do ſome Service to their Friends; but, if the Minds of the Papiſts were wholly averſe from Peace, then they reſolved to run the ſame hazard with the reſt at *Perth*.

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THE Regent, being before inform'd by her Spies, that the Enemy were above 7000 ſtrong, all very hearty, and reſolved to fight, though ſhe had with her almoſt an equal Number of *Scots*, beſides the *French* Auxiliaries, yet was loth to venture all upon a Battle: And therefore ſhe ſent *James Stuart*, and *Gileſpy Campbel* (whom I named before) to treat with the Enemy: They, on their part, choſe out *Alexander Cuningham*, and *John Erskin* of *Down*, to treat with them. The Queen was now ſomewhat more placable, becauſe ſhe heard, that *Glencarn* had alſo join'd his Forces with the reſt of the oppoſers of Idolatry. Whereupon the four Commiſſioners made an Agreement, that all the Soldiery of the *Scots* ſhould be disbanded on both ſides, and the Regent ſhould have liberty to enter the Town, and ſtay there with her Retinue for a few Days, till ſhe had refreſhed heſelf from the toil of her Journey; yet ſo, that they were not to injure any of the Townſ-men in the leaſt. As for the *French*, none of them were to enter, or to come within three Miles of the Town. All the other Differences were referred to the deciſion of the next Parliament. Thus, the preſent Inſurrection being quieted without Blood, the Aſſertors of the Reformation departed joyfully, for they deſired not to make a War, but only to defend themſelves; and thereupon they gave God Thanks, who had given an unbloody end to the War. The Earl of *Argyle*, and *James Stuart*, left the Regent at *Perth*, and went to St. *Andrews*, there to refreſh themſelves after their former Toils. But ſhe, the Voluntiers being disbanded on both ſides, having entred the Place with a ſmall Retinue, was honourably receiv'd according to the Ability of the Citizens. The *French* Mercenaries paſſing by the Houſe of *Patrick Murray*, an honeſt and worthy Townſ-man; ſix of them levelled their Pieces againſt a Balcony, out of which his whole Family looked to behold the Sight; upon the Diſcharge, they kill'd only *Patrick's* Son, a Youth of thirteen Years of Age: The Body was brought to the Queen; and, when ſhe heard of what Family he was, ſhe ſaid, That *the Chance was to be lamented; and ſo much the rather, becauſe it lighted on the* Son, *and not on the Father; but that ſhe could not prevent nor help ſuch caſual Accidents.* This her Speech gave all to underſtand, that ſhe would no longer ſtand to her Agreements, but till ſhe had Force great enough to her Mind; and her Deeds confirmed the truth of Suſpicion: For, within three Days after, ſhe began to turn all things topſy turvy; ſome of the Citizens ſhe fined, others ſhe baniſh'd; and changed their Magiſtrates, without any judicial Proceedings; and, going to *Sterlin*, ſhe left ſome mercenary *Scots* under *French* Pay, in the Town, to Garriſon it; whereby ſhe pretended, ſhe had not broken her Word, which was, that

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the City ſhould be left free, and no *French-man* enter into it. When 'twas objected to her, That by the Agreement, all thoſe were to be accounted *French*, who had ſworn Allegiance to the *French* King; then ſhe had recourſe to that common Refuge of the Papiſts, That *Promiſes were not to be kept with Hereticks.* But her Excuſe would have been as Honeſt, if ſhe had told them, That ſhe had no Obligation lay on her Conſcience, but that ſhe might lawfully take away both Life and Goods, from ſuch a ſort of People as they were; and moreover, That *Princes were not to be ſo eagerly preſſed for the Performance of their Promiſes.*

THESE Things ſufficiently declared, that the Concord was not like to be laſting: And beſides, the things which followed gave further occaſion for a ſiniſter Opinion of her; for ſhe preſtered *James Stuart*, and *Gileſpy Campbel*, with threatning Letters and Commands, denouncing the extremity of the Law againſt them, unleſs they came in to her: As for the Army of the adverſe Faction, ſhe diſregarded that, becauſe ſhe knew it was made up of Volunteers, and ſuch as fought without Pay; and when they were diſmiſs'd, they would not eaſily be brought together again. After ſhe had reſtor'd the Maſs, and ſettled other things, as well as ſhe could, ſhe left a Garriſon in the Town, as I ſaid before, and went towards *Sterlin*. She was very deſirous to have the Poſſeſſion of *Perth*, in regard 'twas ſcituate almoſt in the middle of the whole Kingdom, and was the only walled Town in it: And beſides, the Nobility was averſe from the Papiſts, and therefore ſhe deſir'd to put this Curb upon them. Moreover, it had many Conveniencies, and eſpecially for conveyance of Land or Sea-Forces, for the Tide comes up thither by the River *Tay*, which waſheth its Walls; and ſo it affords a Paſſage for Commerce with foreign Nations, and 'tis almoſt the only Town to which acceſs may be had by Land, even from the utmoſt parts of the Kingdom: As for other Towns, the Paſſages to them are intercepted by long Bays, running in from the Sea; and the Paſſage is ſlower through them, by reaſon they have not that number of Ships as to carry a great Multitude at once; ſo that oft-times Paſſengers are ſtopp'd many Days by contrary Winds, or by the violence of Tempeſts.

FOR theſe Reaſons, *Perth* is accounted the moſt convenient Place for holding Aſſemblies, and alſo for granting Forces from all parts of the Kingdom. But at that time, the Regent got not ſo much Advantage by the commodious ſituation of the Place, as ſhe reap'd Envy, by violating her Faith, in breaking her Capitulations; For that was the *laſt* day of her Felicity, and the *firſt* wherein ſhe was publickly Contemn'd. For, when the

the Matter came to be divulg'd, it gave occaſion of many Inſurrections in all parts of the Kingdom. For the Earl of *Argyle*, and *James Stuart*, perceiving that their Credit was broken, by the violation of that Truce which they were the Authors of, convened the Neighbour-Nobility at St. *Andrews*, and join'd themſelves to the Reform'd, and wrote to their Confederates of the ſame Sect, that the Regent was at *Falcoland*, with *French* Forces, and that ſhe was intent on the taking of *Cowper* and St. *Andrews*; and, unleſs Help were preſently ſent, all the Churches in *Fife* would be in great Danger. Whereupon a great Multitude came preſently in to them from the neighbouring Parts, mightily enrag'd againſt the Queen and her Forces. They thought themſelves to wage a War with a faithleſs and barbarous People, that had no reſpect to Equity, Right, Faith, Promiſes, or the Religion of an Oath, but eſteem'd ſo lightly of them, that they would ſay and unſay, do and undo, at every waving blaſt of Hope, and uncertain gale of ſmiling Fortune; and therefore, for the future, no Conditions or Articles of Peace were to be hearken'd to, unleſs one Party were extinguiſh'd, or, at leaſt, Strangers were driven out of the Kingdom: So that they prepared themſelves to overcome, or die.

By theſe, and ſuch-like Speeches, the Minds of all preſent were ſo inflam'd, that firſt of all they made an Aſſault on *Carail*, a Town ſcituate in the furtheſt Angle of *Fife*, where they overthrew the Altars, and broke down the Images, and ſpoil'd all the *Apparatus* of the Maſs-Trade: And, that which was almoſt incredible in the Caſe, Anger prevail'd more in the Minds of the Vulgar, than Avarice. From thence they went to St. *Andrews*, where they ſpoil'd the Temples of the other Saints, and levell'd the Monaſteries of the *Franciſcan* and *Dominican* Friars to the Ground. And, though all this was done almoſt under the Noſe of the Arch-biſhop, who had a ſufficient Number of Horſe, which were able, as his Hopes were, to defend the Town; yet, ſeeing the eagerneſs of the People, and ſuch a numerous concourſe of all ſorts of Voluntiers, he withdrew himſelf and his Followers from the Fury of the Multitude, and went to *Falkland* to his Clans and Kindred. The Regent was ſo inrag'd at the hearing of this, that, without any further Deliberation, ſhe commanded a March the next Day, and ſent Quarter-Maſters before, to aſſign Quarters for the *French* at *Cowper*: She alſo ſent abroad her Commands to all Places, that all who were able to bear Arms, ſhould follow her to *Cowper*; beſides, ſhe gave a Watch-word to the preſent Forces of the *French* and the *Hamiltons*, that they ſhould be all ready to be in Arms on ſound of Trumpet. This Deſign of hers was made known to the Reformers, by their Spies and Scouts; whereupon their Friends

Friends and Acquaintants were ſummon'd to repair to thoſe, who were already Aſſembled; and, to prevent the Deſign of the Regent, they march'd preſently towards *Cowper*; and at the ſame Inſtant, the Inhabitants of *Dundee*, and the Nobles of the adjacent Country, to the Number of about 1000 Men, upon the ſame Alarm, join'd themſelves with them. That Night they halted there, but the next Morning early they drew their Forces out of the Town, and ſtood in Array in the adjoining Fields, expecting the Army of the Papiſts, and gathering up their own Forces, as they came gradually and ſtragglingly in. In the Camp of the Regent, there were 2000 *French*, under the Command of *D'Oſel*, and 1000 *Scots*, led by *James Hamilton*, Duke of *Chaſtel herault*, as he was then call'd. Theſe ſent their Canon before them in the ſecond Watch, and marching early in the Morning, came all ſo near, as to ſee the Enemy, and to be ſeen by them. There was a ſmall River between them, where, at convenient Poſts, their great Guns were planted: Five hundred Horſe were ſent before, to make light Skirmiſhes with the Enemy, and alſo to hinder their Paſſage over the River, if they ſhould attempt it. The Alacrity of theſe Men, gave ſome ſtop to the *French*; which was further increas'd by the coming in of *Patrick Lermont*, Mayor of St. *Andrews*, with 500 Citizens in Arms, who, for the Conveniency of their March, being ſtretched out in length, made a ſhow of a far greater Number than they were. This kept them from diſcovering the Number and Order of their Enemies, which they much deſir'd to know; neither could they diſcover that the General Officers were preſent, that ſo they might give Notice to their own People, as they were commanded. And therefore ſome of the *French* went to the top of an high Hill adjoining, to have as full a View of the Enemy as they could, from ſuch a Diſtance. From thence they diſcover'd many Bodies of Horſe and Foot, with ſmall Diſtances betwixt them, and behind them a great number of Men to attend the Baggage and Waggons, which made a long Show at the edge of a certain Valley; ſo that they thought that that whole numerous Party was laid in Ambuſh for them? And this News they carry'd to their Fellows, aggravating all things beyond what they were indeed. Whereupon, the Commanders of the Army, by the Advice of the Council, ſent to the Regent, who ſtaid behind at *Falkland*, to acquaint her how Matters ſtood; That the *Scots* ſeem'd more numerous than they expected, and more ready to fight; and, on the contrary, their own Men murmured; and ſome of them publickly gave out, That they ſcorn'd, for the ſake of a few Strangers, to be led to an Engagement againſt their own Countrymen, Friends and Relations. Whereupon, by the aſſent of the

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Queen, three of the Ambaſſadors of the Nobles, were ſent from *Hamilton*, ſuch as had ſome Friends, or Sons, in the Enemies Army. Theſe Ambaſſadors could not clap up a Peace, becauſe the Reformers, being ſo often deluded by vain Promiſes, gave no Credit to their Conceſſions; and the Regent, at that time, had not any other Voucher to make good her Stipulation; and, if ſhe had, ſhe thought it below her Dignity to produce it. Beſides, there was another Difficulty in the Caſe, which was the expulſion of Foreigners out of the Kingdom, (a thing principally inſiſted upon) and that ſhe could not do, without acquainting the *French* King; ſo that only dilatory Truces were made, not to incline their Minds to Peace, as they had often experienc'd before, but to procure foreign Aid; only this was agreed between them, That the *French* Forces ſhould be tranſported into *Lothian*, and a Truce ſhould be made for eight Days, till the Regent ſent for ſome Pacificators of her own to St. *Andrews*, to propound equal Conditions of Peace to both Parties. But the Reformers, plainly perceiving, that the Regent did but protract Time, till ſhe paſſed her Army over the next *Firth*, becauſe then ſhe could not compoſe things to her own Advantage: The Earl of *Argyle*, and *James Stuart*, deſired her by Letters, that ſhe would draw the Garriſon out of *Perth*, and leave the City to its own Laws, as ſhe promiſed, when ſhe was admitted into it; and, that the Envy of her breach of Covenant was brought upon them, who were the Authors of the Agreement. The Regent, giving no Anſwer to theſe Letters, they turn'd their Enſigns towards *Perth*, from whence miſerable Complaints and Groans for Relief were daily brought them. For the Laird of *Kinfans*, a neighbouring Laird, whom the Regent, at her Departure, had made Governor of the Town, to ſhew his officiouſneſs, mightily oppreſſed the Citizens; for, taking the opportunity of his Command over them, he indulg'd his own private Paſſions, and reveng'd the old Grudges which he had with many of them, even to extremity, baniſhing ſome, and pillaging others. on the account of Religion; and he alſo allow'd the like Liberty to his Soldiers.

THE Forces, which were at *Cowper*, underſtanding of theſe Injuries done to their Friends and Partners in the Reformation, beat up a March thither, very early in the Morning; they beſieg'd the Town, which, after a few Days, was ſurrendered to them: *Kinfans* was outed of his Governorſhip, and *Patrick Ruven*, the old Governor, ſubſtituted in his Place. Afterward they burnt *Schone*, an old and unpeopled Town, becauſe, contrary to their Faith given, they had kill'd one of their Number.

BY their Spies they were inform'd, that the Regent was ſending a Garriſon of *French* to *Sterlin*, ſo that they, who were beyond the *Forth*, might be cut off from the reſt. To prevent this Deſign *Gileſpy Campbel*, and *James Stuart*, late in the Night, with great Silence, remov'd from *Perth*, and enter'd *Sterlin*, where they preſently overthrew the Monaſtery of the Friars. They alſo purg'd the other Churches about the City, from all Monuments of Idolatry: And thus, after three Days, they march'd towards *Edinburgh*, and deſtroy'd the ſuperſtitious Relicks at *Linlithgo*, a Town in the Mid-way; and, though they were but a very few in Number, the Common Soldiers, as if the War had been ended, ſlipped home to their domeſtick Affairs; Yet they cruſhed the Papiſts in ſo many Towns; and ſo great a Terror ſeiz'd on the mercenary *Scots* and *French*, that they fled, with all their Baggage which they could draw after them, to *Dunbar*. The *Scots* Nobles who were the Leaders of the Reformation, ſtaid there ſeveral Days to order Matters; for, beſides cleanſing of the Temples from all popiſh Trinkets, they appointed Preachers to expound the Word of God, purely and ſincerely, to the People.

IN the mean time, word was brought from *France*, that King *Henry* the Second was dead; which News increas'd the Joy, but leſſen'd the Induſtry of the *Scots*; for many now betook themſelves to their private Affairs, as if all the Danger had been over. On the other ſide, the Regent, fearing leſt She, and the *French*, ſhould be expell'd out of *Scotland*, was highly vigilant and intent upon all Occaſions. Firſt, ſhe ſent forth Scouts to *Edinburgh*, to fiſh out the Enemies Deſigns, by whom being inform'd, that the common Soldiers had diſpers'd themſelves, and that the few which remain'd, kept no Military Diſcipline nor Watch. She thought not fit to ſlip ſuch an Opportunity, but march'd with the Forces which ſhe had directly to *Edinburgh*. Duke *James Hamilton*, and *James Douglas*, Earl of *Morton*, very dutifully met her; but they, not being able to compoſe Matters, only got this Point, That the Battle ſhould not begin that Day. At laſt, after many Conditions had been canvaſs'd on both ſides, on the 24th of *July*, in the Year 1559, a Truce was made to laſt till the 10th of *January*. The ſum of the Terms were, 'That no Man ſhould be compell'd in Mat-
'ters of Religion: That no Garriſon ſhould be plac'd in *Edin-*
'*burgh*: That the Prieſts ſhould not be hinder'd from recei-
'ving the Fruits of their Lands, Tithes, Penſions, or other
'Incomes, freely: That none ſhould demoliſh Churches, Mo-
'naſteries, and other Places, made for the uſe of Prieſts, or
'ſhould transfer to other Uſes: and that the Day after, the
'Mint for coining Mony, and the Royal Palace, with all the
Furniture

' Furniture they found there, ſhould be reſtor'd to the Re-
' gent.

SHE was more careful to keep the Articles of this Truce in Appearance, becauſe ſhe had ſhewn ſo much diſtaſteful Levity, in keeping the Pacts made in former times. However, under-hand, by Men of her own Faction, ſhe caus'd the *Scots* to be irritated, who were by Nature inclinable to Paſſion, and ſo gave occaſion of haraſſing the unhappy Commonalty. But, having no Colour for her Project, ſufficient to diſguiſe her Cruelty, under the pretence of Law ſhe caus'd falſe Reports to be ſpread abroad, That Religion was but made a Pretence for Rebellion; but the true Cauſe of riſing in Arms was, that, the lawful Line being extinct, the Kingdom might be transferr'd to *James*, the late King's Baſtard-Son. When ſhe perceiv'd, that the Minds of Men were ſomewhat poſſeſs'd by thoſe, and ſuch other kind of falſe Reports, ſhe ſent ſome Letters to the ſaid *James*, pretending that they came from *Francis* and *Mary*, King and Queen of *France*, wherein he was upbraided with the pretended Favour he had received; and withal, was ſeverely threatened, if he did not lay aſide his Deſign of Revolting, and return to his Duty. *James* anſwer'd, That he was not conſcious to himſelf, either in Word or Deed, of any Offence, either againſt King, Regent, or Laws; but, in regard the Nobility had undertaken the Cauſe of reforming Religion, which was decay'd, or rather had join'd themſelves to thoſe who were firſt therein, he was willing to bear the envy of thoſe Things, if any did ariſe, which were acted in Common by himſelf and others, they aiming at nothing but the Glory of God; neither was it juſt for him to deſert that Cauſe, which had *Chriſt* himſelf for its Head, Favourer, and Defender, whom unleſs they would voluntarily deny, they could not ſurceaſe their Enterprize. Setting that Cauſe aſide, he and others, who were branded with the invidious Name of Rebels, would be moſt obſequious and loyal in all other Things. This Anſwer was given to the Regent, to be ſent into *France*; where 'twas look'd upon as proud and contumacious; whereas ſome eſteem'd it modeſt enough, eſpecially as to the Point of upbraiding him, whereas in Truth he had received none, unleſs ſuch as were common to all Strangers.

WHILE theſe things were tranſacting, a thouſand *French* Mercenaries arriv'd at *Leith*, as alſo the Earl of *Arran*, Son to *James Hamilton*, late Governor, came to the Convention of the Nobility, which was held at *Sterlin*. The Regent thought herſelf very Secure, upon the Arrival of the *French*, and began openly to apply her Mind to ſubdue all *Scotland* by Force. But the Cauſe of the Earl of *Arran's* Return was this, he was more

eager and zealous in the Cauſe of Reformation, than was ſafe for him in thoſe Times, and therefore he was deſign'd to be put to Death by the *Guiſes*, who were the Favourites of *Francis* the Younger, for the Terror of the inferior Orders of Men: Nay, the Cardinal of *Lorrain* was ſo bold in a Speech, which he made in the Parliament of *Paris*, inveighing againſt the Cauſe of Reformation, that he ſaid, *They ſhould ſhortly ſee ſome eminent Man ſuffer upon that Account, who was little inferior to a Prince.* He, being made acquainted therewith, and withal calling to Mind, that he had a little before been free in his Diſcourſe with the Duke of *Guiſe* upon that Head, by the Advice of his Friends provided for his Safety by a ſecret Flight; and, contrary to all Men's Expectation, came home in the midſt of his Country's Tumults, join'd himſelf with the part of the Reformers, procur'd his Father alſo to join with them; and ſo he reconcil'd many to him, who had been his Enemies before, upon old Grudges.

THE Chief of the Party there preſent, being inform'd, that for certain ſome Auxiliaries were arriv'd, and others were levying to be ſpeedily ſent over to *Leith*, which was ſtrongly fortify'd, to be made a Magazine for Proviſions and Ammunition for War; and that the *French* intended to make uſe of that Town, as a place to ſecure their Retreat, if they were diſtreſs'd, and as a Port to receive their Friends, if they proſper'd: Hereupon the *Scots* gather'd their Forces together, and endeavour'd to beſiege *Leith*, but in vain; for the Regent and Governor of *Edinburgh* Caſtle, who had not yet join'd himſelf with the Reformers and Vindicators of publick Freedom, had the Poſſeſſion of almoſt all the Braſs Cannon in *Scotland*; and beſides, the Party had not Strength enough to ſhut up a Town in a formal Siege, which had the Sea on one ſide, and was alſo divided by a River.

IN the mean time the King of *France*, being inform'd how Matters ſtood in *Scotland*, ſent thither *Labros*, a Knight of the Order of St. *Michael*, with 2000 Foot, to aſſiſt the Queen in the Maintenance of the Popiſh Religion. There were alſo ſent with him the Biſhop of *Amiens*, and three Doctors of the *Sorbon*, to diſpute Matters controverted, by Arguments, if need were. The arrival of them did ſo raiſe up the dejected Spirit of the Regent, that ſhe ſolemnly ſwore, ſhe would now be ſpeedily reveng'd of God's Enemies and the King's. There were then twelve of the chief Nobility aſſembled at *Edinburgh*, which gave Anſwer to Mr. *D'Labros* and the Biſhop, who alledged they were ſent over Ambaſſadors, and therefore deſir'd a Day to propound their Demands, *viz.* 'That they did not ſeek 'Peace, as they pretended, but that they threaten'd War; other-

wiſe

'wiſe, if it were only to Diſpute, to what purpoſe was it to 'bring ſo many arm'd Forces? As for themſelves, they were 'not ſo imprudent, as to commit themſelves to a Diſpute, 'where they muſt be forc'd to accept of what Conditions 'their Enemies pleas'd: But, if a Pacification might be accep-'table to them, they alſo would take Care, that they might 'not ſeem to be compell'd by Force, but overcome by Rea-'ſon; and, if they did really aim at what they pretended, they 'ſhould ſend back the foreign Soldiers, and meet unarm'd, as 'they had done before; that ſo the Matter might be determin'd 'by Equity and Right, not by force of Arms.' This they ſaid to the Ambaſſadors. As to the fortifying *Leith*, they wrote back to the Regent to this purpoſe.

That 'they did much admire, that the Regent had, without 'any Provocation, ſo ſoon forgot, and receded from her A-'greements, as, by driving out the ancient Inhabitants of *Leith*, 'and placing a Colony of Strangers there, and ſo erecting a 'Fort over all their Heads, to the Ruin of their Laws and Li-'berties, as ſhe had done; and therefore they earneſtly deſir'd 'her to deſiſt from ſo pernicious a Counſel, which was raſhly 'undertaken by her againſt the Faith of her Promiſes; againſt 'the publick Benefit, Law and Libery; leſt otherwiſe they 'ſhould be compell'd to call for the Aſſiſtance of all the Peo-'ple in this Caſe.

ABOUT a Month after, they ſent an Anſwer from a Convention at *Edinburgh*, to the ſame purpoſe, and withal adding this to their former Requeſts, That ſhe would demoliſh all new Fortifications, and ſend away all Strangers and Mercenaries, that ſo the Town might be free for Traffick and mutual Commerce; which if ſhe refus'd to do, they would look upon it as a ſure Argument, that ſhe was reſolv'd to bring the Kingdom into Slavery, which Miſchief they would do all they could to prevent.

THE Regent, three Days after, ſent *Robert Forman*, principal Herald, (King of Arms, as they call him) giving him theſe Commands, in anſwer to them. *Firſt of all, you ſhall declare to them, that I am mightily ſurpriz'd, and look upon it as an unexpected thing, that any other Man ſhould claim any Power here, beſides my Son-in-law and Daughter, on whom all my Authority depends. The former Conduct of the Nobility, and theſe their preſent Requeſts, or rather Commands, do ſufficiently declare, that they acknowledge no Authority ſuperior to themſelves. That their Petition, or their Threats, tho' gilded over with ſmooth Words were not at all new to her. Next, you ſhall require the Duke of* Caſtle-herault, *to call to Mind, what he promis'd me, by word of Mouth; and to the King by Letters, that ſhe would not*

only be Loyal to the King, but alſo would take effectual Care, that his Son, the Earl of Arran, *ſhould not mix himſelf in theſe Tumults of his Country: and you ſhall ask him, whether his preſent Conduct correſpond with thoſe Promiſes? To their Letters you ſhall Anſwer, That, for the ſake of the publick Tranquillity, I will do; and ſo I promiſe, whatſoever is not contrary to my Duty towards God, or the King. As for the Deſtruction of Law and Liberty, it never entred into my Heart, much leſs to ſubdue the Kingdom by Force. For whom,* ſaid ſhe, *ſhould I conquer it, ſeeing my Daughter doth now, as lawful Heireſs, poſſeſs it? As to the Fortification at* Leith, *you ſhall ask, Whether ever ſhe attempted any thing therein, before they, in many Conventions, and at length, by a mutual Conſpiracy, had openly declar'd, That they rejected the Government ſet over them by Law, and, without her Advice or Notice, tho' ſhe held the Place and Authority of a chief Magiſtrate, had broke the publick Peace at their Pleaſure, and had ſtrengthened their Party by taking of Towns, and had treated with old Enemies for eſtabliſhing a League; and that now many of them kept* Engliſh *in their Houſes; ſo that, to omit other Arguments, What Reaſon have they to judge it lawful for themſelves to keep up an Army at* Edinburgh, *to invade thoſe that are in Poſſeſſion of the Government; and yet it muſt not be lawful for me to have ſome Forces about me at* Leith *for my own Defence? Their Aim is principally this, to compel me, by often ſhifting of Places, to avoid their Fury, as I have hitherto done. Is there any mention in their Letters about Obedience to lawful Magiſtrates? Do they diſcover any way to renew Peace and Concord? By what Indication do they manifeſt, that they are willing, that thoſe Tumults ſhould be appeaſed, and all things reduced to their former State? Let them colour and guild their Pretenſions how they pleaſe, with the ſhew of publick Good, yet 'tis plain, that they mind nothing leſs, for if that one thing were a* Remora *to Concord, I have often ſhewed the Way that leads unto it. They themſelves are not ignorant, that the* French, *at the Command of their own King, had long ſince quitted* Scotland, *if their Conduct had not occaſion'd their longer Stay. And therefore, if now they will offer any honeſt Conditions, which may afford a probable ground of Hope, that the Majeſty of the Government may be preſerved, and that they will, with Modeſty, obey their Superiors; I ſhall refuſe no Way of renewing Peace, nor omit any thing relating to the Publick Good; neither am I only thus affected towards them, but the King of* France *is of the ſame Mind too, who hath ſent over an Illuſtrious Knight of the Order of St.* Michael, *and another prime Eccleſaſtical Perſon, with Letters and Commands to that purpoſe, whom, yet they had ſo ſlighted, as not to vouchſafe them an Anſwer, no nor Audience neither. And therefore you ſhall*

require

require the Duke, the other Nobles, and Country-men of all ſorts, preſently to ſeparate themſelves, otherwiſe they ſhall be proclaimed Traitors.

To this Letter, the Nobles ſent an Anſwer the day after, which was *October* 23, to this purpoſe; 'We plainly 'perceive, by your Letters and Commands, ſent us by your 'Herald, how you perſiſt in your Diſaffection to God's true 'Worſhip, to the publick Good of the whole Country, and 'to the common Liberty of us all; which, that we may pre-'ſerve, according to our Duty, we do, in the Name of our 'King and Queen, ſuſpend and inhibit that publick Admini-'ſtration which you uſurp under their Names, as being fully 'perſuaded, that your Conduct is quite contrary to their Incli-'nations, and againſt the publick Good of the Kingdom: 'And, as you do not eſteem us a Senate and publick Council, 'who are the lawful Inhabitants of this Kingdom and Country; 'ſo we do not acknowledge you as Regent, in ſupreme Autho-'rity over us, eſpecially ſince your Government, (if you have 'any ſuch entruſted to you, by our Princes) is, for weighty 'and juſt Reaſons, abrogated by us, and that in the Name of 'thoſe Kings, to whom we are born Counſellors, eſpecially in 'ſuch Things as concern the Safety of the whole Common-'wealth. And, though we are determined to undergo the ut-'moſt Hazard for the freeing of that Town, wherein you have 'a Garriſon, from foreign Mercenaries, which you have hir'd 'againſt us; yet, for the Reverence and due Reſpect we bear 'you, as the Mother of our Queen, we earneſtly intreat you 'to withdraw your ſelf, e'er Neceſſity compels us to reduce 'that Town by Force, which we have often endeavour'd to 'gain by fair Means. And withal, we deſire, that within the 'ſpace of twenty-four Hours, you would withdraw likewiſe 'thoſe, who challenge the name of Ambaſſadors to themſelves, 'and forbid them, either to decide Controverſies, or to manage 'civil and martial Affairs; and alſo, that all mercenary Sol-'diers in that Town would retire likewiſe; for we would 'willingly ſpare their Lives, and conſult their Safety, both by 'reaſon of that ancient Amity, which hath been kept up be-'tween the Kings of *Scotland* and *France*; and alſo, by rea-'ſon of the Marriage of their King with our Queen, which 'doth equitably engage us, rather to encreaſe our Union, than 'diminiſh it.

THE ſame Day, the Herald alſo related, that, the Day before, in a full Aſſembly of Nobles and Commons, it was voted, That all the Regent's Words, Deeds and Deſigns, tended only to Tyranny; and therefore a Decree was made to abrogate her

Authority; to which all of them ſubſcribed, as moſt juſt: Moreover, they did inhibit the Truſt her Son-inlaw and Daughter had committed to her: They alſo forbad her to execute any Act of publick Government, till a general Convention of the Eſtates, which they determined to ſummon, as ſoon as conveniently they could. The 25th Day, the Nobles ſent an Herald to *Leith*, to warn all the *Scots* to depart out of the Town within the ſpace of 24 Hours, and to ſeparate them from the Deſtroyers of publick Liberty. After theſe Threats, Horſemen made Excurſions on both ſides, and the War began, yet without any conſiderable Slaughter. In the beginning of this Action, there fell ſuch a great and ſudden Terror upon the Cauſe of the Reformed, as did mightily diſturb them for the preſent, and alſo cut off all Hopes of Succeſs for the future. For the Regent, partly by Threats, and partly by Promiſes, had wrought off many, who had given in their Names to the Reformers, from the Faction of the Nobles; and beſides, their Camp was full of Spies, who diſcovered both their Words and Actions, even thoſe which they thought were concern'd to be kept moſt ſecret, to the Regent: And, when *James Balfure*'s Servant was taken carrying Letters to *Leith*, the Suſpicion lighted on a great many, and the Fear diffus'd itſelf over the whole Body; and beſides, the mercenary Soldiers mutinied, becauſe they had not their Pay down upon the Nail; and, if any one endeavoured to appeaſe them, he was ſeverely threatned by them. But People did leſs admire the Sedition of ſuch Men, who had neither Religion nor Honeſty, than they did the Imbecillity and Faint-heartedneſs of the Duke of *Caſtle-herault*, who was ſo amazed at fear of his Neighbours, that his Terror diſcouraged the Minds of many. Thoſe, who were moſt Couragious, endeavoured to apply Remedies; and their firſt Conſultation was, to appeaſe the Mercenaries: And, ſeeing the Nobles which remained could not make up a Sum ſufficient to quiet and pay them, ſome declining through Covetouſneſs, others pleading Inability; at laſt they agreed to melt down all the Silver Plate; and, when the *Say-Maſters* were ready to aſſiſt therein, the Mints or Stamps, I know not by whoſe Fraud, were taken away.

THE only ground of Hope was from *England*, which was adjudg'd too ſlow. At laſt they reſolved to try the Fidelity of their private Friends; and thereupon they ſent *John Cockburn* of *Ormiſton*, to Sir *Ralph Sadler*, and Sir *James Croft*, two Knights of known Valour, (who, at that time, were Officers at *Berwick*) to obtain of them a ſmall ſum of Mony, to ſerve their preſent Occaſion. This their Deſign, tho' they kept it as private as they could, was yet diſcovered to the Regent, who commanded

manded the Earl of *Bothwel* to way-lay him in his Return. He, though in a few Days before he had taken a ſolemn Oath, that he would not prejudice the Cauſe of the Nobles in the leaſt; nay, tho' he had given them Hopes, that he would join himſelf to their Party, yet nevertheleſs lay in Ambuſh for *Ormiſton*, Aſſaulted him unawares, wounded and took him Priſoner, and ſo became Maſter of all the Mony that he brought: When the Noiſe of this Exploit was brought to *Edinburgh*, it alarm'd the Earl of *Arran*, and *James Stuart*, and almoſt all the Horſe to draw out, not ſo much for deſire of Revenge, as to free *Ormiſton*, (if he were alive) or, at leaſt, to put a ſtop to their March, that he might not be convey'd to the Regent. But *Bothwel*, having Notice of this by a Spy, prevented their coming by his Flight.

THE ſame Day, the Governor of *Dundee*, with the Townſmen, and a few Voluntiers, marched towards *Leith*, and placed their Ordnance on an adjoining Hill. The *French*, who were informed by their Scouts, that almoſt all the Enemies Horſe were abſent, drew forth ſome Troops, to cut off thoſe few Foot, whoſe ſmall Numbers they ſaw. The *Dundeans* ſtood a while in hope of Relief; but, in regard thoſe few Mercenaries which followed them turned their Backs almoſt at the firſt Charge, they alſo retired, leaving their Guns behind them; at laſt a Noiſe was raiſed in the Rear, that the *French* were gone another way, towards the Gates of the City to ſeize them, and ſo to keep them out. Upon this, there was ſuch an univerſal Conſternation, that every one ſhifted for himſelf the beſt he could; and, while each Man endeavour'd to ſave one, the Weak were trodden under Foot by the Strong; ſo every Body look'd to his own Particular; and there was no Proviſion made in common for them all. The Papiſts, on the contrary, crept out of their luking-Holes, and openly reproached them: Inſomuch, that they, who ever pretended great Zeal for the Reformation, began partly to withdraw themſelves ſecretly; and partly they conſulted how to deſert the whole Buſineſs.

ON the 5th Day of *November*, when News was brought, that the *French* were march'd out to intercept ſome Proviſions coming towards *Edinburgh*; beſides the Diſagreement of the Reformed among themſelves, the Mercenaries could ſcarce be got out of the Town, to oppoſe them. The Earl of *Arran*, and *James Stuart*, and their Friends, went firſt out againſt them, with whom there joined many worthy and valiant Perſons. They charged the *French* more fiercely than prudently, ſo that they were near upon the Point to have been ſhut out from *Edinburgh*, and ſo to have paid for their Raſhneſs. For the Marſhes on the one ſide, and the adjacent Wall of an Orchard, left them but a narrow ſpace for their March, and that alſo open to

the *French* Muſqueteers; ſo that they were troden under Foot, partly by their own Men, and partly by the Enemy's Horſe. In this Hurry, they had been all certainly cut off, unleſs the Commanders, leaping from their Horſes, had put themſelves into equal Danger with the reſt. Some of the Common Soldiers ſeeing this, ſtopp'd for Shame, amongſt whom was *Alexander Haliburton*, a Captain, a ſtout Young Man, and very forward in the Cauſe of Religion; he was grievouſly wounded, taken Priſoner, and ſoon after died of his Wounds.

AFTER this Engagement, in which about twenty-five were kill'd, many withdrew themſelves, and others were grown almoſt deſperate; but the Earl of *Arran*, and *James Stuart*, promiſed to continue their Endeavours, if only a ſmall Company of them would keep together. When all, in a manner, refuſed ſo to do; the next Conſultation was, to leave the City, and, as the Nobles had determined, in the ſecond Watch they begun their March, and the Day after came to *Sterlin*. There *John Knox* made an excellent Sermon to them, wherein he raiſed the Minds of many into an aſſured Hope of a ſpeedy Deliverance out of theſe Diſtreſſes. Here it was agreed upon, in a Convention, that, becauſe the *French* were continually ſtrengthen'd and increas'd with new Supplies, they alſo would ſtrengthen their Party by foreign Aid. And, in order thereto, *William Maitland* was ſent into *England*, a young Man of great Prudence and Learning: He was to inform the Queen, what eminent Danger would accrue to *England*, if the *French* were ſuffer'd to fortify Places, and plant Garriſons in *Scotland*, in regard they ſought the Deſtruction, not of Religion only, but of Laws and Liberties too; and, if the *Scots* were overcome by Force or Fraud, nay, if they were reduced to Servitude by unjuſt Conditions, they would have an eaſier Step to infringe the Power of the *Engliſh*.

THE *Engliſh*, after a long Debate of the Matter, at length gave ſome Hopes of Aſſiſtance: Whereupon, the Noble-men, who were the Aſſerters of Liberty, divided themſelves into two Parties; ſome ſtaid at *Glaſgow*, that they might command the Neighbouring Provinces, and defend their Partners in the Reformation from Wrong: Others were ſent into *Fife*. The *French* did what Miſchief they could to their Enemies; but, being troubled to hear of the *Engliſh* Supplies, they endeavoured to ſubdue the remainder of the contrary Faction, before their coming; and firſt, they marched againſt that Party which was in *Fife*: Firſt, In their March they plundered *Linlithgo*, and the Eſtates of the *Hamiltons*; from thence they marched to *Sterlin*, where they ſtaid no longer, but till they could pillage the Townſmen, and then paſs'd over the Bridge, and led their Army along the

Shore

Shore of the River, which was full of Towns and Villages well inhabited. They ranſack'd all they met with, and at laſt came to *Kinghorn*. The *Scots*, to ſtop their Career, put a ſmall Garriſon into a Town call'd *Dyſert*: Here the *French* made light Skirmiſhes for twenty Days together; and, becauſe they could not wreak their Fury upon the Maſters, they did it upon the bare Walls of their Houſes, and raz'd a Village call'd *Grange*, belonging to *William Kircaldy*, from the very Foundation. He, knowing that the *French* were wont to make often Excurſions from thence to plunder the Country People, a little before Day, plac'd himſelf in Ambuſh, and obſerving Captain *l'Abaſt*, a *Savoyard*, to march out with his Company, he kept himſelf cloſe ſo long, 'till the *French* were above a Mile from their Garriſon, and then his Horſe ſtarted up, and intercepted them from their Fellows. The *French* had but one way for it, in thoſe Circumſtances, and that was to enter a Country Village near at hand, and ſo to endeavour to defend themſelves behind Walls and Hedges. The *Scots*, being provok'd by the former Cruelty of the *French*, were utterly unmindful of their own Safety, while they were intent to attend their Enemies, (tho' they had no Arms, but Horſemens Lances) yet broke down all that was in their Way, and ruſh'd in upon them: The Captain, who refus'd to take Quarter, and fifty of his Men, were ſlain; the reſt they ſent Priſoners to *Dundee*.

THEY who were at *Dyſert*, as in a ſetled Poſt, met at *Cowper*; out of them and others, that were at *Glaſgow*, there were ſome Perſons choſen to be ſent to *Berwick*, to agree the Terms of the League with the *Engliſh*. The chief Articles were theſe, *That, if any Strangers ſhould enter* Britain *in a warlike Manner, each of them ſhould aid and aſſiſt one another: That the Queen of* England *ſhould pay the* Scots *in* England, *and alſo the* Engliſh *Auxiliaries in* Scotland: *That the Plunder taken from the Enemy ſhould belong to the* Engliſh, *but the Towns and Caſtles ſhould preſently be reſtor'd to the right Owners: That the* Scots *ſhould give Hoſtages, which were to remain in* England, *during the Marriage of the* French *King with the Queen of* Scots; *and, if that Marriage were diſanull'd, one Year after.*

THESE Tranſactions paſt at *Berwick*, *February* 27, 1560. One thing the *Engliſh* gave ſtrict Warning of to the *Scots*, which was, that they ſhould not join in a ſet Battel, and ſo hazard all, before the Aids of their Friends came; for the *Engliſh* Lords were much afraid, that the over-eager Spirits of the *Scots* would precipitate the whole Matter into an irrecoverable Miſtake.

IN the mean time, the *French*, having plunder'd *Dyſert* and *Weemes*, had a Debate among themſelves, Whether they ſhould march directly towards the Enemy, or elſe go along the Shore

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to S. *Andrews*, and ſo to *Cowper*. The latter Opinion prevail'd, becauſe, by reaſon of the great Snow which had fallen, all the Highways were ſo clogged, that the Horſe, without great Inconvenience, could not march thro' the Midland Countries; wherefore, paſſing along a little by the Sea, when they came to the Promontory call'd *Kincraige*, (*i. e.* the Head or End of a Rock) ſome of them got thereupon, where there was a large Proſpect into the Sea, and they came down in great Joy, and told their Fellows, *That they diſcover'd eight great Ships, of the firſt Rate, at Sea*: Whereupon the *French* certainly concluded, that thoſe Veſſels had brought them over the Succours which they had long before expected; and therefore they ſaluted them, as the Cuſtom is, with the Diſcharge of their great Guns, and congratulated one another, invited them on Shore, reſolving to paſs that Day in a great deal of Mirth and Jollity. Not long after, one or two Boats landed from the contrary Shore of *Lothian*, they (having in their Paſſage had ſome Diſcourſe with the Paſſengers in thoſe foreign Ships) made a Diſcovery, that it was a Fleet of *Engliſh*; and withal, that the Report was, That the Land Forces of the *Engliſh* were not far from the Borders of *Scotland*. Hereupon there was a ſudden Change of Spirit among them, and their unſeaſonable Laughter was turn'd into Fear and Trembling; ſo that preſently they catch'd up their Colours, and retreated, part of them to *Kinghorn*, others to *Dumfermlin*, many of them leaving their Dinners behind them for very haſte; for they were afraid, leſt the Garriſon, which they had left at *Leith*, might be cut off, and they themſelves expos'd to the Fury of the Enemy, who lay about them in all Quarters, before they could gather all their Strength into a Body.

DURING this whole March, they plunder'd more of the Papiſts, who came in thick to them, than of their Enemies. For of them, the richer Sort had withdrawn a great Part of their Eſtates into remote Places of Safeguard; as for thoſe who had not thus ſecur'd their Eſtates, the *French* Commanders being elevated with their preſent Succeſs, and alſo with the Hopes of Aid from *France*, which was every Day expected, in Confidence whereof they hop'd to be perpetual Lords of thoſe Countries; hereupon they reſerv'd the richeſt Farms and Villages, which moſt abounded with all kind of Proviſions, unplunder'd, as a peculiar Prey for themſelves. But the Papiſts were either exhauſted by the frequent Invitations of the principal Commanders, to feaſt at their Houſes, under a Pretence of Friendſhip; or elſe, were privately pillag'd by the common Soldiers; or, at leaſt, in their Retreat, were openly ranſack'd by the *French*, who were in great want of Proviſions, and that not without bitter Reproaches of their Cowardice, and their Avarice, in not relieving their Friends:

Friends: Which Things (ſaid they) we leave to you to judge, how near a-kin they are to plain Perfidiouſneſs. This contumelious Pride, joyn'd with the Rapacity of the *French* Faction, quite turn'd the Hearts of many from them; and, not long after, the *Fife* Men, being compell'd, partly by Fear of their Enemies, and partly by the Wrongs receiv'd by their own Partizans, joyn'd themſelves to the Reformers; and at laſt, the remote Countries univerſally revolted from the Outlandiſh, and ſhew'd themſelves as eager in repreſſing the Tyranny of the *French*, as the other *Scots* did in aſſerting their Religion.

THE Spring was now at hand, and both Parties haſten'd to draw their Forces together into one Place. The Earl of *Martigues*, a Youth of undaunted Courage, landed from *France* with two Ships, bringing with him about One thouſand Foot, and a few Horſe; he and his Soldiers preſently went on Shore; but the Ships were taken in the Night by the *Scots*. About the ſame time the Marquis of *Elbeuff*, Brother to the Regent, who was bringing Aid of Men and Money in eight Ships, return'd back into the Haven, whence he ſet ſail, partly for Fear, becauſe the Sea was full of *Engliſh* Ships, and partly excuſing himſelf for the Badneſs of the Weather: Beſides, a new Fleet of *Engliſh* was ſent in to ſecond the former, who flew up and down the whole Chanel, and held *Keith* Iſland beſieg'd, ſtopping all manner of Proviſion from paſſing by Sea into *Leith*.

IN the mean time, the chief of the Aſſertors of Liberty, who commanded in *Fife*, went to *Perth*, and after three Days Conference there with *Huntly*, they won over all that Northern Part of *Scotland* to their Party; and Order was ſoon after given, that they ſhould all aſſemble and rendezvous at the End of *March*. About the ſame time all the chief Reformers had a Meeting at *Linlithgo*; from thence they went to *Hadington*; and, on the Firſt of *April*, they joyn'd the *Engliſh*. There were in the *Engliſh* Army above Six thouſand Foot, and Two thouſand Horſe. The next Night they pitch'd their Tents at *Preſton*. The ſame Day the Regent, to withdraw herſelf from the Danger now nearly approaching, and to avoid the uncertain Hazard of War, retir'd, with ſome few of her Domeſticks, into the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, of which *John Erskin* was Governour, a Man of approv'd Loyalty and Carefulneſs; he had receiv'd the Command of it by a Decree of the publick Council, as hath been before related, but upon this Condition, That he ſhould render it up to none, unleſs by the Command of the ſame Council. The *French* ſaw, that the Poſſeſſion of this Caſtle was of great Advantage to their Affairs, and therefore they us'd great Endeavours to obtain it by Treachery. The Governour, tho' he was not ignorant of their Intentions towards him, and had ſo fortified

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the Caſtle, and made ſuch other diligent Proviſion, that 'twas ſecure, either from Force or Fraud, yet was not willing to exclude the Regent at ſuch a Time; but, in receiving her into the Caſtle, he took great Care, that both She and the Caſtle might be ſtill under his Command. The Nobles, who were the Aſſertors of publick Liberty, tho' before they had often found, that her Mind was obſtinately averſe againſt the Cauſe, which they had undertaken, yet thought it adviſable not to pretermit the preſent Occaſion, as hoping, that the Fear of the War, approaching nearer to her, and the Uncertainty of Aid from a remote Country, might incline her Mind to peaceable Counſels. Whereupon the chief of the Party had a Meeting at *Dalkeith*, from whence they wrote to her to this purpoſe:

WE have oftentimes heretofore earneſtly intreated you, both by Letters and Meſſengers, to ſend away the French *Soldiers, who do yet another Year grievouſly oppreſs the poor Country People; nay, they excite a juſt Fear into the Commonalty, that they ſhall be reduced into a miſerable Servitude; from which Fear, we have many times intreated you to deliver us; but, when our juſt Intreaties prevail'd nothing with you, we were inforc'd to repreſent our deplorable Eſtate to the Queen of* England, *as the neareſt Princeſs to us, and to deſire Aid of her, to drive Foreigners, who threatened to make us Slaves, out of our Kingdom, and that by Force of Arms, if it could not otherwiſe be done: And tho' ſhe, out of a Senſe of our Calamities, hath undertaken our Cauſe; yet, that we might perform our Duty towards the Mother of our Queen, and might prevent the Effuſion of Chriſtian Blood, as much as is poſſible, and might thou have recourſe to Force of Arms, when we have tried all other Ways to obtain Right without Succeſs, do as yet eſteem it a Part of our Moderation, again to pray you, to command the* French *Soldiers, with their Commanders and Officers, to depart immediately out of the Land. In order to the Accompliſhment whereof, the Queen of* England *will not only afford them a ſafe Paſſage thro' her Kingdom, but will alſo aſſiſt with her Fleet to tranſport them. If this Condition be rejected, we call God and Man to witneſs, that we take up Arms, not out of Hatred, or any wicked Intent, but inforc'd thereto by mere Neceſſity, that ſo we may try the Extremities of Remedies, that the Commonwealth, Ourſelves, our Eſtates, and Poſterities, might not be precipitated into utter Ruin. And yet notwithſtanding, tho' we at preſent ſuffer very heavy Preſſures, and more heavy ones are near approaching, no Danger whatſoever ſhall ever inforce us to depart from our Duty towards our Queen, or from the King her Husband, in the leaſt Tittle, wherein the Deſtruction of our antient Liberty, and the Ruin of ourſelves, and our Poſterity, is not concern'd. As for you, moſt Excellent Princeſs, we beſeech you again, that, weighing the Equity of our Demands, the*

the Inconveniencies attending War, and how neceſſary Peace is to this your Daughter's Kingdom, ſo miſerably harraſs'd, you would afford a favourable Ear to our juſt Requeſts: Which if you ſhall do, you will leave a graceful and pleaſing Remembrance of your Moderation amongſt all Nations, and will alſo provide for the Security of the greateſt Part of Chriſtendom. Dated at *Dalkeith*, the 4th of *April*, in the Year 1560.

THE 6th Day of *April*, when the *Engliſh* drew near by the Seaſide, about Thirteen thouſand *French* march'd out of *Leith*, and poſſeſs'd a little riſing Hill at the End of the Plain, becauſe they thought that the *Engliſh* would pitch their Tents there. There was a ſharp Fight for above five Hours, for the recovering and keeping the Place, with no ſmall Loſs on both Sides; at laſt, the *Scotch* Horſe, with great Violence, ruſh'd in amongſt the thickeſt of the *French*, and drove them back in great Aſtoniſhment into the Town; and, if the *Engliſh* Horſe had come in ſooner than they did, as 'twas agreed, they had been all ſeparated from the others, and ſo cut off.

AFTER this, there were Conferences manag'd between the Parties, but in vain; for the *Engliſh* deſpis'd all Truce, and now and then made ſome light Excurſions, yet not without Bloodſhed; 'tis not neceſſary to recount them. On the 22d of *April*, *John Monluck*, Biſhop of *Vallence* in *Savoy*, was firſt carried into the *Engliſh* Camp, then into the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, to the Regent, where he had a Conference with her three Days, and then return'd to the *Scotiſh* Nobles; the Terms of Accommodation could not then neither be agreed on, becauſe the *Scots* perſiſted peremptorily in their Demand, that the foreign Soldiers ſhould return home. Hereupon the *Engliſh*, becauſe the Diſtance between their Camp and the Town was too great for their Ordnance to do any Execution, ſo that their Batteries ſignify'd little or nothing, remov'd their Camp on the other ſide *Leith*-River, near the Town, where they might more certainly annoy the Enemy, and alſo have frequent Skirmiſhes. On the laſt Day of *April*, about two Hours before Sun-ſet, a caſual Fire ſeiz'd upon part of the Town, which, being aſſiſted by the Violence of the Winds, burnt fiercely 'till the next Morning, deſtroying many Houſes, and making a great Deſolation, and even took hold of part of the publick Granary, and conſum'd a great deal of Proviſions. In this Hurly-burly, the *Engliſh* were not wanting in their Duty, for they turn'd their great Guns upon that part, and plaid ſo hot upon the People, that they durſt not come to quench the Fire; nay, they enter'd the Trenches, and in ſome places meaſur'd the Height of the Wall; ſo that, if the *French*, at the beginning of the Combuſtion fearing ſome Treachery, had not run in great Numbers to the Walls, and thereby pre-

prevented their Ruin in ſuch a general Conſternation, that very Day had put an End to the War.

ON the 4th of *May*, the *Engliſh* ſet fire to the Water-Mills, which were near the Town; one of them they burnt down before Day, the other the next Day after; the *French* in vain endeavouring to quench the Flames. On the 7th of *May*, the Beſiegers ſet Ladders to the Walls to make an Aſſault, but the Ladders were too ſhort, ſo that they were beaten off, many wounded, and 160 ſlain. The three following Days, the *French* were employ'd, with great Labour and Hazard, in repairing the Walls, the *Engliſh* continually playing upon them, where they ſaw the greateſt Numbers. The Papiſts were extreamly puft up with this Succeſs, ſo that now they promis'd to themſelves, that the *Engliſh* would depart, the Siege would be rais'd, and the War be finiſh'd. But the *Engliſh* and *Scots* were nothing diſcourag'd by this Blow, but exhorted one another to Conſtancy, and the *Engliſh* promis'd to ſtay till they heard their Queen's Pleaſure from her Court. In the mean time Letters came from the Duke of *Norfolk*, which did mightily encourage all their Spirits: For he wrote to *Grey*, the chief Commander, wiſhing him to continue the Siege, and that he ſhould not want Soldiers, as long as there was a Man able to bear Arms in his Province, (which was very large, reaching from *Trent* to *Tweed*) and, if need were, he himſelf would come in Perſon into the Camp; and, to convince him of his Sincerity, he caus'd his own Tent to be erected in the Camp; and, in a few Days, ſent in 2000 Auxiliaries; ſo that the Memory of the former Loſs was quite worn out, and with great Chearfulneſs they renew'd the War: And from that Day forward, tho' the *French* made frequent Sallies, yet hardly one of them was ſucceſsful to their Party.

IN the mean time the Queen of *England* ſent *William Cecil*, a learned and prudent Perſon, who was then the chief Miniſter of State in *England*, and *Nicholas Wotton*, Dean of *York*, into *Scotland*, to treat about a Peace: They were commanded to confer Counſels with *Randan* and *Monluck* of the *French* Party, concerning Conditions of Peace: For the Kings of *France* thought it a thing below their Dignity, to enter into an equal Diſpute with their own Subjects. The Fame of this Conference was the Cauſe, that, as if all Controverſies had been already decided, a Convention was indicted to be held in *July*. In the mean time the Queen Dowager died in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, *July* 11, worn out with Sickneſs, and with Grief. Her Death variouſly affected the Minds of Men; for ſome of them who fought againſt her, did yet bewail her Death, for ſhe was endow'd with a ſingular Wit, and had alſo a Mind very propenſe to Equity; ſhe had quieted the fierceſt Highlanders, and the fur-

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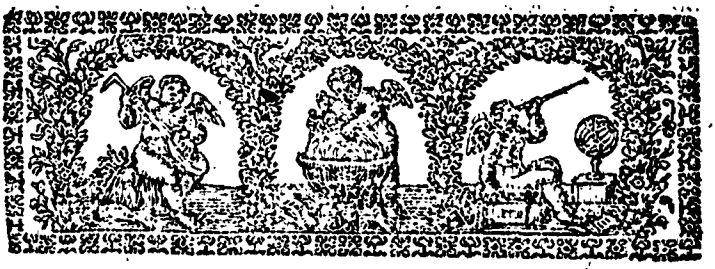
theſt Inhabitants of the Iſles, by her Wiſdom and Valour; ſome believ'd, that ſhe would never have had any War with the *Scots*, if ſhe had been left free to her own Diſpoſition; for ſhe ſo accommodated herſelf to their Manners, that ſhe ſeem'd able to accompliſh all Things without Force: But the Miſery was, tho' the Name of Governeſs reſided in her, neither did ſhe want Virtues worthy of ſo great a Dignity, yet ſhe did, as it were, rule precariouſly, becauſe, in all Matters of Moment, ſhe was to receive Anſwers, like ſo many Oracles, from *France*. For the *Guiſes*, who were then the powerfulleſt in the *French* Court, had deſign'd the Kingdom of *Scotland*, as a Peculiar to their Family; and accordingly, they adviſ'd their Siſter to be more ſevere in aſſerting the papal Religion, than either her own Diſpoſition, or thoſe Times, could well bear. This ſhe gave ſome evident Hints of; for ſhe hath been heard to ſay, that, if Matters were left to her own Arbitrement, ſhe did not deſpair, but to compoſe them upon equal Conditions. Some others were of Opinion, that ſhe alledg'd thoſe Things rather popularly, than really as her Mind was, and that not only with an Intent to avert the Fault or Envy of Male-adminiſtration from herſelf; but alſo, that, under a Pretext of asking Advice, ſhe might ſpin out the Time in Delay, whilſt ſhe ſent for foreign Aid; and ſo, by yielding, ſhe might take off the Violence of the *Scots*; and, in time, ſuffer their angry Mood to abate, being of Opinion, that the *Scots* Troops, who were Volunteers, after one or two Disbandings, could not again be eaſily got together, becauſe they were made up of Men, who were not under Pay, nor under any certain Command. And the Inconſtancy of the Queen, in keeping her Promiſes, was no obſcure Evidence of this her Diſſimulation, for ſhe did not expect the End of a Truce, which, by Conditions, ſhe was oblig'd to do, in renewing a War; but, if any ſpecious Advantage were offer'd, ſhe would adventure to do it, arbitrarily, of her own Head. Others there were, who caſt the Blame of all Things, which were avariciouſly or cruelly acted, or which were attempted by Fraud or Calumny, upon thoſe who were her Counſellors: For, when ſhe undertook the Regency, at the very firſt, ſome *French* Counſellors were joyn'd to her Aſſiſtance, as *Oſel*, Embaſſador of the King of *France*, a Man haſty and paſſionate, otherwiſe a good Man, and well-skill'd in the Arts, both of Peace and War; he was one that directed his Counſel rather by the Rule of Equity, than the Will and Pleaſure of the *Guiſes*. One Monſieur *de Ruby* was joyn'd to him, as his Companion, a Lawyer of *Paris*, who was to diſpute Matters of Law, if any ſuch ſhould occur: He, in his publick Adminiſtration, conform'd all Things, as much as he could, to the Manners and Laws of *France*, (as if *that* alone were the right Way to govern a Commonwealth) by which Means

Means he rais'd a Suſpicion of Innovation, and tho' others might ſhare the Guilt of the ſame Crime with him, yet he alone, in a manner, bore the Blame and Envy of it. But theſe *two* committed no Offence, which was remedileſs and incurable.

TOWARDS the End of the War, there were three *French* Generals, having diſtinct Bounds allotted them, who manag'd military Affairs in *Scotland*, *viz.* the Count *Martigues*, of the Houſe of *Luxemburg*, who was afterwards made Duke of *D'Eſtampes*; *L'Abros*, of a noble Family, well experienc'd in Arms; and a third was the Biſhop of *Amiens*, accompanied with ſome Doctors of the *Sorbon*, as if the Matter were to be determin'd by the Pen, not the Sword. All the Counſels of theſe three tended to open Tyranny. *Martigues* gave Advice to deſtroy all the Country near *Leith*, by Fire and Sword, that ſo the Deſolation of the Country near, and the Want of Neceſſaries, might compel the *Scots* to raiſe the Siege. But, if that Counſel had taken effect, many peaceable Perſons, poor beſides, and, for the moſt part, Papiſts too, would have been deſtroy'd, and the Beſieg'd would have had no Benefit neither; for, the Sea being open, Proviſions might eaſily have been brought by Ships, from all the maritime Places of *Scotland* and *England*, into the Leaguer of the Beſiegers; and the Devaſtation of the Land and Soil would have redounded as much on the Papiſts, as on the Embracers of the Reform'd Religion.

L'ABROS was of Opinion, That all the Nobility of *Scotland* were to be cut off, without Diſtinction; and that a Thouſand *French* Curiaſſiers were to be garriſon'd on their Lands, who were to keep under the common Sort, as Vaſſals: This his Deſign was diſcover'd by ſome Letters of his, intercepted, as they were going for *France*; and 'tis ſcarce credible, how the Hatred againſt the *French*, begun upon other Cauſes, was hereby encreas'd.

As for the Biſhop of *Amiens*, he would have had all *thoſe* to be ſeiz'd on, and put to Death, without pleading in their own Defence, whom he thought not ſo favourable to the Pope's Cauſe, as he would have them; nay, and all *thoſe* too, who were not ſo forward to aſſiſt the *French* Party, as he expected; and he mightily blam'd the *French* Soldiers, for ſuffering thoſe, who were diſaffected to their King, to walk openly up and down with Impunity; one he particularly aim'd at, *viz.* Mr. *William Maitland*, a noble and learned Man, whom, becauſe the *Sorboniſts* could not refute by their Reaſons, the Biſhop deſign'd to take off by the Sword, and even upbraided the *French* Soldiers for permitting him to live, and adviſ'd them to kill him; which he having Notice of, took his Opportunity to withdraw himſelf from the *French*, and ſo eſcap'd into the *Scots* Camp.



THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

BOOK XVII.

A FEW Days after the Death of the Regent, a Truce was made for a ſhort Time, to give an Audience to the Embaſſadors, who were come to treat of Peace out of both Nations, *France* and *England*. Upon that the Nobles aſſembled: Theſe could not effect any thing; the greateſt Obſtacle to an Agreement, was, That the *French*, who, the Winter before, had obtain'd great Booties out of the neighbouring Parts, refuſ'd to depart, unleſs they carry'd their Baggage and Plunder along with them. This was deny'd them: Whereupon Irruptions were made more fierce than ever, tho' not ſo proſperous to the *French*. At length, when both Sides were weary of the War, and the Inclinations for Peace, could no longer be diſſembled, the Embaſſadors, on

both Sides, met again in a Conference. The things, which moſt inclin'd all to Peace, were theſe; The *French* had no Hopes of any Relief, and their Proviſions grew daily more and more ſcarce, and were not likely to hold out long, ſo that their Condition was almoſt deſperate. And for the *Engliſh*, they were weary'd out with the long Siege, and wanted Neceſſaries as well as the *French*, ſo that they were as deſirous to put an End to the War. And the *Scots* too, receiving no Pay, could hardly be kept from running away: Hence they eaſily hearkned to a Capitulation; and at length, by the joint Conſent of all Parties, on the 8th Day of *July*, in the Year of our Lord 1559, Peace was proclaim'd on theſe Conditions, That the *French* ſhould ſail away in 20 Days, with their Bag and Baggage; and, ſeeing they had not Ships enough to tranſport them all over for the preſent, they were to hire ſome from the *Engliſh*, leaving Hoſtages, 'till they were ſafely return'd: That *Leith* ſhould be render'd up to the *Scots*, and the Walls of it demoliſh'd: That the Fortifications lately made by the *French* at *Dunbar* ſhould be raz'd; That, theſe Articles being perform'd, the *Engliſh* ſhould immediately reduce their Forces: That *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, by the Conſent of her Husband *Francis*, ſhould grant an Oblivion of all that the *Scotiſh* Nobility had done or attempted, from the 10th Day of *March*, 1559, 'till the 1ſt of *Auguſt*, 1560. And that a Law ſhould be made to that purpoſe, to be confirm'd in the next Parliament there, which was appointed to be in *Auguſt*; and *Francis* and *Mary* were to give their Conſent to the holding of that Aſſembly: That 60 of the *French* ſhould keep the Iſland of *Keith*, and the Caſtle of *Dunbar*; that ſo the Queen might not ſeem to be thrown out of the Poſſeſſion of the whole Kingdom at once. After this Departure of the foreign Soldiers, there was a great Tranquillity, and Ceſſation from Arms, 'till the Queen's Return. The Aſſembly of the Eſtates was kept at *Edinburgh*, where the greateſt Debate was about promoting the Reform'd Religion. The Statutes made were ſent into *France*, for the Queen to give her Conſent to, and ſubſcribe. This was done, rather to ſound her Mind, than out of Hopes to obtain any thing from her. Embaſſadors were likewiſe diſpatch'd for *England*, to give them Thanks for their Aſſiſtance ſo ſeaſonably afforded.

NOT long after, *James Sandeland*, Knight of *Rhodes*, went to the *French* Court, a Man as yet free from the Diſcords of the Faction: His Buſineſs was to excuſe Things paſt, and to pacify the Grudges remaining ſince the former Wars, and ſo to try all Ways and Means of eſtabliſhing Peace and Concord. But his Arrival happen'd to be in very troubleſome Times; for the whole Conduct of the *French* Affairs was then in the Hands of the *Guiſes*; who, when they perceiv'd that neither Threats nor Flat-

teries

teries would prevail, endeavour'd to oppreſs the contrary Faction by Force of Arms; and, when they could lay no other plauſible Crime againſt their Opponents, they accus'd them of High-Treaſon, for betraying the Kingdom. Upon that the King of *Navarre* was condemn'd to perpetual Impriſonment; and his Brother, the Prince of *Condè*, ſentenc'd to Death; *Amas*, Duke of *Montmorancy*, and the two Sons of his Siſter, *Jaſper* and *Francis Coligues*, and their Relation the * *Vidam* of *Charters*, were deſtin'd to the Slaughter; and, beſides thoſe, above 7000 more were put into the black Liſt of Criminals. Moreover, all Means were us'd to terrify the People. The City of *Orleans* was full of Foot-Soldiers, Guards of Horſe were poſted all up and down the Country; all the Highways were beſet by them; Sentence was paſs'd, by a few Men in the Court, concerning the Lives, Fortunes and good Names of the moſt honeſt Men; all the Steeples of Churches and Towers round about the Walls had their Windows ſhut up, and their Gates and Doors fortify'd, being deſign'd for Priſons; Criminal Judges were call'd together out of the whole Kingdom. The Manner of Puniſhment was thus deſign'd, That, as ſoon as the Froſt broke, and the River *Loir* was navigable, the King ſhould go to *Chinon* in *Poictou*, at the Mouth of the River *Vien*; and then the *Guiſes*, with a few of their Partizans, at the Command of the Court-Cabal, (of which *they* were the chief) ſhould perform the Execution. Mean while *Sandeland* came to Court, not ſo much humbly to deſire Pardon for what was paſt, as to excuſe his Countrymen, laying all the Blame of the Tumults upon the *French*. The *Guiſes* receiv'd him in a very uncourdly Manner, blaming him, that he, being a Man dedicated to the Holy War, had undertaken to manage the Commands of the Rebels, upon the Account of that execrable Hereſy, which the Conſent of all Nations had highly condemn'd, in the Council of *Trent*; nay, many of them admir'd, not ſo much at the Folly, as the Madneſs, of the *Scots*, that they, being but a few, and diſagreeing amongſt themſelves; and beſides, deſtitute of Money, and other warlike Preparations, ſhould dare to provoke ſo potent a King, who was now at quiet, and free from any foreign Enemy. Between theſe fretful Indignations and Threats, the King fell ſuddenly ſick. The Embaſſador was diſmiſs'd without any Anſwer; but the Meſſage of the King's Death reach'd him at *Paris*, on the 5th of *December*, whence he made haſte home, hoping for better Things to enſue.

THE News of the King's Death, being divulg'd, did not ſo much erect the Minds of the *Scots*, being in great Suſpence, by reaſon of their imminent Dangers, as it fill'd all *France* with

* A *Vidam*, in *France*, is a Baron holding of a Biſhop.

Faction, and the Poiſon of domeſtick Diſcords. *James*, the Queen's Brother, *Scotland* being now freed from the Domination of the *French*, by the Death of *Francis*, made what haſte he could to the Queen; who, when her Husband was dead, went to *Lorrain* to her Uncle, either as a Receſs to her Grief, or elſe out of a female Pride and Emulation, that ſhe might not be near her Mother-in-Law; who, by reaſon of the Slothfulneſs of *Anthony Bourbon*, King of *Navar*, had, by degrees, brought the whole Adminiſtration of Affairs into her own Hands. There *James*, the Queen's Brother, having ſettled Things in *Scotland* for a Seaſon, found her; and, after much Diſcourſe, the Queen told him, *She had a mind to return to* Scotland; and fix'd a Day on which they might expect her, her Uncles being alſo of the ſame Opinion: For, before *James's* coming, there had been great Conſultation about the Matter, ſome alledging the Difficulty of the Voyage, eſpecially the Queen of *England* being nothing favourable; beſides, ſhe was to go to a barbarous People, and naturally ſeditious, who were hardly kept in quiet by the Government of Men. Moreover, ſhe had freſh Examples, before her Eyes, of her Father and Mother, whom, when they could not, or durſt not, openly oppreſs, they us'd all Artifices, 'till they drove them to deſpair; ſo that ſhe would be daily and hourly in Danger, either of her Honour, or of her Life, amongſt them. On the other ſide, they, who were skill'd in the Affairs of *Scotland*, urg'd that the Seditions, ariſing there, were occaſion'd oftner by Default of the Princes than of the People, for that they endeavour'd to reduce that Kingdom to an arbitrary and boundleſs Rule, which, Time out of Mind, had been circumſcrib'd and manag'd within due Bounds of Law; and *that* was ſuch a Curb, as a Nation, which was more warlike than rich, could never be brought to endure. But all thoſe Kings, who never attempted to infringe the Liberties of the People, were not free from private Enemies, and popular Tumults, but reign'd happy in the Love of their Subjects at home, famous abroad, and unconquer'd by their Enemies: But the beſt, and almoſt only Way at preſent to quiet things, was to attempt no Alteration in the State of Religion, as then eſtabliſh'd. Theſe were the Debates, as publick Report ſaid, on both Sides. But her Uncles had other more prevailing Cauſes in their View; for they, in the Troubles of *France*, cheriſhing rather great, than honeſt Hopes, thought, if the Queen was abſent, ſhe would be more in their Power, than if ſhe ſtaid in *France*; and that neighbouring Princes, in hopes to carry her for a Wife, would court their Friendſhips, and uſe them as Mediators. In the mean time, one or other of their Faction would preſide over the Management of Affairs in *Scotland*. Beſides, the Queen's Reſolution ſway'd much in the Caſe, who

who was determin'd to return into her own Country; for her Husband was dead, and her Mother-in-Law (who manag'd Matters of State) ſhewing ſome Diſguſts towards her, ſhe ſaw ſhe ſhould grow cheap at that Court; and, tho' ſhe had been but a little us'd to Government, yet a Woman, young, of a flouriſhing Age, and a lofty Spirit too, could not endure to cringe under another: She had rather have any Fortune with a Kingdom, than the richeſt without one; neither could ſhe hope, that her Condition would be very honourable, the Power of the *Guiſes* being weaken'd by the adverſe Party, at the firſt Bruſh: Beſides, the Perſuaſions and Promiſes of her Brother *James* went a great way in turning the Ballance; for he aſſur'd her, ſhe would find all quiet at home, eſpecially ſeeing he was a Man, to whoſe Faith ſhe might ſafely commit herſelf, being her natural Brother, and who, from his Youth, had perform'd many noble and brave Exploits, and ſo had got great Credit and Renown amongſt all Men. Whilſt the Queen was intent on theſe Matters, *Noal*, a Senator of *Bourdeaux*, who was ſent out of *France*, came into *Scotland*, a little after the End of the publick Convention, and was put off 'till the next Aſſembly, which, in order to the ſettling publick Matters, was ſummon'd in order to be held at *Edinburgh*, *May* the 21ſt; yet the Nobles, who met there at the time, in great abundance, did not ſit, becauſe they were as yet uncertain of the Queen's Will and Pleaſure. In the mean time, *James Stuart* return'd from *France*, and brought a Commiſſion from the Queen, giving them Liberty to ſit, and to enact Laws for the Good of the Publick: Then the *French* Embaſſador had Audience; the Heads of his Embaſſy were, *That the antient League with the* French *ſhould be renew'd, and the new one with the* Engliſh *broken: That Prieſts ſhould be reſtor'd to their Eſtates and Dignities, which had been ſequeſter'd from them.* To which Anſwer was given; As to the *French* League, that they were not conſcious to themſelves, that they had broken it in the leaſt; but that it had been many ways infring'd by the *French* themſelves, and eſpecially of late, in their oppoſing the publick Liberty, and endeavouring to bring a miſerable Yoke of Bondage upon a People, that were their Allies, and had given no occaſion on their part. As for the League with *England*, they could not diſſolve it, without a Brand of the greateſt Ingratitude imaginable, in recompenſing ſo great a Courteſy with the higheſt Injury, which it certainly would be to joyn againſt thoſe, who had been the Deliverers of their Country. As for the Reſtitution of Prieſts, they told him, That thoſe he call'd Prieſts knew no Uſe or Need of their Office in the Church. In that Parliament a [illegible] was made to demoliſh all the Convents of the Monks, and

and proper Perſons were preſently diſpatch'd abroad into all Parts of the Land, to put it in Execution.

MATTERS being prepar'd in *France* for the Queen's Journey, her intimate Friends, who govern'd her Counſels, advis'd her, for the preſent, wholly to paſs over Matters about Religion, tho' ſome gave her raſh Counſel, to arm on that Account, and kill all that oppos'd her. The chief of which were *Dury*, the Abbot of *Dumfermling*, and *John Sinclare*, lately deſign'd Biſhop of *Brechin*; and ſhe herſelf was by Nature, as alſo by the Perſuaſion of her Relations, ſo inclinable to their Counſel, that ſometimes Threats broke out from her, as if it were againſt her Will, which were catch'd up at Court, and ſpread amongſt the Vulgar: And ſhe would frequently boaſt, among her Familiars, that ſhe would follow the Example of her Kinſwoman, *Mary*, Queen of *England*. Wherefore the main of her Counſels tended to this, to feed the Men of her own Faction with Hopes at preſent, and to ſuppreſs the oppoſite Party by degrees; and, when ſhe was well ſettled in her Power, then to declare her Mind. And this did not ſeem hard to do, ſeeing the Council of *Trent* was lately begun (on Pretence of reſtoring the decay'd Manners of the Church, but indeed) to extirpate the Profeſſors of the Reform'd Religion, as, by the Decrees of that Cabal, was afterwards declar'd. Beſides, her Uncles mightily animated the Queen, by ſhewing her the Power of the papal Faction, at the Head of which *Francis*, the eldeſt Brother of the *Guiſes*, was to preſide by the Decree of the Council. In the mean time, *Charles* the Cardinal, amidſt ſo many publick Cares, was mindful of himſelf, and advis'd the Queen, not to carry her Houſhold-Stuff and Furniture, which were of great Value, as 'twere, into another World, but to leave them with him, 'till ſhe might be aſſur'd of the Event of her Journey. She knew the Man and his Craft well enough, and therefore anſwer'd him, *That, ſeeing ſhe ventur'd herſelf, ſhe might as well truſt her Goods as her Perſon.* When all was reſolv'd upon, they ſent into *England*, to try how that Queen ſtood affected to the Voyage. *D'Oſel*, the Envoy, was well entertain'd there, and ſent back preſently into *France*, to tell the Queen of *Scots*, *That, if ſhe pleas'd to paſs thro'* England, *ſhe ſhould have all the Reſpect which ſhe could deſire from a Kinſwoman and an Ally, and that ſhe would take it as a great Favour beſides; but, if ſhe ſhunn'd the proffer'd Interview, ſhe would look upon it as an affront:* For the *Engliſh* Queen had prepar'd a great Fleet [illegible] of which was [illegible] our the Sea of Pirates; [illegible] he Queen of *Scots*, if [illegible] hey took one Ship [illegible] brought her to *London*. [illegible] ut, whatever the Deſign was,

was, in providing a Fleet, if any Danger was intended, Providence prevented it; for, when the *French* Gallies came upon the Main, a Miſt follow'd them for ſeveral Days, 'till they came into *Scotland*, the 21ſt Day of *Auguſt*.

THE News of the Queen's Arrival being divulg'd abroad, the Nobility, from all Parts of the Kingdom, came haſtily in, as to a publick Show, partly to congratulate her Return; and ſome came, to put her in mind of the Services they did her in her Abſence; that ſo they might get into her Favour beforehand, and prevent the Cavils of their Enemies: Others came, to give a Gueſs of her future Regiment, by her firſt Entrance into the Kingdom. Upon theſe different Grounds, all equally deſir'd to ſee their Queen, who came to them ſo unexpectedly after ſuch various Events, and ſuch changeable Fortunes: They conſider'd, that ſhe was born amidſt the cruel Tempeſts of War, and loſt her Father in about ſix Days after her Birth; that ſhe was well educated, by the great Care of her Mother, the very beſt of Women; but between domeſtick Seditions and foreign Wars, ſhe was left, as a Prey, to the ſtrongeſt Side; and, even almoſt before ſhe had a Senſe of Miſery, was expos'd to all the Perils of a deſperate Fortune: That ſhe left her Country, being, as 'twere, ſent into Baniſhment; where, between the Fury of Arms, and the Violence of the Waves, ſhe was, with great Difficulty, preſerv'd. 'Tis true, her Fortune ſomewhat ſmil'd upon her, and advanc'd her to an illuſtrious Marriage; but her Joy was not laſting, it was but tranſitory, for, her Mother and Husband dying, ſhe was brought into a mournful State of Widowhood; the *new* Kingdom ſhe receiv'd, and her *old* one too, ſtanding on very tickliſh Terms. Furthermore, beſides the Variety of her Dangers, the Excellency of her Mein, the Delicacy of her Beauty, the Vigour of her blooming Years, and the Elegancy of her Wit, all joyn'd in her Recommendation. Theſe Accompliſhments her courtly Education had either much encreas'd, or, at leaſt, made them more acceptable, by a falſe Diſguiſe of Virtue, not ſincere, but only ſhadow'd over, as it were, with the Similitude of Manners; and ſo her too eager Deſire to pleaſe and ingratiate herſelf made the real Goodneſs of her Nature leſs acceptable, and nipp'd the Seeds of Virtue, by the Blandiſhments of Pleaſure, that they might not come to bring forth any ripe Fruit in their Seaſon. As theſe things were grateful to the Vulgar, ſo Perſons of better Penetration ſaw thro' them; yet they hop'd, that her ſoft and tender Age would be eaſily mended, and grow better and better, by Experience. Amidſt theſe Gratulations, there was a light Offence happen'd, but [illegible] deep into the Minds of either Faction. The Nobility had agreed with the Queen, that no Alteration ſhould be made,

contrary to the eſtabliſh'd Religion, and only ſhe and her Family were to have Maſs, and that too was to be in private. But while the Furniture for it was carrying thro' the Court into the Chapel, one of the Company catch'd the Torches out of his Hands that carry'd them, and broke them; and unleſs ſome Men of a more moderate Kidney had come in and prevented it, all the reſt of the *Apparatus* had been ſpoil'd too. That Action was differently interpreted amongſt the Vulgar; ſome blam'd it, as a Fact too audacious; ſome ſaid, 'twas to try Men's Patience, how far it would bear; others affirm'd, and ſpoke it publickly, that the Prieſts ought to undergo the Puniſhment, appointed in the Scriptures, againſt Idolatry: But this Commotion was nipp'd in the very Bud by *James*, the Queen's Brother, to the great, but hidden Indignation of *George Gordon*, who was willing to lay hold on all Occaſions of Diſturbance: And here, thinking an Opportunity lay open to curry Favour, he went to the Queen's Uncles, then preſent, and promis'd them to reduce all the Country, beyond *Dunkelden*, to the old Religion. But they ſuſpected the Matter, as having heard enough of the Diſpoſition of the Man, and, fearing leſt he ſhould raiſe a new Storm to no purpoſe, communicated the Matter to *James*, the Queen's Brother. The reſt of the Year was ſpent in Balls and Feaſts, and in ſending away the *French*, who, out of Civility, had attended the Queen, and were then honourably diſmiſs'd, only one of her Uncles, the Marquis of *Elbeuff*, ſtaid behind. During this Poſture of Affairs, *William Maitland* jun. was ſent Embaſſador into *England*, to compliment that Queen, as the Cuſtom is, and to acquaint her how highly ſhe ſtood affected towards her, and how much ſhe deſir'd to maintain Peace and Concord with her: He alſo carry'd to her Letters from the Nobility, in which was mention'd a friendly Commemoration of former Courteſies and Obligations; but one they earneſtly deſir'd of her, and that was, That, both publickly and privately, ſhe would ſhew herſelf friendly and courteous towards their Queen; and that, being excited by good Offices, ſhe would not only perſevere in her antient Friendſhip, but add daily (if poſſible) ſtronger Obligations. As for their part, it ſhould be their earneſt Study and Deſire, to omit no Occaſion of perpetuating the Peace betweixt the two neighbouring Kingdoms. That there was but One ſure Way to induce an Amneſty of all paſt Differences, and to ſtop the Spring of them for ever, if the Queen of *England* would declare, by an Act of Parliament, confirm'd by the Royal Aſſent, That the Queen of *Scots* was Heireſs to the Kingdom of *England*, next after herſelf and her Children, if ever ſhe had any. After the Embaſſador had aſſerted the Equity of ſuch a Statute, and how beneficial it would be to all *Britain*, by many Arguments, he added

added in the Cloſe, *That ſhe, being her neareſt Relation, ought to be more intent and diligent than others, in having ſuch an Act made; and that the Queen expected that Teſtimony of Good-Will and Reſpect from her.* To which the Queen of *England* anſwer'd in theſe Words: *I expected another kind of Embaſſy from your Queen; I wonder how ſhe comes to forget that, before her Departure out of* France, *after much urging, ſhe at laſt promis'd, that the League, made at* Leith, *ſhould be confirm'd, ſhe having promis'd me faithfully it ſhould be ſo, as ſoon as ever ſhe return'd into her own Country. I have been put off with Words long enough; now 'tis time (if ſhe has any reſpect to her Honour) that her Deeds ſhould anſwer her Words.* To which the Embaſſador anſwer'd, *That he was ſent on this Embaſſy, but a very few Days after the Queen's Arrival, before ſhe had enter'd upon the Adminiſtration of any publick Affairs; That ſhe had been hitherto taken up in treating the Nobility, many of whom ſhe had never ſeen before, who came from many Parts to pay their dutiful Addreſſes to her; but ſhe was chiefly employ'd about ſettling the State of Religion; which, how difficult and troubleſome a thing it is,* (ſaid he) *you yourſelf are not ignorant: Hence* (he proceeded) *your Majeſty may eaſily underſtand, that the Queen of* Scots *had no vacant Time at all before my Departure; neither had ſhe as yet call'd fit Men to her Council, to conſult about various Affairs; eſpecially ſince the Nobility, that liv'd in the furtheſt Parts towards the North, had not been yet to attend her, before his Coming, without whoſe Advice, Matters of ſuch publick Moment, could not, and indeed ought not, to be tranſacted.* Upon which the *Engliſh* Queen was ſomething mov'd, and ſaid, *What need had your Queen to make any Conſultation about doing that, which ſhe hath oblig'd herſelf to under her Hand and Seal?* He reply'd, *I can give no other Anſwer at preſent, for I receiv'd nothing in Command about it, neither did our Queen expect, that an Account of it would now be requir'd of me; and you may eaſily conſider with yourſelf, under what juſt Cauſes of Delay ſhe lies at preſent.* After ſome Words had paſs'd betwixt them, upon theſe Matters, the Queen return'd to the main Point, *I obſerve* (ſaid ſhe) *what you moſt inſiſt upon, in behalf of your Queen; and, in ſeconding the Requeſts of the Nobles, you put me in Mind, that your Queen is deſcended from the Blood of the Kings of* England, *and that I am bound to love her by a natural Obligation, as being my near Relation, which I neither can or will deny; I have alſo made it evident to the whole World, that, in all my Actions, I never attempted any thing againſt the Weal and Tranquillity, either of herſelf, or of her Kingdom: Thoſe, who are acquainted with my inward Thoughts and Inclinations, are conſcious, that, tho' I have juſt Cauſe of Offence given, by her uſing my Arms, and claiming a Title to the Kingdom, yet I could never be perſuaded, but*

but that thoſe Seeds of Hatred ſprung up from the Advice of others, not from herſelf. However the Caſe ſtands, I hope ſhe will not take away my Crown whilſt I am alive, nor hinder my Children (if I have any) to ſucceed me in the Kingdom: But, if any Caſualty ſhould happen to me before, ſhe ſhall never find, that I have done any thing, which may, in the leaſt, prejudice the Right ſhe pretends to have to the Kingdom of England: *What that Right is, I never thought my ſelf oblig'd to make a ſtrict Diſquiſition into, and I am of the ſame Mind ſtill; I leave it to thoſe who are skilful in the Law to determine. As for your Queen, ſhe may expect this confidently of me, that, if her Cauſe be juſt, I ſhall not prejudice it in the leaſt; I call God to witneſs, that, next to my ſelf, I know none that I would prefer before her; or, if the Matter come to a Diſpute, that can exclude her: Thou knoweſt* (ſaid ſhe) *who are the Competitors: By what Aſſiſtance, or in Hopes of what Force, can ſuch poor Creatures attempt ſuch a mighty thing?* After ſome further Diſcourſe, the Concluſion was ſhort; *That it was a Matter of great Weight and Moment, and that this was the firſt time ſhe had entertain'd any ſerious Thoughts about it, and therefore ſhe had need of longer time to conſider of it.* A few Days after ſhe ſent for the Embaſſador again, and told him, *That ſhe extreamly wonder'd, Why the Nobles ſhould demand ſuch a thing of her, upon the firſt Arrival of the Queen, eſpecially knowing that the Cauſes of former Offences were not yet taken away: But what, pray, do they require? That I, having been ſo much wrong'd, ſhould, before any Satisfaction receiv'd, gratify her in ſo great a Matter? This Demand is not far from a Threat: If they proceed on in this Way, let them know, that I have Force at home, and Friends abroad, as well as they, who will defend my juſt Right.* To which he anſwer'd, *That he had ſhewn clearly, at firſt, how that the Nobility had inſiſted on this hopeful* Medium *of Concord, partly out of Duty to their Queen, in a Proſpect to maintain her Weal, and increaſe her Dignity; and partly out of a Deſire to procure and eſtabliſh publick Peace and Amity. And, that they deal more plainly with you, than with any other Prince, in this Cauſe, proceeds from your known and experienc'd Good-Will towards them, and alſo upon the Account of their own Safety; for they knew they muſt venture Life and Fortune, if any Body ſhould oppoſe the Right of the Queen, or any War ſhould ariſe betwixt the Nations, on thoſe Grounds. And therefore their Deſires did not ſeem unwarrantable or unjuſt, as having a Tendency towards rooting out the Seeds of all Diſcords, and the ſettling a firm and ſolid Peace.* She rejoyn'd, *If I had acted any thing which might diminiſh your Queen's Right, then your Demand might have been juſt, that what was amiſs might be amended; But this Poſtulation is without Example, that I ſhould wrap my ſelf up in my Winding-Sheet while*

I

I am alive; neither was the like ever ask'd of any Prince. However, I take not the good Intention of your Nobility amiss, and the rather, because 'tis an Evidence to me, that they have a Desire to promote the Interest and Honour of their Queen; and I do put as great Value on their Prudence, in providing for their own Security, and in being tender of shedding Christian Blood, which could not be avoided, if any Faction should arise to challenge the Kingdom: But what such Party can there be, or where should they have the Force? But, to let these Considerations pass, suppose me inclinable to assent to their Demands, do you think, I would do it, rather at the Request of the Nobles, than of the Queen herself?

BUT there are many other things which avert me from such a Transaction. First, *I am not ignorant how dangerous a thing it is to venture on the Dispute. The Dispute concerning the Right of the Kingdom, is a thing that I have always mightily avoided; for the Controversy hath been already so much canvass'd in the Mouths of many, concerning a just and lawful Marriage, and what Children were Bastards, and what Legitimate, according as every one is addicted to this or that Party, that, by reason of these Disputes, I have hitherto been more backward in marrying. Once, when I took the Crown publickly upon me, I marry'd my self to the Kingdom, and I wear the Ring, I then put on my Finger, as a Badge of those Nuptials: However, thus my Resolution stands,* I will be Queen of *England,* as long as I live; *and, when I am dead, let that Person succeed in my Place, who hath most Right to it; and, if that chance to be your Queen, I will put no Obstacle in her Way; but, if another hath a better Title, 'twere unjust to require of me to make a publick Edict to such a Person's Prejudice. If there be any Law against your Queen, 'tis unknown to me, and I have no great delight to sift into it; but, if there should be any such Law, I was sworn at my Coronation, that I would not change my Subjects Laws. As for your second Allegation, That the Declaration of my Successor will knit a stricter Bond of Amity betwixt us, I am afraid rather, it will be a Seed-Plot of Hatred and Discontent: What, do you think I am willing to have my Shrowd always before my Eyes? Kings have this Peculiarity, that they have some kind of Sentiments against their own Children, who are born lawful Heirs to succeed them. Thus* Charles *the* VIIth *of* France *somewhat disgusted* Lewis *the* XIth; *and* Lewis *the* IIId Charles *the* VIIIth; *and, of late,* Francis *ill-resented* Henry: *And how is it likely I should stand affected towards my Relation, if she be once declar'd my Heir? Just as* Charles *the* VIIth *was towards* Lewis *the* XIth. *Besides, and that which weighs most with me, I know the Inconstancy of this People, I know how they loath the present State of Things, I know how intent their Eyes are upon a Successor. 'Tis natural for all Men, as the Proverb is,* To worship rather the

the riſing, than the ſetting Sun: *I have learn'd That from my own Times, to omit other Examples; When my Siſter* Mary *ſat at the Helm of Government, how eager were the Deſires of ſome Men to ſee me placed upon the Throne? How ſolicitous were they in advancing me to it? I am not ignorant what Dangers they would have undergone to bring their Deſign to an Iſſue, if my Will had concurr'd with their Deſires. Now, perhaps, the ſame Men are otherwiſe minded; juſt like Children, when they dream of Apples in their Sleep, they are very joyful; but, waking in the Morning, and finding themſelves diſappointed in their Hopes, their Mirth is turn'd into Sorrow. Thus I am dealt with by thoſe, who, whilſt yet I was a private Woman, wiſh'd me ſo well: If I look'd upon any of them a little more pleaſantly than ordinary, they thought preſently with themſelves, that, as ſoon as ever I came to the Throne, they ſhould be rewarded rather at the Rate of their own Deſires, than of the Service they perform'd for me; but now, ſeeing the Event hath not anſwer'd their Expectation, ſome of them gape after a new Change of Things, in hopes of a better Fortune; for the Wealth of a Prince, tho' never ſo great, cannot ſatisfy the inſatiable Appetites of all Men. But, if the Good-Will of my Subjects flag towards me; or, if their Minds are chang'd, becauſe I am not profuſe enough in my Largeſſes; or for ſome other trivial Cauſe, what will be the Event, when the Malevolent ſhall have a Succeſſor nam'd, to whom they may make their Grievances known, and, in their Anger and Pet, entirely betake themſelves to it upon every Fit of Anger, or Turn of a pettiſh Humour? What Danger ſhall I then be in, when ſo powerful a neighbouring Prince is my Succeſſor? The more Strength I add to her in ſecuring her Succeſſion, the more I detract from my own Security: This Danger cannot be avoided by any Precautions, or by any Bonds of Law; nay, thoſe Princes, who have the Hopes of a Kingdom offer'd them, will hardly contain themſelves within the Bounds either of Law or Equity. For my part, if my Succeſſor ſhould be once publickly declared to the World, I ſhould think my Affairs to be far from being ſettled and ſecure.* This is the Sum of what was really acted at that Conference.

A few Days after, the Embaſſador ask'd the Queen, Whether ſhe would return any Anſwer to the Letter of the *Scotiſh* Nobility? *I have nothing* (ſaid ſhe) *at preſent to anſwer, only I commend their Sedulity and Love to their Prince; but the Matter is of ſuch great Weight, that I cannot ſo ſoon give a plain and expreſs Anſwer to it; however, when your Queen ſhall have done her Duty, in confirming the League ſhe oblig'd herſelf to ratify, then 'twill be ſeaſonable to try my Affections towards her: In the mean time I cannot gratify her in her Requeſt, without abridging my own Dignity.* The Embaſſador reply'd, *He had no Command about*

about that Affair, nor ever had any Diſcourſe with his Miſtreſs concerning it; neither did he then propound the Queen's Judgment concerning the Right of Succeſſion, but his own, and had brought Reaſons to inforce it: But as for the Confirmation of the League by her Husband, 'twas inforc'd from the Queen of Scots, *without the Conſent of thoſe, whom the ratifying or diſanulling of it did highly concern; neither was it a thing of ſuch Conſequence, as therefore to exclude her, and her Poſterity, from the Inheritance of* England; *I do not enquire* ſaid he, *by Whom, When, How, by What Authority, and for what Reaſon, that League was made, ſeeing I had no Command to ſpeak of any ſuch Matter: But this I dare affirm, That, tho' 'twere confirm'd by her, in Compliance with her Husband's Deſire, yet, ſo great a Streſs depending on it, his Queen, in time, would find out ſome Reaſon or other, why it ſhould, and ought, to be diſſolv'd. I ſpeak not this* (ſaid he) *in the Name of the Queen; but my intent is to ſhew, that our Nobility have cauſe for what they do; that ſo, all Controverſies being pluck'd up by the Roots, a ſure and laſting Peace may be eſtabliſh'd betwixt us.*

AFTER much Diſcourſe, *Pro* and *Con*, about the League, the Queen was brought to this, That Embaſſadors ſhould be choſen on both Sides to review it, and to regulate it, according to this Form: That the Queen of *Scots* ſhould abſtain from uſing the Arms of *England*, and from the Titles of *England* and *Ireland*, as long as the Queen of *England*, or any of her Children, were alive. On the other ſide, the Queen of *England* was to do nothing, neither by herſelf, nor her Poſterity, which might prejudice the Queen of *Scots*, or impair her Right of Succeſſion. Theſe were the Affairs tranſacted in this Embaſſy; which, while they were treated of abroad, in order to ſettle Peace, Sedition had almoſt broke out at home. There was Maſs allow'd to the Queen and her Family (as I ſaid before) concerning which, when the Edict was publiſh'd, there was one of the Nobility that oppos'd it, *viz.* the Earl of *Arran*: The Queen was highly offended at it, tho' ſhe diſſembled her Anger. The next Offence ſhe took was againſt the *Edinburghers*: It is commonly a Cuſtom with them, to chuſe their Magiſtrates on the 29th of *September*. At that time, *Archibald Douglas*, the Sheriff, according to Cuſtom, proclaim'd, That no Adulterer, Fornicator, Drunkard, Maſs-monger, nay, or obſtinate Papiſts, after the Firſt of *September*, ſhould ſtay in the Town, great Penalties being denounc'd againſt thoſe who ſhould be found diſobedient. When the Queen was inform'd of this, ſhe committed the Magiſtrates to Priſon, without hearing them, and commanded the Citizens to chuſe new Magiſtrates, enjoining them to ſet the Gates open to all her good Subjects, not without the ſecret Indignation and Laughter of ſome, that flagitious Perſons

ſons ſhould be accounted ſuch good Subjects, and her moſt faithful Miniſters and Servants. The Queen, finding that the Citizens took this Matter more patiently than ſhe expected, attempted greater Matters by degrees. Her Maſs was before but privately celebrated, without any great Solemnity; but, on the 1ſt of *October*, ſhe added all the Pomp of popiſh Offices to it. The Reform'd Miniſters of the Goſpel took this heinouſly ill, and complain'd much of it in their Pulpits, putting the Nobility in mind of their Duty. Upon this a Diſpute aroſe betwixt a few in a private Houſe, Whether it was lawful to reſtrain Idolatry, which was likely to ſpread and ruin all? or, Whether they might, by Force, reduce a chief Magiſtrate to the Bounds of the Law, who ſet no Limits to his own arbitrary Will? The Reform'd Miniſters perſiſted conſtantly in their Opinion, which had been approv'd in former Times, That a Magiſtrate might be compell'd by Force to do his Duty. The Nobles were more unſtedfaſt in their Reſolutions, either to curry favour with the Queen, or out of Hopes of Honour and Reward; yet, they being ſuperior in Number and Greatneſs, the Decree went on their Side.

IN the mean time, the Court was immers'd in Vice, and gave a Looſe to all Luxury; neither was it awaken'd by the News of the Moſs-Troops, inhabiting the *Engliſh* Borders, who, as if by Permiſſion, took the Freedom of plundering openly, and kill'd all that oppos'd them. *James*, the Queen's Brother, was ſent, with a delegated Power, to ſuppreſs them; not ſo much with an Intent to honour him, as many People imagin'd, as with a Deſign to expoſe him to Danger. For, as his Power was diſtaſteful to the Queen, ſo his innocent Carriage was more offenſive in reproving her for her Faults, and ſtopping her in her Career to Tyranny. But God, beyond all Mens Hopes, proſper'd his juſt Endeavours; he hang'd Twenty eight of the Robbers, the reſt he ſuppreſs'd, either by the mere Terror of his Name, or elſe by making them give Hoſtages for their Good Behaviour. The Queen ſeem'd to herſelf to have got ſome Liberty by his Abſence, for ſhe was not well pleas'd with the preſent State of Things; partly, by reaſon of the Controverſies in Religion; and partly, becauſe Matters were manag'd more ſtrictly than a young Woman could well bear, who had been educated in the moſt corrupted of all Courts, where lawful Dominion was interpreted to be unbecoming and below the Dignity of a Prince, as if their Liberty conſiſted in the Slavery of others; ſo that ſometimes ſhe was heard to ſpeak mighty diſcontented Words; nay, the Foundation of Tyranny ſeem'd to be laid: For, whereas all former Kings intruſted their Safety only to the Nobility, ſhe determin'd to have a Body-Guard, but could

could find no Pretence to bring it about, neither could ſhe give any reaſonable Colour for her Deſire, but only vain courtly Magnificence, and the Uſage of Foreign Princes. The Deportment of her Brother, the more unblameable it was, troubled her the more, in regard it cut off any Opportunity to feign Crimes, or faſten any Suſpicions upon him; as alſo, becauſe ſhe knew he would not endure her looſe Way of Living; beſides, the People were ſo affected, that they would take her keeping of Life-Guards as a manifeſt Omen of Tyranny: Whereupon her reſtleſs Mind, determining by any Means whatſoever to effect what ſhe had once reſolv'd upon, deviſ'd this Stratagem; She had a Brother nam'd *John*, an ambitious Man, and not ſo ſtrictly converſant with Affairs as *James* was; he was eaſily perſuaded to be obſequious to the Queen, and ſo grew dearer to her, as a fitter Inſtrument to raiſe Tumults. She communicates her Deſign to him, in the Abſence of *James*, about raiſing a Guard. The Plot was laid thus: There was a Noiſe of a Tumult to be bruited abroad in the Night, as if *James Hamilton*, Earl of *Arran*, would have ſurpriz'd the Queen, who had but a few Men to guard her, and ſo have carry'd her to his Caſtle, fourteen Miles off. This Story, they thought, would take with the Vulgar, both becauſe the Queen had a perfect Averſion to him, and he was extreamly in Love with her, both which were Things publickly known. This Tumult was made as the Plot was, and Horſemen ſcouted about the neighbouring Fields a good part of the Night, and in the Morning a Guard was ſet at the Court-Gate, ſome fretting, others ſmiling at the Matter: The Authors of this Project, tho' they knew themſelves that they were not believ'd, yet were mightily pleas'd, as ſecure of Mens Opinions, and knowing that none there preſent durſt oppoſe them. Upon this Beginning, the Court ran headlong into Wantonneſs and Luxury; notwithſtanding, as yet, Juſtice was equally adminiſtred, and Offences puniſh'd; for the chief Management of Affairs was in *James*, the Queen's Brother; who, for his Equity and Valour, was dear to all. He us'd, as his chief Counſellor, *William Maitland*, a young Man of a penetrating Judgment, having already given ample Proofs of it, and rais'd up the Expectation of Men that he would give ſtill larger Demonſtrations of it in Time to come. Their joint vertuous Counſels kept Things quiet at Home and Abroad, and all Things went as well, as Good Men could wiſh: As for the Factious, they could rather fret inwardly, than complain juſtly.

AMIDST theſe Things, a Debate aroſe in the Court, which held them in Play for three whole Months. They, who had been Kings or Regents in former Times, had exhauſted the publick Treaſure, which was never great in *Scotland*; the Queen

was

was expenſive to an immoderate Degree; the Eſtates of the Nobility and Commonalty, in the late Tumults, were mightily waſted; ſo that now nothing remain'd to maintain Court Expences, but the Eccleſiaſtical Revenues. Upon this, the chief of the Clergy were ſent for to Court, and ſome of the prime Nobility were added to that Number, that could either cajole them by Perſuaſion, or compel them by Force. After a long Diſpute, the Eccleſiaſticks, being overcome, rather with the Senſe of their own Weakneſs, than the Weight of any Reaſon, the Concluſion was, That a third Part ſhould be taken off from Eccleſiaſtical Revenues, wherewith the Queen ſhould maintain Orthodox Miniſters, and reſerve the reſt for her own Uſe. This Concluſion was pleaſing to none: The rich Eccleſiaſticks grudg'd that any of their old Revenues ſhould be par'd away, and the Reform'd Miniſters expected no Good from the Queen; yet indeed, tho' a great Shew was made, ſhe got no mighty Matter by it; for many of the old Poſſeſſors had their Thirds forgiven; many, both Men and Women, had the Wages for their Houſhold Service, and Expence, paid out of it, for many Years; many got Penſions and Supports for their old Age. That Winter the Queen created her Brother *James*, Earl of *Marr*, with the univerſal Conſent of all Good Men. All prais'd her for giving Honour to Virtue, and no Body could diſcommend her that ſhe allow'd ſome Grains to Propinquity in Blood; and many thought, ſhe had done well for the Publick, in advancing a Perſon to Honour, who was of an illuſtrious Stock, and had ſo highly deſerv'd of his Country, that ſo he might preſide over publick Affairs, with the greater Authority; nay, ſome thought that this Favour of the Queen's was intended to reconcile him to her, who, ſhe knew, was offended at the Carriage of the Court, in his Abſence. Beſides, he had a Wife provided for him, *Agnes Keith*, Daughter of the Earl of *Merch*; at which Marriage there was ſuch a magnificent Feaſting, or rather ſuch immoderate Luxury, that the Minds of his Friends were very much offended at it, and his Enemies took occaſion of exclaiming and venting their Envy; and the more, becauſe he had been ſo temperate all the former Part of his Life. Not long after, *Murray* was beſtow'd upon him, inſtead of *Marr*, which was found the antient Right of *John Erskin*. *Gordon*, being depriv'd firſt of *Marr*, then of *Murray*, over which Country he had long preſided as Governour, look'd upon himſelf to be robb'd, as it were, of his Patrimony, and therefore levell'd all his Deſigns at the Overthrow of his Corrival: And he had many other Motives beſides; for, being far the richeſt Man in all *Scotland*, by reaſon of the Rewards his Anceſtors had receiv'd for their Services to the Crown, and alſo himſelf had augmented the

Power

Power of his Family by indirect Practices. First, he overthrew *John Forbes* (as I ſaid before) by falſe Witneſſes: Next, when *James Stuart*, Brother of *James* the Fifth, died without Children, he obtain'd of them, who ſat at the Helm, the Stewardſhip of *Murray*; by which means he carried himſelf as Heir, and arriv'd at ſuch a Pitch of Greatneſs, that all his Neighbours laid down their Emulation, and reſted quietly under his Authority, I had almoſt ſaid, were become tamely his Vaſſals.

BUT, whilſt others ſubmitted to him, either fearing Danger, or having Patience to bear the Yoke, he was much troubled with the Diſregard one Man ſhew'd him, or, as he call'd it, with his Pride; and that was of *James Macintoſh*, Chief of a great Family amongſt the old *Scots*: He was born, and brought up, amongſt the brutal Highlanders, who liv'd upon Prey; but yet, whether it was by a ſecret Inſtinct of Nature, or elſe by having good Inſtructors, he arriv'd at that degree of Politeneſs, Modeſty, and Decency of Behaviour, that he might be ſaid to vie with thoſe, who had the greateſt Care us'd to give them a virtuous Education. *Gordon* ſuſpected this young Man's Power, for he knew he could not uſe one of ſo good a Diſpoſition, as an Inſtrument for his wicked Purpoſes; and therefore he ſeiz'd him on a ſudden, and threw him into Priſon; but, not able to find any Crime in him worthy of Death, 'tis reported, he ſuborn'd ſome of his Friends to perſuade him, to ſubmit himſelf and his Cauſe to him; for *That*, they told him, was the only Way to be deliver'd honourably out of Priſon, and alſo to have the Friendſhip of ſo powerful a Man as *Gordon*. Thus the ſimple and plain-hearted Man was decoy'd into his own Deſtruction; yet *Gordon*, being willing to avoid the Envy, which his being the Author of his Death might bring upon him, prevail'd with his Wife to bear the Blame of it: She, being a Woman of a ſtern, manly Reſolution, readily undertook the Matter; and, in the Abſence of her Husband, the poor, innocent, betray'd, young Man had his Head ſtruck off. His Neighbours were either ſo aſtoniſh'd at this Man's Puniſhment, or elſe were ſo huſh'd with Bribery, that the whole Country, beyond the *Caledonians*, was under his Juriſdiction alone; ſo that, being a Man ambitious of Power and Glory, he took it very ill, that *James*, Earl of *Murray*, was ſet up, as his Rival; and, being impatient of the preſent State of Things, he took all Occaſions to promote Diſturbances, and daily calumniated his Proceedings in publick; nay, he gave a Book, written with his own Hand, to the Queen, in which he accus'd him of affecting Tyranny; but he back'd it with very ſlender Arguments.

ON the other ſide of the Country, and at the ſame time, *James Hepburn*, Earl of *Bothwel*, being much in Debt, and

very debauch'd, was excited to enter into an Attempt againſt the ſaid Earl of *Murray*; for, having ſpent his Youth wantonly amongſt Whores and Bawds, he was reduc'd to that paſs, as either to raiſe up a Civil War, or elſe to ſupport his Poverty by ſome bold and daring Actions. When he had conſider'd all Ways to compaſs his Deſign of diſturbing the publick Peace, he thought it his beſt Courſe to ſet *Murray* and the *Hamiltons* together by the Ears. He ſeem'd to be ſure in his Hopes of deſtroying one of the Parties by that Means, and no matter which. Firſt then, he goes to *Murray*, and endeavours to perſuade him to root out the *Hamiltons*, a Family diſtaſteful and obnoxious to the Queen, the whole Kingdom, and eſpecially to himſelf; and he offer'd him his Aſſiſtance in doing it, alledging, that the thing would not be unacceptable to the Queen; for that, beſides the common Ground of Hatred that Princes bear againſt their Relations, as deſirous of their Ruin, the Queen had ſome particular and juſt Cauſe of Offence into the Bargain; either by reaſon of his Affection to the Evangelical Doctrine and Diſcipline, of which *Arran* was the only Aſſertor, and for which he had incurr'd the Hatred of the *Guiſes* in *France*; or elſe, by reaſon of the hard Words he had lately given to one of the Queen's Uncles, the Marquis of *Elbeuf*, then in *Scotland*. But *Murray*, being an honeſt, conſcientious Man, ſcorn'd to be guilty of ſo baſe an Action. Whereupon *Hepburn* went to the *Hamiltons*, and offer'd his Service to them to deſtroy *Murray*, whoſe Power they could not well brook: He told them, That he was the only Man who was an Obſtacle to their Hopes, and the Deſtroyer of their Concerns; that, if he was but taken away, the Queen muſt needs be in their Power, whether ſhe would or no; and that the Method of compaſſing it was eaſy. The Queen was then at *Falkland*, a Caſtle ſeated in a Town of the ſame Name: There is a ſmall Wood in the Neighbourhood, where Deer, of the Nature of Stags, (call'd, by miſtake, Fallow-Deer, in the Country) were kept and fed. The Queen might be eaſily ſurpriz'd, as ſhe went thither, every Day, or to any neighbouring Place, with a ſmall Retinue; at which time it was very eaſy to deſtroy *Murray*, being unarm'd, and ſuſpecting no ſuch thing, and to get the Queen's Perſon into their Hands. He quickly perſuaded the reſt; and a Time was appointed to perform the Enterprize; only the Earl of *Arran* execrated the Wickedneſs, and ſent Letters privately to *Murray*, acquainting him with the Series of the whole Plot: *Murray* writes back to him, by the ſame Meſſenger; but, *Arran* being caſually abſent, the Letters were given to his Father. Upon that, a Conſultation being held, *Arran* was ſhut up a cloſe Priſoner by his Father, from whence, making his Eſcape by Night, he went towards *Falkland*: As his

Eſcape

Eſcape was made known, Horſemen were ſent after him, all over the Country, to bring him back again; but he hid himſelf in a Wood, and fruſtrated their Expectation for that Night; and in the Morning came to *Falkland*, where he diſcovered the whole Management of that treaſonable Deſign. Not long after, *Bothwel*, and *Gawin Hamilton*, who had undertaken, with a Party of Men, to commit the Fact, follow'd him, and, by the Queen's Command, had a Guard ſet upon them, as Priſoners, in the Caſtle of *Falkland*. When the whole Deſign was thus laid open, and the Spies brought word, that the Officers were met at the Time and Place mention'd by *Arran*, and that many Horſemen were ſeen there; *Arran*, being ask'd to explain the Order of the Riot, was a little diſturb'd in his Mind; for he mightily doted on the Queen, and was alſo a great Friend of *Murray*'s, and was deſirous to gratify them: On the other ſide, his Father was no bad Man, only was eaſily drawn into great and difficult Projects, and he had a mind to exempt him from the Conſpiracy. That Night, when he was alone, his Mind was ſo divided between Piety and Love, that he was almoſt beſides himſelf; his Countenance and Speech gave evident Signs of great Perturbation of Spirit; beſides, there were other Cauſes, which might affect the young Man's Mind. For, whereas he had been brought up magnificently, till that very Day, according to the Greatneſs of his Family; his Father, being a covetous Man, by the Perſuaſion of ſome Counſellors, who nouriſh'd that Vice in him, reduc'd him only to one Servant, who, before, had many Attendants. They, who attempted the Exploit, were ſent to ſeveral Priſons; *Bothwel* to *Edinburgh*-Caſtle, *Gawin* to *Sterlin*, 'till their Cauſe was try'd; *Arran* was ſent to St. *Andrews* (where the Queen was going) to be kept in the Archbiſhop's Caſtle. In that place, during his lucid Intervals, he wrote ſuch wiſe and prudent Letters to the Queen, concerning himſelf and others, that many were ſuſpicious, he had counterfeited himſelf mad, only to free his Father from the Treaſon: As for the reſt, he conſtantly and ſharply accus'd them; inſomuch, that when he was brought to the Council, and ſo private a Conſpiracy could not be prov'd by other Teſtimonies, he proffer'd to fight with *Bothwel* himſelf. About the ſame time, *James Hamilton*, *Arran*'s Father, firſt wrote, and after that came to St. *Andrews* to the Queen, earneſtly deſiring her to take Sureties for his Son, *Bothwel*, and *Gawin Hamilton*, and leave them to him; but he could not be heard. At the ſame time alſo, the Queen took *Dunbarton*-Caſtle, the ſtrongeſt in all *Scotland*, which *Hamilton* had held, ever ſince he was Regent. *George Gordon*, being an Enemy to *Murray*, was now grown to a far greater Hate of *Hamilton*, his

Son's Father-in-Law, who was accus'd of ſo manifeſt a Crime, and almoſt convicted of it; he thought now, he had a good Opportunity to rid his Enemy out of the Way, eſpecially when two ſuch noble Families were join'd to his Side. And firſt, he caus'd a Tumult to be rais'd in the Town, then but thin of Company, by his own Friends; hoping that *Murray* would come out from the Court, to appeaſe it by his Authority; and then, being unarm'd, he might be eaſily ſlain in the Crowd. This Project did not ſucceed, as he would have it; and therefore he ſent ſome of his Followers arm'd into the Court, to do the Fact: They entred in the Evening, and were to kill *Murray*, as he was returning to his Lodging from the Queen, who was wont to keep him late at Night: That time ſeem'd fitteſt, both to commit the Fact, and to eſcape after it was committed. When the Matter was diſcover'd to *Murray*, he would not have believ'd it, unleſs he had ſeen it with his Eyes; and therefore he got ſome few of his moſt faithful Friends (to prevent all Suſpicion) and took one or two of the *Gordons* in their Armour, as he grop'd with his Hand in the Paſſage. The Matter being brought to the Queen, *Gordon* was ſent for, who pretended, that ſome of his Retinue, that were juſt going home, had arm'd themſelves; but, upon ſome Occaſion or other, were detain'd: This Excuſe was rather receiv'd, than approv'd of; and ſo they departed, for that time. That Summer, by the Mediation of Embaſſadors on both Sides, it was propos'd, That the Queens of *Scotland* and *England* ſhould have an Interview at *York*, there to debate many Controverſies; but, when they were almoſt ready for their Journey, the Matter was put off 'till another time. The Cauſe of deferring the Conference was vulgarly reported to be, that the Duke *D'Aumale*, one of the Brothers of the *Guiſes*, had intercepted and open'd the Letters of the *Engliſh* Embaſſador, then at the *French* Court; and that by his means, principally, the *Engliſh* Ship, which carried another Embaſſador, was taken and plunder'd. For theſe Wrongs and Injuries, Matters being likely to incline to a War with *France*, the Queen went from St. *Andrews* to *Edinburgh*, and ſent *Arran* thither too, clapping him up Priſoner in the Caſtle. In the mean time, *James*, her Brother, went to *Hawick*, a great Market-Town in thoſe Parts, and there he ſurpriz'd fifty of the chief Banditti, which were met together, not dreaming of his coming; which ſtruck ſuch a Terror into the reſt, throughout all that Tract, that the whole Country was quieter for ſome time after. But, as that Action procur'd him the Love and Reverence of Good Men, ſo did it daily more and more excite the Minds of the Envious to his Deſtruction; for, whereas three very potent Families had plotted his Ruin, ſo the Acceſſion of the *Guiſes* to that Plot made a fourth;

Fourth; for they, being willing to reſtore the old Popiſh Religion, and knowing they could never effect it, as long as *Murray* was alive, employ'd their utmoſt Endeavours to remove him out of the way. Many concurrent Circumſtances contributed to make the Attempt ſeem feaſible; eſpecially, becauſe the *French*, who had accompanied the Queen to *Scotland*, being return'd Home, had related, what great Intereſt and Power *Gordon* had; how unquiet his Mind was, and what Promiſes of Aſſiſtance he had made, to introduce the Maſs: All theſe things they aggravated in their Diſcourſe, to the height. Then the Matter was debated by the Papiſts in the *French* Court, and this way of effecting it reſolv'd upon: They write to the Queen to cheriſh the mad Spirit of *Gordon*, by large Promiſes, That ſhe ſhould rather Pretend than Promiſe, to marry *John*, his Son; that ſo being hoodwink'd with that Hope, they might lead him whither they pleas'd: And alſo they gave her the Names of thoſe in a Liſt, whom they had a mind ſhould be Deſtroy'd. Beſides, Letters from the Pope and Cardinal were ſent to her, to the ſame Effect: For, whereas her Revenue was not ſufficient to maintain that immoderate Luxury, to which ſhe had uſed herſelf, ſhe craved ſome pecuniary Aid of the Pope, under a Pretence of managing a War againſt thoſe who had revolted from the Church of *Rome*. The Pope wrote ſomething obſcurely, but the Cardinal plainly, That ſhe ſhould not want Mony for that War; yet ſo, that thoſe muſt be firſt kill'd, whoſe Names were given her in a Scrole.

THE Queen ſhewed theſe Letters to *Murray*, and to the reſt deſign'd for the Slaughter; either, becauſe, ſhe thought, they would have ſome Notice of it another way; or elſe, to make them believe ſhe was ſincere to wards them, as not hiding from them any of her ſecret Counſels. Thereupon, all other things being fitted for the Attempt, the Queen pretended a great Deſire to viſit the Parts of *Scotland* which lie Northwards; and *Gordon* promoted her Deſire, by his forward Invication. At laſt, when ſhe came to *Aberdeen*, *Auguſt* 13, *Gordon's* Wife, a Woman of a manly Spirit and Cunning, uſed all her Art to ſift out the Queen's Mind, both to know her ſecret Thoughts, and alſo to incline them to her own Party: She knew well enough, that the Deſigns of Princes are alterable by ſmall Moments, many times; neither was She ignorant, how the Queen ſtood affected a little before, towards both of them, *Murray* and *Gordon* too; for ſhe, hating them both, had ſometimes deliberated privately with herſelf, which of them ſhe ſhould deſtroy firſt: She could not bear with the Innocency of *Murray*, as being a Curb to her Licenciouſneſs; and as for *Gordon*, ſhe had experienced his Perfidiouſneſs againſt her Father firſt, and next her Mother; and

beſides, ſhe fear'd his Power: But the Letters of her Uncle's and the Pope urg'd her rather to deſtroy *Murray*. *Gordon* was not ignorant of the Matter; and therefore, to caſt the Ballance, he promis'd, by his Wife, to reſtore the Roman Religion. The Queen was glad of that; yet there was one Impediment, and that no great one, which kept her from aſſenting to him; and that was, that ſhe did not think it to ſtand with her Honour, to be reconciled to *John*, his Son, who, a few Days before, had been committed to Priſon for a Tumult raiſed at *Edinburgh*, but had made his Eſcape) unleſs he return'd to *Sterlin*, to be there a Priſoner of State, at leaſt, for a few Days. The Queen inſiſted upon this, not ſo much for that Cauſe, which was pretended, as that ſhe might have her way clear, when *Murray* was kill'd, and might not be compell'd to marry, when her Lover was abſent. *Gordon* was willing to ſatisfy the Queen, yet made ſome ſcruple to give up his Son, as a Pledge, into the Hands of a Man, who was the moſt adverſe of all others, to his Deſigns, (and that was *John*, Earl of *Marr*, *Murray*'s Uncle, Governor of *Sterlin* Caſtle); eſpecially being uncertain how the Queen would take the Murder, when it was committed. Whilſt theſe cunning Wits endeavour'd to impoſe one upon another, and were mutually ſuſpicious, the Queen affirming, that the Delay was not on her part, that the Matter was not diſpatch'd; and yet ſhe us'd no Expedition neither. *John Gordon*, to ſhew himſelf officious, and to watch all Events, had got together about a Thouſand of his Friends and Tenants well arm'd, and had quarter'd them up and down in the Neighbourhood near the Town. But *Murray*, though not guarded, as he would, yet ſaw that all theſe things were prepar'd for his Ruin, for he had had Advices of it by his Friends, both from the *French* and *Engliſh* Courts; neither placed he much Confidence in the Queen, yet, in the Day-time, he perform'd his uſual Services in the Court; and at Night, had only one or two of his Servants to watch in his Chamber; and, being often inform'd of the Plots of his Enemies againſt him, yet, by the the Help of his Friends, he diſappointed all their Purpoſes, without any Noiſe.

ABOUT the ſame time, *Bothwel* was let down by a Rope out of a Window, and ſo eſcaped from the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*. Matters were put to a ſtand at *Aberdeen*, by reaſon of the Diſſimulation on both ſides. And the Queen, intending to make a further Progreſs, was invited by *John Leſly*, a Noble-man, and Client of *Gordon*'s, to his Houſe, about twelve Miles off: That, being a loneſome Place, ſeem'd fit to the *Gordons* to commit the Murder: But *Leſly*, who knew their ſecret Deſign, interpos'd and diſſuaded them from it, not to put that Brand of

Infamy

Infamy on himſelf and his Family, that he ſhould betray the Queen's chief Brother, a Man not otherwiſe bad, againſt whom he had no private Grudge, to the Slaughter. The next Night, they paſs'd over quietly enough at *Rothymay*, a Town of the *Abſernethies*, becauſe, the Day after, they determin'd to lodge at *Strabog*, a Caſtle of the *Gordons*; ſo that they deferr'd the Murder till that time, becauſe there All would be in their Power. In their Journey, *Gordon* had a long Diſcourſe with the Queen; and at laſt, he came to this, plainly to deſire the Queen to pardon his Son *John*, that, being a young Man, and ignorant of the Laws, he had made his Eſcape out of Priſon, into which he was caſt for no hainous Offence, only for a Commotion, which was not rais'd by him neither. But the Queen urg'd, that her Authority would be vilified, unleſs his Son would return, at leaſt for ſome Days, into another Priſon, tho' a larger one; that ſo his former Fault being, as 'twere, expiated, he might more credibly be diſmiſs'd. Tho' it was but a ſlight Command, yet *Gordon*, who was willing to omit no opportunity of committing the deſign'd Fact, obſtinately refuſed to comply with it, either becauſe he might caſt the blame of the Murder upon his Son, if the Queen did not approve it, when 'twas done; or, becauſe, if the thing ſhould be done in the Abſence of his Son, tho' ſhe was not unwilling, yet he ſhould be kept as an Hoſtage. The Queen was ſo much offended at this Stubbornneſs of *Gordon*, that, when ſhe was almoſt in Sight of his Houſe, ſhe turn'd aſide another way. So that the whole Plot, ſo wiſely contriv'd, as they thought, was now quite thrown off the Hinges, till they came to *Invernes*: For there, beſides *Gordon*'s being Lord Preſident for the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, he alſo commanded the Queen's Caſtle, which was ſeated on an high Hill, and commanded the Town; and beſides, the whole Country thereabouts were his Vaſſals. The Queen determined to lodge in the Caſtle, but was not ſuffer'd by the Guards. Being thus excluded, ſhe began to fear, in regard ſhe was to lodge in an unfortified Town; and, in the mean time, *Huntly*'s Son had about a Thouſand choice Horſe now in Arms, beſides a promiſcuous Multitude of the Parts adjacent. But the Queen, taking Counſel from her preſent Circumſtances, ſet a Watch at all the Avenues of the Town: She commanded the Ships which had brought her Proviſions, to ride ready in the River, that, if her Guards were beaten off, ſhe might have Retreat to them. In the midſt of the Night, ſome Scouts were ſent out by *Huntly*; and the firſt Watch let them paſs on purpoſe, till they came to a narrow Paſſage; there they were all ſurrounded and taken; and among the Highlanders the *Macintoſhes* Tribe, as ſoon as they underſtood they were to fight againſt

the Queen, forſook *Huntly*, and came to her, the Day after, into the Town. A great Multitude of the Highlanders, when they heard of the Danger of their Prince, partly by perſuaſion, and partly of their own Accord, came in, and eſpecially the *Frazers* and *Monroes*, valiant Families in thoſe Countries: The Queen, now being ſecure againſt any Force, began to beſiege the Caſtle: The Beſieged were not enough in Number, neither was the Place well fortify'd, or prepared to bear a Siege, ſo that it was ſurrendered to her: The chief Perſons that defended it were put to Death; the reſt were ſent to their own Homes. The Nobility came in on all Parts; upon the coming of ſome, others were permitted to go home: So, on the fourth Day after, with a Guard ſtrong enough, ſhe returned to *Aberdeen*. There, being freed from Fear, ſhe was mightily inflamed with Hatred againſt *Gordon*; and being eager for Revenge, ſhe again receiv'd her Brother, outwardly, into her Favour, pretending that her Dependence was wholly on him: Nay, ſhe endeavoured to perſuade others, that her Safety and her own Life was bound up in his. Hereupon, *Gordon*, perceiving that the whole Face of the Court was alter'd; that the Earl of *Murray*, lately deſign'd for the Slaughter, was now in great Favour; and that himſelf was fallen from the Top of his aſpiring Hopes, and made the Object of a mortal Hatred: And, perceiving he was gone farther than would admit of a Retreat or Pardon, betook himſelf to deſperate Counſels: He thought no Remedy better for his preſent Danger, than, by all means, to get the Queen into his Power: And, tho' he knew, he ſhould grievouſly offend her at preſent by the Attempt, yet he did not deſpair, but a Woman's Heart might be made flexible, by Obſervance, Flattery, and the Marriage of his Son, of which her Uncles were ſuppoſed to be Contrivers.

THIS Deſign he communicated to his Friends, and reſolved, by ſome Means or other, to remove *Murray* out of the way; for, if that was but once done there was none beſides, to whom the Queen would commit the Government; or who was able to manage it. His Spies gave him Hopes, that the thing was feaſible; and, amongſt others, *George Gordon*, Earl of *Sutherland*, who was a daily Attendant at Court, and, pretending good Will to the Queen, fiſhed out all her Counſels, and, by Meſſengers proper for the purpoſe, acquainted *Huntly* with them: Nay, he did not only obſerve the Opportunity of Time and Place, but alſo promiſed his Aſſiſtance to effect it. Beſides, the Town lay open on every ſide, and expoſed to any private Attempt; the Inhabitants either won by Bribery, or joined by Alliances, or, terrified by Danger, would attempt nothing to the contrary. The Highlanders were diſmiſs'd with the Earl of *Murray*; there were

were but a few, and they too came from remote Parts, whom he did not much fear to diſoblige: And, ſeeing all the neighbouring Countries were in his Power, the Matter might be tranſacted without Bloodſhed, and only one Man's Death might put the Queen into his Hands; the other Wounds might be eaſily cured. Theſe things drove him on to attempt the Matter: And, when the way to accompliſh it was ready fix'd, ſome Letters of the Earl of *Sutherland* and *John Leſly*, were intercepted, which diſcover'd the whole Intrigue. *Sutherland*, upon the Diſcovery, fled for it, but *Leſly* ackowledg'd his Fault, and obtain'd his Pardon, and ever after, as long as he liv'd, perform'd true and faithful Service, firſt to the Queen, then to the King. *Huntly*, who, with a great Body of Men, waited the Event of his Deſign, in a Place almoſt inacceſſible, by reaſon of the Marſhes that lay round there, by the Advice of his Friends, determin'd to retreat to the Mountains; but many of the neighbouring Nobility then with the Queen, being his Friends, he truſted to their Promiſes, and therefore alter'd his Reſolution, and determined to abide the Succeſs of a Battle in that advantageous Place. *Murray* had ſcarce an hundred Horſe, in which he could confide; but there follow'd him of the Nobles, then preſent, *James Douglas*, Earl of *Morton*, and *Patrick Lindſy*; with theſe he march'd forth againſt the Enemy; the reſt were Countrymen of the Neighbourhood, gathered together, about 800, whom *Huntly*, for the moſt part, had corrupted before, and were more likely to draw on *Murray's* Party to their Ruin, than to give them any Aid; yet they made mighty boaſt and were mighty big in their Expreſſions, promiſing, that they themſelves without any other Help, would ſubdue the Enemy; and that others ſhould have nothing to do but to look on; and ſtand as Spectators of their Actions. Some Horſemen were ſent before to guard all Paſſages about the Marſh, that *Huntly* might not eſcape: The reſt march'd ſoftly after; and tho' the Night before, many of the *Gordonians* had ſlipp'd away, yet he had ſtill with him above 300 Men, maintaining themſelves in their Poſts: When *Murray* came thither, he ſtood with his Party, in Rank and Order, on a ſmall Hill, where he overlook'd all the Marſh; the reſt, as they were advancing towards the Enemy, gave evident Tokens of Treachery, putting Boughs of Heath on their Helmets, (for that Plant grows in abundance in thoſe Parts) that they might be known by the Enemy. When they came near, the *Huntleans*, ſecure of the Succeſs, haſten to them, and ſeeing the adverſe Army diſorder'd by the Traitors, and put to flight, that they might more nimbly purſue them, they threw away their Lances, and with their drawn Swords, to terrify thoſe Ranks that ſtood, they cry'd out *Treaſon, Treaſon*, and pour'd in with great Violence upon the Enemy. The Traitors

Traitors, thinking that they ſhould alſo put to flight the ſtanding Party, made haſte towards it: But *Murray*, perceiving no Hope in Flight, and that nothing remain'd but to die nobly, cried out to his Party, to hold out their Lances, and not to let thoſe, that were running away, come in amongſt them. They, being thus unexpectedly excluded from both Wings, paſſed by in great Diſorder. But the *Huntleans*, who now thought the Matter ended, and the Victory ſure, when they ſaw a Party, though but ſmall, ſtanding in a terrible manner, with their Pikes forward, they, who were making towards them in Confuſion, and quite out of Order, and could not come to Handy-blows, by reaſon of the length of their Spears, being ſtruck with a ſudden Terror, fled as ſwiftly as they had purſu'd before. The Revolters, perceiving this change of Fortune, preſs'd upon them in their Flight, and, as if willing to make amends for their former Fault, they were the Men that occaſion'd all the Slaughter of the Day. There were 120 of the *Huntleans* ſlain, and 100 taken Priſoners; not ſo much as a Man of the other Army was loſt. Amongſt the Priſoners, were *Huntly* himſelf, and his two Sons, *John* and *Adam*: The Father being an old Man, fat and corpulent, died in the Hands of thoſe who took him; the reſt were brought to *Aberdeen* late at Night. *Murray* had appointed a Miniſter of the Goſpel to wait for his Return; where, in the firſt Place, he gave Thanks to God Almighty, who, out of his Mercy alone, beyond all Men's Expectation, without any Strength or Wiſdom of his own, had deliver'd him and his Men out of ſo imminent a Danger: Afterwards he went to the Court, where, tho' many highly congratulated him, yet the Queen gave no ſign of Joy at all, either in her Speech, or her Countenance.

A few Days after, *John Gordon* was put to Death, who was generally pitied and lamented; For he was a Manly Youth, very beautiful, and entering on the prime of his Age; not ſo much deſign'd for the Royal Bed, as deceived by the Pretence of it: And that which moved no leſs Indignation than Pity was, that he was beheaded by an unskilful Headſman. The Queen beheld his Death with many Tears, but, as ſhe was prone to conceal and counterfeit Affections, ſo various Deſcants were made upon her Grief and Paſſion; and the rather, becauſe he was but young: *George*, the eldeſt Son, in this deſperate Caſe, fled from his Houſe to his Father-in-law *James Hamilton*, there to ſhelter himſelf, or elſe to obtain his Pardon through his Mediation. As for *Gordon*'s Followers, juſt as the Degrees of their Offences were, more or leſs, ſome were Fin'd, others Baniſh'd the Land; many ſent into remote Parts of the Kingdom, that they might have no more Commotions at home: Thoſe, who had the good Fortune of powerful Interceſſors, were remitted their

their Offences, and taken into former Grace and Favour: Matters being thus ſettled, or, at leaſt, appeaſed for the preſent: The reſt of the Winter was ſpent in Peace.

THE 26th Day of *November*, *Bothwel*, who had eſcap'd out of Priſon, was, by a Proclamation, commanded to render himſelf again, and, in default of it, he, not obeying, was declared a publick Enemy. When the Queen was returned from *Aberdeen* to St *Johnſton's*, *James Hamilton* came to her, to beg Pardon for *George Gordon*, his Son-in-law, who was ſent Priſoner to *Dunbar*; and the next Year after, which was 1563, on the 26th of *January*, was brought to *Edinburgh*, there condemned for Treaſon, and ſent back to *Dunbar*.

'TWAS about this time that there came out a Proclamation, That no Fleſh ſhould be eaten in Lent, on the Penalty of a Fine. The Pretence was (not any thing of Religion but (civil Advantage only: The Arch-biſhop of St. *Andrews*, becauſe he did not forbear to hear, and ſay Maſs, after the Edict made at the coming in of the Queen, was committed Priſoner to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*: Others, guilty of the ſame Fault, were puniſh'd but ſlightly, yet were threatned to be more ſeverely treated, if they offended in the like ſort again.

NOW the Seſſion of Parliament drew near, which was ſummon'd to be held the 20th Day of *May*, where the Queen, with the Crown on her Head, and in her Royal Robes, went in great Pomp to the Parliament-Houſe, a new Sight to many; but that Men had been accuſtom'd to bear the Government of Women in her Mother's and Grand-mother's Days. In that Aſſembly ſome Statutes were made in Favour of the Reformed, and ſome Coiners were puniſh'd. The Queen ſpent the reſt of the Summer in *Athol*, where took the Diverſion of Hunting.

AT the end of *Autumn*, *Matthew Stuart*, Earl of *Lenox*, by the Queen's Leave, return'd to *Scotland*, having been unworthily deſerted by the King of *France*, the 22d Year after his Departure, as I ſaid before: And the next Year, which was 1564, in the Month of *January*, at a Convention of the Eſtates, held almoſt on purpoſe for that very thing, his Baniſhment was remitted, and his Goods reſtored. the Queen ſeconding that Remiſſion with many favourable Words, and repeating the many great Services the Earl had done her in her very Infancy; ſhe having been delivered out of her Enemies Hands, and advanced to her Throne by his Means. Afterwards, *Henry*, his Son, came out of *England* into *Scotland*, on the 12th of *February*, having there obtained a Convoy for three Months. The Queen of *Scots* receiv'd this Young Man very graciouſly, being of high Deſcent, very beautiful, the Son of her Aunt; ſhe took Delight daily in his Company, and the common Saying was, that ſhe would marry him; neither

neither was the Nobility againſt it, becauſe they ſaw many Advantages might redound to *Britain* by that Marriage, if it could be made by the Queen of *England's* Conſent; both of them were allied to her in an equal Degree of Conſanguinity; and ſhe was ſo far from being againſt it, that ſhe was willing rather to ſeem the Author of it, and ſo to lay ſome Obligation upon her in making the Match; beſides, ſhe thought it for her Advantage, to humble the Power of her Relation, by this condeſcending Marriage, that it might not ſwell beyond what was ſafe and fit for Neighbours. But, when all was concluded on, there fell out an unluckly Buſineſs, which retarded all, and turn'd every thing, as it were, upſide down: To make it plain, I muſt deduce the Original Story a little higher.

THERE was one *David Rizo*, born at *Turin* in *Savoy*, his Father being honeſt, but poor, got a mean Livelihood for himſelf and Family, by teaching young People the firſt Grounds of Muſick; and, having no other Patrimony to leave his Children, he made them all, of both Sexes, skilful Muſicians. *David* was was one of them, who, being in the prime of his Youth, and having a Voice, placed ſome hopes in his Art of bettering his Fortune: He went to *Nice*, to the Duke of *Savoy*'s Court, which Place that Duke had newly obtained; but, meeting with no Entertainment there, anſwerable to his Hopes, contriving every way to relieve himſelf in his Penury, it was his Chance to light upon *Morettius*, who, by the Duke's Command, was then preparing for a Voyage to *Scotland*, and he accompanied him into *Scotland*; but *Morettius* being a Man of no great Eſtate, and, looking upon his Service as unneceſſary and uſeleſs, he reſolved to ſtay in *Scotland*, and try his Fortune there, eſpecially becauſe he had heard, that the Queen took a great delight in Muſick, and was not ignorant of the Grounds of it herſelf. Well, to make way to her Preſence, he firſt dealt with her Muſicians, of which many were *French*, to admit him into their Society, which they did; and, having play'd his Part once or twice, was lik'd very well; whereupon he was made one of their ſet and Company; and he ſo complied with the Queen's Humour, that partly flattering her, and, partly by undermining others, he grew high in her Favour, and got him the extream Hatred and Envy of his Fellow Muſicians: Neither was he content with this favourable turn of Fortune; but he deſpiſed his Equals too, and, by ſly Inſinuations and Accuſations, worm'd them out of their Places; then he roſe higher, and began to treat about Matters of State, and, by degrees, was made Secretary; and, by that means, had opportunity of private Converſe with the Queen, a-part from others.

THE

THE ſudden Advancement of this Man, from a low, and almoſt beggerly, Eſtate, to ſuch a Power, Wealth and Dignity, afforded Matter of Diſcourſe to the People: His Fortune was above his Virtue; and his Arrogance, Contempt of his Equals, and Contention with his Superiours, were above his Fortune. This Vanity and Madneſs of the Man was much encreas'd and nouriſh'd by the Flattery of the Nobility; who ſought his Friendſhip, courted him, admir'd his Judgment, walk'd before his Lodgings and obſerv'd his Levy: But *Murray* alone, who had no Diſſimulation in his Heart, was ſo far from fawning on him, that he gave him many a ſour Look, which troubled the Queen, as much as *David* himſelf; but he, on the other ſide, to uphold himſelf in his Station againſt the Hatred of the Nobility, apply'd himſelf, with great Adulation, to the young Gentleman, who was to be the Queen's Husband; ſo that he came to be ſo familiar with him, as to be admitted to his Chamber and Bedſide, and to a ſecret Conference with him; where, taking the Advantage of his unwary Credulity and Forwardneſs to compaſs his Deſires, he perſwaded him, that he was the chief Occaſion of the Queen's placing her Eye upon him: Beſides, he threw in Seeds of Diſcord betwixt him and *Murray*, every Day, as knowing, that if he was but remov'd, he ſhould paſs the Reſidue of his Life without any Affront or Diſturbance.

THERE was now much Talk abroad, not only of the Queen's Marriage with *Henry*, and his ſecret Recourſe to her; but alſo of the too great Familiarity betwixt her and *David Rize*: *Murray*, who, by his plain, downright Advice to his Siſter, got nothing but her ill Will, reſolv'd to leave the Court, that ſo he might not be thought the Author of what was acted there. And the Queen was willing enough, that ſo ſevere a Supervifor of her Actions ſhould withdraw, eſpecially in a Seaſon, whilſt ſhe was ſtrengthening the contrary Faction: For ſhe recall'd thoſe who were baniſh'd, *Bothwel* from *France*; *George Gordon* Earl of *Sutherland*, from *Flanders*: She deliver'd the other *George Gordon*, Son to the Earl of *Huntly*, out of Priſon, and reſtor'd him to his former Place and Dignity. When *Bothwel* was return'd from *France*, *Murray* accuſes him of the treaſonable Practices he had lately committed againſt him: Some of thoſe Noblemen and Gentlemen, who were his Familiars in *France*, were Witneſſes againſt him. The Matter was clear and heinous, to a Degree of Enormity. A Day was appointed for the Trial; but the Queen firſt dealt earneſtly with her Brother, to deſiſt from the Proſecution; which he refus'd, judging his Credit to be much at Stake, which Way ſoever the Balance inclin'd. What did the Queen do next, but write Letters to many of the Nobility, not to appear at the Time appointed? And, as *Alexander*, Earl of

of *Glencarn*, *Murray*'s intimate Friend, was paſſing by *Sterlin*, ſhe ſent for him, out of the Way, to her; yet all Good Men were ſo well agreed in the Caſe, that *Bothwel*, being prejudg'd and condemn'd beforehand in his own Conſcience, and mov'd with the general Deteſtation of the wicked Attempt, durſt not abide the Trial. This Favour of the People to *Murray* ſo enrag'd the Queen's Mind againſt him, that ſhe haſten'd his, long before deſign'd, End; and the manner ſhe took to accompliſh it, was this; *Murray* was to be ſent for to *Perth*, where the Queen was with a few Attendants: There *Darnly* was to diſcourſe him; and, in the Conference, they all knew, he would ſpeak his Mind freely; and then a Quarrel would ariſe; upon which *David Rize* was to give him the firſt Blow, then the reſt were to wound him to Death. *Murray* was made acquainted with this Conſpiracy by his Friends at Court, yet, come what would on't, he reſolv'd to go: But, as he was on his Journey, being again adviſ'd by *Patrick Ruven*, he turn'd aſide to his Mother's Houſe, near *Loch Levin*, and, being troubled with a Lask, excus'd himſelf, and ſtaid there. Some of his Friends came thither to viſit him; upon which, a Report was preſently ſpread, that he ſtaid there to intercepr the Queen and *Darnly* in their Return to *Edinburgh*; whereupon Horſemen were ſent out, but they diſcover'd no Men in Arms, or ſign of any Force, yet the Queen made ſuch haſte, and was ſo fearful in this Journey, as if ſome great Danger had been near.

THE Marriage was now at hand, and a great part of the Nobility call'd together at *Sterlin*, that the Queen might countenance her Will and Pleaſure with ſome Pretence of publick Conſent. Moſt of ſuch they ſent for were ſuch as they knew would eaſily give their Aſſent; or elſe, that durſt not oppoſe. Many of thoſe, ſo congregated, aſſented to the Motion, provided always, that no Alteration ſhould be made in the *then* eſtabliſh'd Religion; but the moſt did it to gratify the Queen; only *Andrew Stuart*, of *Ochiltry*, openly profeſs'd, that he would never give his Conſent to the Admiſſion of a popiſh King. As for *Murray*, he was not averſe to the Marriage, (for he was the firſt Adviſer, that the young Man ſhould be call'd out of *England*) but he foreſaw what Tumults it would occaſion, provided it ſhould be celebrated without the Conſent of the Queen of *England*: Beſides, he promis'd to procure her Conſent, that ſo all Things might go on favourably, Proviſion being made about Religion; but, perceiving that there would be no Freedom of Debate in that Convention, he choſe rather to be abſent, than to declare his Opinion, which might prove deſtructive to himſelf, and no way advantageous to the Commonwealth.

MORE,

MOREOVER, there was a Queſtion ſtarted and diſcours'd, amongſt the Vulgar, Whether the Queen, upon her Husband's Death, might not marry any other Man, whom ſhe pleas'd? Some were of Opinion, That a Queen might have the ſame Freedom, as Men, even of the Commonalty, have: Others, on the contrary, affirm'd, That the Caſe was different in reference to Heirs of Kingdoms, where, at one and the ſame time, an Husband was to be taken to a Wife, and a King to be given to the People; and that it was far more equitable, that *all* the People ſhould provide an Husband for *one* young Queen, than that *one* young Queen ſhould chuſe a King for *all* the People.

IN the Month of *July*, came an Embaſſador from *England*, who declar'd, That his Miſtreſs could not help wondering, that, ſince they were both equally ally'd to her, they ſhould precipitate ſo great an Affair without acquainting her with it; and therefore ſhe earneſtly deſir'd, that they would ſtay a little while, and weigh the thing a little more ſeriouſly, to the great Advantage, probably, of both Kingdoms. This Embaſſy had no Effect: Upon that Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* was ſent by the Queen of *England* to tell *Lenox* and his Son, that they had a Convoy from her, to return at a ſet Day, and that Day was now paſt, and therefore ſhe commanded them to return; and, if they did not, they were to be baniſh'd, and their Goods confiſcated. They were not at all terrify'd with theſe Threats; but perſiſted in their purpoſe. In the mean time, the Queen being ſenſible, that it would ſeem a very incongruous Match, if ſhe, who was lately the Wife of a Great King, and beſides, the Heir of an illuſtrious Kingdom, ſhould marry a private young Man, who had no Title of Honour conferr'd upon him, ſhe made an Edict, proclaiming *Darnly* Duke of *Rothſay*, and Earl of *Roſs*. Moreover, the Predictions of wizardly Women, in both Kingdoms, contributed very much to haſten the Marriage: Theſe, it ſeems, propheſy'd, that, if it was conſummated before the End of *July*, it foretold much future Advantage to them both; if not, much Reproach and Ignominy. Beſides, Rumours were ſpread abroad of the Death of the Queen of *England*, and the Day mention'd, before which ſhe ſhould die. Which Prediction ſeem'd not ſo much to divine Things, as to declare a Conſpiracy of her Subjects againſt her. This alſo added much to the Queen's Haſte; ſhe knew her Uncles would be averſe to the Marriage: and, if it ſhould be longer delay'd, ſhe fear'd they would find out ſome new Obſtacle, and break off the Match, which was upon the Point of being concluded.

FOR, when the ſecret Decree and Reſolution was made, to carry on the *Holy War* thro' all *Chriſtendom*, and *Guiſe* was appointed General of the League to extirpate the Reform'd Religion,

gion, it made him have high and ambitious Hopes, and therefore he determin'd, by his Sister's Daughter, ſo to trouble *Britain* with domeſtick Tumults, that they ſhould not be able to aid their Friends beyond Sea. And *David*, who could then do moſt with the Queen, urg'd, That the Marriage would be highly advantageous to all *Chriſtendom*, becauſe *Henry Darnly*, and his Father, were ſtiff Maintainers of the Popiſh Religion, were very Gracious in both Kingdoms, ally'd to great Families, and had large Clans under their Command. This, being long debated, was at laſt carried; for he knew, that, if the Marriage was made by the Conſent of the Queen of *England*, and the Nobility of *Scotland*, that he ſhould gain two great Points; One, that he ſhould be no ways ingratiated, as before; and the Other, that the Reform'd Religion would be ſecur'd. But, if the Queen adher'd to the Council of *Trent*, then he promis'd Honours, Eccleſiaſtical Dignities, Heaps of Money, and unrivall'd Power, to himſelf: So that, turning every Stone, he at laſt procur'd, that the Marriage ſhould be haſten'd; tho' the *Scots* were not much for it, and the *Engliſh* were very much againſt it.

Note, *That the Name of* Henry *as join'd with* Mary, *in the Title, tho' before their Marriage, is accounted for at the Cloſe of the Catalogue of the* Scotiſh *Kings, prefix'd before the Body of this Hiſtory.*

MARY *and* HENRY STUART.

Henry Stuart was marry'd to *Mary Stuart*, *July* 28th; and *O Yes* being made, Proclamation of it was publickly read, with the Applauſe of the Multitude, *God ſave* Henry *and* Mary, *King and Queen of* Scotland; and, the Day after, they were proclaim'd in like manner, by an Herald at *Edinburgh*. This Affair gave mighty Offence to the Nobility, and to the Commons too; nay, ſome fretted and openly ſtorm'd, That 'twas a thing of the worſt Example that ever was: For to what purpoſe was it to call a Council about conſtituting a King, and never to ask their Advice, nor to comply with their Authority; but to ſet up an Herald inſtead of a Senate, and a Proclamation for a Statute of Parliament, or Order of Council? So that it was not (ſaid they) a Conſultation, but an Eſſay rather, how the *Scots* would bear the Yoke of Tyranny. The Abſence of ſo many Nobles encreas'd the Suſpicion: The chief Nobility were away, as, *James* Duke of *Caſtle-herault*, *Gileſpy* Earl of *Argyle*, *James* Earl of *Murray*, *Alexander* Earl of *Glencarn*, *Andrew* Earl of *Rothes*; and many others of rich and noble Families. Heralds were ſent to them to come in; which they not doing, were baniſh'd, and went moſt of them into *Argyle*, and their Enemies were recall'd to Court. The King and Queen having got as many Forces together,

ther; as they thought were ſufficient to ſubdue the Rebels, came with 4000 Men to *Glaſgow*. The Rebels kept at *Paſley*, where various Conſultations were held, according to the Diſpoſition of the Parties. The King and Queen ſent an Herald at Arms to have the Caſtle of *Hamilton* ſurrender'd to them; which not being done, they prepar'd themſelves for the Fight. The contrary Faction was at Variance one with another, and divided into ſeveral Opinions. The *Hamiltons*, who had the greateſt Power in thoſe Parts, were of Opinion, that no firm Peace could be made, till the King and Queen were both taken out of the way; as long as they were ſafe, nothing could be expected but new Wars, continual Plots, and a counterfeit Peace, worſe than an open War; 'Private Men, (ſaid they) may forget Injuries offer'd them, be-'ing weary of proſecuting them; yea, ſometimes they were re-'compens'd with great Advantages; but the Wrath of Princes 'was not to be quench'd, but by Death alone. But *Murray* and *Glencarn*, who underſtood, that their Diſcourſe was not founded on the good of the Publick, but their private Advantage, (for, upon the Queen's Death, they were the next Heirs to the Crown) did equally abhor the Prince's Death, and *Hamilton*'s Government too, which, they had lately experienc'd to be avaritious and cruel: So that they were for milder Counſels; and, in regard 'twas a civil Diſſention, in which, as yet, there had been no Blood ſhed; the Diſputes having been hitherto manag'd by Votes, not Arms, they thought fit, if poſſible, to end it by an honeſt Agreement. They thought many in the King's Army would hearken to ſuch a Propoſal, as being deſirous of Peace; and would not be wanting to plead for thoſe, that, in Defence of their Liberties, were forc'd to take up Arms. As for the King and Queen, they, being yet Young, might not perhaps be ſo Provident; and, for their parts, they had not yet ſo far tranſgreſs'd, as to endanger the Common-wealth; as for ſmaller Injuries, which affected their Names and Reputations only, 'twas fitter they were cured by other Remedies than Death: For they remember'd it was an old Caution tranſmitted to them from their Anceſtors, for their Imitation, *That hidden Vices ought to be concealed in the Lives and Manners of Princes*; *That thoſe, that would bear a double Conſtruction, ought to be taken in the beſt Senſe; and their open ones ſo far born with, as they did not endanger the Ruin of the Publick.* This Opinion pleaſed the moſt, and the reſt of the *Hamiltons* acquieſc'd in it, and reſolv'd to be quiet; only *James*, Chief of their Family, with ſixteen Horſe, remained with the Nobility, who, being leſſened by the Receſs of the *Hamiltons*, were not able to give Battle to the Enemy, nor yet to break thro', each to his own Clan; and therefore they complied with the neceſſity of the Times, and came that Night to *Hamilton*, and the

next Day to *Edinburgh*, to conſult how to manage the War: But, in regard the Caſtle which commanded the Town, continually play'd upon them, and their Friends could not come in ſo ſoon from remote Parts, as was requiſite; and moreover, the King and Queen were reported to be near them with their Forces: They, by the great Perſuaſions and Promiſes of *John Maxwel* of *Herreis*, directed their Courſe towards *Dumfreiz*. The King and Queen returned back to *Glaſcow*, and left the Earl of *Lenox*, their Lieutenant, in the Country towards the South-Weſt: They themſelves went afterwards to *Sterlin*, and thence into the middle of *Fife*. They made the greateſt part of the Nobility take an Oath, That, if any Commotion aroſe from *England*, they would faithfully oppoſe it; the reſt were puniſh'd, ſome by Fine, ſome by Baniſhment. The Goods of thoſe, who fled into *England*, where-ever they could find them, were ſeiz'd upon, and they appointed Commiſſioners of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, to be held in all Counties, to enquire into the Remains of the Rebellion.

On the *9th* of *October*, they drew out their Army from *Edinburgh*, and march'd towards *Dumfreiz*. *Maxwel*, who, till that time, had pretended to be deeply in with the Party, which was againſt the King, thinking it now a fit opportunity to make his own Market, went out to meet them, as if he would have interceeded for a general Amneſty. He dealt with them to have part of his Father-in-law's Eſtate, which he had a great mind to have beſtow'd upon him: They look'd upon him as an active ſubtil Man, fit for Counſel and Buſineſs, and granted his Requeſt: Then he return'd to the Rebels, and told them, he could do them no good; and therefore they muſt all ſhift for themſelves; *England* was near at hand, if they would retire thither, after he had ſettled his Affairs at home he would follow them, and live and die with the Party. In the interim he got a thouſand Pounds from *Murray*, upon the account of Mony, which, he alledged, he had expended in liſting ſome Horſe: For, being commanded to raiſe ſome few Troops of Horſe, he cauſed all his Domeſticks to appear, as if they had been Soldiers formally liſted. The Rebels were put in an univerſal Panick at the Appearance of the King and Queen, and at *Maxwel*'s Revolt from them; ſo that the King and Queen did what they pleas'd: They drove away moſt of the Leaders of the Faction, and the reſt were intent on the Event of their Danger; ſo that about the End of *October*, they return'd to *Edinburgh*, and all Things were Quiet in *Scotland* till the beginning of the next enſuing Spring.

A Convention of all the Eſtates of the Kingdom was ſummon'd to be held in *March*; that ſo the Goods of thoſe who were baniſh'd might be confiſcated, their Names ſtruck out of the

the Roll of the Nobility, and their Coats of Arms, and Trophies of Honour torn in Pieces; neither of which the Kings of *Scotland* can lawfully do, without an Act of Parliament. In the interim, *David*, perceiving the Court to be quite empty of Nobility, and thinking it an opportunity to ſhew and declare the exceſſive reach of his Power, put the Queen upon ſevere Counſels, daily preſſing her to cut off ſome of the chief of the Faction; if a few of them, (ſaid he) were Executed, the reſt would be Quiet: And, as he thought, the Queen's Guard, being *Scots-men*, would not eaſily conſent to the cruel Murder of the Nobility, he was very intent to have them thrown out of their Places, and to introduce Foreigners in their Room; (a Project that is wont to be the beginning of all Tyranny;) firſt, mention was made of ſending for ſome *Germans* over for that Service; becauſe that Nation was remarkably Loyal to its Princes: But, when *David* had conſider'd ſeriouſly with himſelf, he thought it conduced to his Intereſt to have *Italians*; firſt, Becauſe, being his Countrymen, he preſumed they would be more at his Devotion; next, That being Men of no Religion, they would be fitter to make Diſturbances; ſo that, he thought, they might eaſily be induc'd to venture upon any Deſign, Right or Wrong; for, being wicked and indigent Perſons, born and bred up under Tyrants us'd to War, and far from their own Home, they would not care what became of *Britain*, and therefore ſeem'd the moſt proper Inſtruments to attempt Innovations. Then Soldiers of Fortune were privately ſent for out of *Flanders* and other Countries of the Continent; but they were to come by Piecemeal, as twere one by one, and, at ſeveral times too, that the Deſign might not be detected: *It would be more dangerous* (ſaid he) *to offend any one of thoſe Ruffians, than the Queen herſelf.*

BUT, as *David's* Power and Authority with the Queen daily increas'd, ſo the King grew daily Cheaper with her; for, as ſhe had been raſhly precipitate in making the Marriage; ſo ſhe as ſoon repented, and gave manifeſt Tokens of an alter'd Mind. For, as preſently after, the Marriage was celebrated, ſhe had publickly proclaim'd him King by an Herald, without the conſent of the States, and afterwards, in all her Mandates till that time, the King and Queen's Name were expreſs'd, ſhe began to change the Order, keeping both Names in, but ſetting her own firſt. At length, the Queen, to deprive her Husband of all opportunity of doing Kindneſſes for any, found fault with him; that, whilſt he was buſy in Hawking and Hunting, many State Matters were unſeaſonably carry'd on, or elſe were wholly omitted; and therefore it would be better that ſhe might ſubſcribe her Name for them both; and, by this means, he might enjoy his Pleaſure, and yet no publick Buſineſs be retarded. He was willing to gratify her

in every thing, and yielded to be diſmiſs'd upon ſuch frivolous Grounds, that ſo, being remote from the Council and privity of publick Affairs, the Obligation of all Boons might redound to the Queen herſelf: For ſhe thought thus with herſelf, that, if her Husband's Favour could do no good Offices for any, and his Anger were formidable to none, he would, by Degrees, fall into univerſal Contempt of all; and, to increaſe the Indignity, *David* was ſubſtituted with an Iron Seal, to impreſs the King's Name on Proclamations. He, thus fraudulently cheated out of publick Buſineſs, leſt he might likewiſe prove an Interrupter of their private Pleaſures, in a very ſharp Winter, was ſent away to *Pebly*, with a ſmall Retinue, far beneath the Dignity of ſome private Perſons, for a Prey, rather than Recreation. At the ſame time, there fell ſuch a Quantity of Snow, that, the Place not being very Plentiful, and beſides, being troubled with Thieves; He that was always bred up at Court, and uſed to a liberal Diet, was in great hazard of wanting Neceſſaries, unleſs the Biſhop of the *Orcades* had caſually come thither; for he, knowing the Scarcity of the Place, brought him ſome Wine, and other Proviſions for his Uſe.

THE Queen was not content to advance *David*, and, as 'twere, to ſhew him to the People, from ſuch an obſcure Original, on the Account before-mention'd; but ſhe adviſ'd another Way how to cloath him with domeſtick Honour: For, whereas the Queen had, for ſome Months before, permitted more Company than was uſual to ſit with her at Table; that ſo, in the Croud, *David*'s Place might be leſs envy'd: By this ſhew of Popularity, ſhe thought to gain the Point; that ſuch an unuſual Sight would be, in ſome meaſure, render'd more familiar, by the multitude of Gueſts and daily Uſage, and ſo Mens high Stomachs, by degrees, be inur'd to bear any thing. At laſt it came to this, That but he, and one or two more, ſat at Table with her; and, that the littleneſs of the Room might take off ſomething from the Envy of the Thing. Sometimes ſhe would eat her Rarities in a ſmall Parlour; ſometimes at *David*'s own Lodgings. But the Way, ſhe thus took to abate, did but increaſe the Reflections; for it maintained Suſpicions, and gave occaſion to odd Diſcourſes: Men's thoughts were now inclin'd to the worſt; and what ſerv'd to inflame them was, that he exceeded even the King himſelf in Houſhold-ſtuff, in Apparrel, and in the Number of brave and ſtately Horſes; and the Matter look'd the worſe for this, becauſe all this Ornament did not credit his Face, but his Face rather ſpoil'd all this Ornament.

BUT the Queen, not being able to amend the Faults of Nature, endeavour'd, by heaping Wealth and Honour upon him, to raiſe him up to the degree of the Nobles, that ſhe might cover

ver the Meanneſs of his Birth, and the Defects of his Body too, with the Luſtre of Dignity and Promotion: But he was advanc'd by degrees; leſt he might ſeem to be but a poor, mercenary Snator. The firſt Attempt was made on the Account of a Piece of Land near *Edinburgh*; which the *Scots* call *Malvil*: The Owner of this Land, his Father-in-law, and others, that were beſt able to perſuade him, were ſent for, and the Queen deals with the preſent Owner to part with his Poſſeſſions; and ſhe deſir'd his Father-in-law and Friends to perſuade him to it: But, this Matter not ſucceeding, the Queen took the Repulſe as an Affront to her; and, what was worſe, *David* took it very heinouſly alſo. Theſe Things being noiſed abroad, the Commonalty bewail'd the ſad State of Affairs, and expected that things would grow worſe, if Men, eminent for their Families, Eſtates, and Credits, ſhould be turn'd out of their ancient Patrimonies, to gratify the Luſt of a beggarly Varlet; nay, many of the more ancient among them call'd to Mind, and told others of that Time, when *Cockburn* wickedly ſlew the King's Brother, and from a *Stone-cutter*, was made Earl of *Marr*; which rais'd up ſuch a Fire of Civil War, that could not be extinguiſh'd but by the Death of the King, and almoſt the Deſtruction of the Kingdom. Theſe things were ſpoken openly, but in private Men went further in their Complaints (as it uſeth to be in Matters not very creditable): Yet the King would never be perſuaded to believe it, unleſs he ſaw it with his own Eyes; ſo that, one time, hearing, that *David* was gone into the Queen's Bed-Chamber, he came to a little Door, the Key of which he alway's carry'd about him, and found it bolted in the inſide, which it never us'd to be; he knock'd, no Body anſwer'd; upon that, conceiving great Wrath and Indignation in his Heart, he could not Sleep a Wink that Night. From that time forward, he conſulted with ſome few of his Servants, (for he durſt truſt but a few, many of them having been corrupted by the Queen, and put upon him rather as Spies of his Actions, than Attendants on his Perſon) how to rid *David* out of the way; they approved his Deſign, but could not find a probable Way to effect it. That Conſultation had been managed for ſome Days, when others of his Servants, who were not of the Privacy, ſuſpected the Matter, and there being evident Signs of it, they acquainted the Queen with it, and told her, they would bring her to the Place where they were, and they were as good as their Words; they obſerv'd and watch'd their Opportunity, when others were ſhut out, and the King had only his Confidents with him: The Queen, as if ſhe were paſſing through his Chamber to her own, ſurprized him with his Partiſans: Then ſhe inveighed againſt him moſt bitterly, and highly

threatned his Domeſticks, telling them, all their Plots were in vain; ſhe knew all their Minds and Actions, and would remedy them well enough in time.

Matters being brought to this paſs, the King acquaints his Father with his unhappy Condition: Both concluded, that the only Remedy for the preſent Malady was, to reconcile thoſe of the Nobility who were preſent. and to recall thoſe that were abſent: But great haſte was required in the thing, becauſe the Day was near at hand, wherein the Queen was reſolved to condemn the Nobles that were abſent, ſhe having called a Convention of the Eſtates for that purpoſe againſt the Wills of the *French* and *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors, who interceded in the Caſe: For they knew, that the Accuſed had committed no ſuch heinous Offence; and beſides, they foreſaw the Danger would inſue.

About the ſame time, the Queen of *England* ſent her a very large and Obliging Letter, full of prudent Advice, in reference to the preſent Eſtate of *Scotland*, endeavouring to incline her Kinſwoman, from a watchful to a reconcileable Temper. The Nobility knew that ſuch Letters were come, and they gueſs'd what the Contents were; and thereupon the Queen counterfeited a more civil Reſpect to them than ordinary, and began to read them in the Preſence of many of them: When ſhe was in the middle, *David* ſtood up, and bade her *Read no more, ſhe had read enough, ſhe ſhould ſtop.* That Carriage of his ſeemed to them rather Arrogant than New; for they knew how imperiouſly he had carried it towards her before; nay, and ſometimes he would reprove her more ſharply than her own Husband ever durſt do.

At that time, the Cauſe of the Exiles was warmly diſputed in the Parliament-Houſe; ſome, to gratify the Queen, would have the Sentence due to Traitors paſs'd upon them; others contended, that they had done nothing that deſerved ſo ſevere a Treatment. In the mean time, *David* went about to all of them, one by one, to feel their Pulſes, what each one's Vote would be concerning the Exiles: If he was choſen Speaker by the reſt of the Convention, he told them plainly, the Queen was reſolved to have them condemn'd, and 'twas in vain for any of them to contend againſt it; and beſides, he would be ſure to incur the Queen's Diſpleaſure by it. His Deſign in this was, partly to confound the weaker Spirits betwixt Hope and Fear, and partly to exclude the more Reſolv'd out of the number of the Judges ſelect, or Lords of the Articles; or, at leaſt, that the major Part might be of ſuch a Kidney as would pleaſe the Queen. This audacious improbity, of ſo mean a Fellow, was fear'd by ſome, and hated by all.

Upon

Upon that, the King, by his Father's Advice, ſent for *James Douglas*, and *Patrick Lindſy*, his Kinſmen, one by the Father, the other by the Mother's Side: They adviſe with *Patrick Ruven*, an able Man both for Advice and Execution; but he was ſo weaken'd with a long and tedious Sickneſs, that, for ſome Months, he could not riſe out of his Bed; however, they were willing to truſt him, amongſt ſome few others, in a Matter of ſuch mighty Moment, both by reaſon of his great Prudence, and alſo becauſe his Children were Couſin-Germans to the King. The King was told by them, what a great Error he had committed before, in ſuffering his Kinſmen and Friends to be driven from Court, in favour of ſuch a baſe Miſcreant as *Rizo*; nay, he himſelf did, in effect, thruſt them out from the Court with his own Hand, and ſo had advanc'd ſuch a contemptible Muſhroom, that now he himſelf was deſpis'd by him: They had likewiſe a great deal of other Diſcourſe concerning the State of the Publick: The King was quickly brought to acknowledge his Fault, and to promiſe to act nothing for the future, without the Conſent of the Nobility.

BUT thoſe wiſe and experienc'd Counſellors thought it not ſafe to truſt the verbal Promiſes of an uxorious Young Man, as believing, that he might, in time, be enticed by his Wife to deny this Capitulation, to their certain Ruin; and therefore they drew up the Heads of their Contract in Writing; which he was very willing, nay, forward to ſubſcribe. The Heads were, *For the eſtabliſhing Religion, as 'twas provided for at the Queen's Return to* Scotland: *To reſtore the Perſons, lately baniſh'd, becauſe their Country could not well be without their Service: To deſtroy* David; *for as long as he was alive, the King could not maintain his Dignity, nor the Nobility live in Safety.* They all ſet their Hands to this Schedule, wherein the King, profeſſing himſelf the Author of the Homicide, they reſolv'd preſently to attempt the Fact, both to prevent the Condemnation of the abſent Nobles, and alſo, leſt Delay might diſcover their Deſign. And therefore, when the Queen was at Supper, in a narrow private Room, the Earl of *Argyle's* Wife and *David* ſitting with her, as they were wont, and there were but a few Attendants, for the Room would not hold many; *James Douglas*, Earl of *Morton*, with a great Number of his Friends, were walking in an outward Chamber, their faithful Friends and Vaſſals were commanded to ſtay below in the Yard, to quiet the Tumult, if any ſhould be. The King comes out of his own Chamber, which was below the Queen's, and goes up to her by a narrow Pair of Stairs, which were open to none but himſelf; *Patrick Ruven* follow'd him arm'd, with but four or five Companions at moſt: They entred into the Cloſet, where they were at Supper; and the Queen, being ſome-

thing mov'd at that unuſual Appearance of arm'd Men, and alſo perceiving *Ruven*, in an uncouth Poſture, and lean by reaſon of his late Diſeaſe, and yet in his Armour, ask'd him, *What was the Matter?* For the Spectators thought, that his Fever had diſturb'd his Head, and put him beſides himſelf. He commanded *David* to riſe, and come forth; for the Place he ſat in was not fit for him. The Queen preſently roſe, and ſought to defend him by the Interpoſal of her Body; but the King took her in his Arms, and bade her take Courage, they would do her no hurt, only the Death of that Villain was reſolv'd on. They hal'd *David* out into the next, then into the outer Chamber: There thoſe, that waited with *Douglas*, diſpatch'd him at laſt, after having given him many Wounds; which was againſt the Mind of all thoſe who conſpir'd his Death, for they reſolv'd to hang him up publickly, as knowing it would be a grateful Spectacle to all the People.

THERE went a conſtant Report, that one *John Damiot*, a *French* Prieſt, who was a reputed Conjurer, told *David* once or twice, *That, now he had feather'd his Neſt, he ſhould be gone, and withdraw himſelf from the Envy of the Nobles, who would be too hard for him:* And that *David* anſwer'd, *The* Scots *were greater Threatners than Fighters.* He was alſo told, a little before his Death, *That he ſhould take heed of a Baſtard.* To which he reply'd, *That, as long as he liv'd, no Baſtard ſhould have ſo much Power in* Scotland, *as that he need fear it:* For he thought his Danger was predicted from *Murray*; but the Prophecy was either fulfill'd, or eluded, by *George Douglas*'s giving him his firſt Blow, who was a natural Son of the Earl of *Angus:* After he had began, then every one ruſh'd in, to ſtrike him, either to revenge their own particular Grief, or the publick Concern. Hereupon a Tumult aroſe all over the Houſe, and the Earls of *Huntly*, *Athol*, and *Bothwel*, who were at Supper in another part of the Palace, were ruſhing out; but they were kept within their Chamber, by thoſe who guarded the Courts below, and had no harm done them. *Ruven* went out of that Privy-Room into the Queen's Bedchamber; where, not being able to ſtand, he ſat down, and call'd for ſomething to drink: Whereupon the Queen fell upon him, with ſuch Words as her preſent Grief and Fury ſuggeſted to her, calling him a perfidious Traitor, and ask'd him, *How he durſt be ſo bold, as to ſpeak to her, ſitting, whereas ſhe herſelf ſtood?* He excus'd it, as not done out of Pride, but Weakneſs of Body; but adviſ'd her, *That in managing the Affairs of the Kingdom, ſhe would rather conſult the Nobility, who had a Concern in the Publick, than Vagrants, who could give no Pledge for their Loyalty, and who had nothing to loſe, either in Eſtate or Credit; neither was the Fact, then committed,*

without

without a Precedent: That Scotland *was a Kingdom bounded by Laws, and was never wont to be govern'd by the Will and Pleaſure of one Man, but by the Rule of the Law, and the Conſent of the Nobility; and, if any former King had done otherwiſe, he had ſmarted ſeverely for it: Neither were the* Scots *at preſent ſo far degenerated from their Anceſtors, as to bear not only the Government, but even the Servitude, of a Stranger, who was ſcarce worthy to be their Slave.* The Queen was more enrag'd at this Speech, than before: Whereupon they departed, having plac'd Guards in all convenient Places, to hinder the Riſing of any Tumult.

IN the mean time, the News was carried all over the Town; and as every one's Diſpoſition was, right or wrong, they took Arms, and went to the Palace: There the King ſhew'd himſelf to them out of a Window, and told the Multitude, *That he and the Queen were ſafe, and there was no cauſe for their tumultuous Aſſembly: What was done, was by his Command; and, what that was, they ſhould know in time; and therefore, at preſent, every one ſhould go to his own Houſe.* Upon which Command they withdrew, except ſome few, that ſtaid to keep Guard. The next Day, in the Morning, the Nobles that return'd from *England*, ſurrender'd themſelves to their Trial in the Town-Hall, being ready to plead their Cauſe, for that was the Day appointed; but, no Body appearing againſt them, they were openly proteſted, That it was not their Fault, for they were ready to ſubmit to a legal Trial, and ſo every one return'd to his own Lodging. The Queen ſent for her Brother, and, after a long Conference with him, ſhe gave him Hopes, that ever after ſhe would commit herſelf to the Nobles. Then the Guards were leſſen'd; though many thought, this her Clemency preſaged no Good to the Publick; for ſhe gathered together the Soldiers of her old Guard, and went through a Back-Gate, by Night, with *George Seton*, who attended her with 200 Horſe, firſt to his Caſtle, then to *Dunbar:* She carried alſo the King along with her; who was forc'd to obey, for fear of his Life. There ſhe gathered a Force together, and, pretending a Reconcilement to thoſe who were lately come from Baniſhment, ſhe turn'd her Fury upon the Murderers of *David*; but they, yielding to the Times, ſhifted for themſelves, and ſo, having ſettled Matters, ſhe relaps'd into her old Humours. Firſt of all, ſhe caus'd *David's* Body, which was buried before the Door of a neighbouring Church, to be removed in the Night, and to be placed in the Sepulchre of the late King and his Children: Which gave occaſion to ugly Reports; being, amongſt a few others, a bad thing: For what greater Confeſſion of Adultery with him could ſhe well make, than, as far as ſhe was able, to make the Funeral

ral of ſuch an obſcure Fellow, who was neither liberally brought up, nor had deſerv'd well of the Publick, equal with thoſe of her Father and Brother? And, to encreaſe the Indignity of the thing, ſhe put the Miſcreant almoſt into the Arms of *Magdalene Valois*, the late Queen. As for her Husband, ſhe threaten'd him, and gave him many Side-blows in her Diſcourſes, and did her Endeavour to take away all Power from him, and to render him as contemptible as ſhe could.

AT this time the Proceſs was very ſevere againſt *David's* Murderers; many of the Accus'd were baniſh'd, ſome to one place, ſome to another; ſome were fin'd; ſome (but the moſt innocent, and therefore ſecure) put to Death; for the prime Contrivers of the Fact were fled, ſome to *England*, others to the *Highlands*: Thoſe, who were but the leaſt ſuſpected to have a hand in it, had their Offices and Employments taken from them, and beſtow'd upon their Enemies: And a Proclamation was made by an Herald, (in ſuch a publick Sorrow, not without Laughter) *That no Man ſhould ſay, The King was a Partaker in, or ſo much as privy to, David's Slaughter.* This Commotion being a little ſettled, after the 15th of *April*, the Earl of *Argyle* and *Murray* were receiv'd into Favour; and ſhe herſelf growing very big, and drawing near her Time, retir'd into *Edinburgh*-Caſtle; and on the 19th Day of *June*, a little after Nine a-Clock at Night, was brought to Bed of a Son, afterwards call'd *James* the Sixth.

THE

THE

HISTORY

OF

SCOTLAND.

Book XVIII.

THE Queen, after her Delivery, receiv'd all other Viſitants with Kindneſs enough, ſuitable to the Occaſion of a publick Joy; but, when her Husband came, ſhe and her Attendants comported themſelves ſo, in Speech and Countenance, as if they were afraid of nothing more, than that he ſhould not underſtand, that his Preſence was diſdainful, and his Company unacceptable to them all: But, on the contrary, *Bothwel* alone was the Man, he manag'd all Affairs: The Queen was ſo inclin'd to him, that ſhe would have it underſtood, no Suit would be obtain'd from her, but by his Mediation: And, as if ſhe was afraid her Favours to him were but mean, and not ſufficiently known, on a certain Day, ſhe took one or two with her, and went down to the Haven call'd *New-Haven*; and, her Attendants not knowing whither ſhe intended, ſhe went on board a ſmall Veſſel, prepar'd there for her: *William* and *Edmond Blatater*, *Edward Robertſon*, and *Thomas Dickſon*, all *Bothwel*'s Creatures,

tures, and Pirates of known Rapacity, had fitted the Ship before. With this Guard of Robbers, to the great Admiration of all good Men, ſhe ventur'd to Sea, taking none of her honeſt Servants along with her. She landed at *Alloway*, a Caſtle of the Earl of *Mar's*; where ſhe ſo demean'd herſelf for ſome time, as if ſhe had forgot not only the Dignity of a Queen, but even the Modeſty of a Matron.

THE King, when he heard of the Queen's ſudden Departure, follow'd her, as faſt as he could, by Land: His Deſign and Hopes were, to be with her, and to enjoy mutual Society, as Man and Wife: But he, as an importunate Diſturber of her Pleaſures, was order'd to go back from whence he came, and had hardly Time allow'd him for his Servants to refreſh themſelves. A few Days after, the Queen return'd to *Edinburgh*; and becauſe, it ſeems, ſhe would avoid the Croud of People, ſhe went not to her own Palace, but to the Houſe of a private Man in the Neighbourhood: From thence ſhe went to another, where the annual Convention, call'd the *Exchequer-Court*, was then held, not ſo much for the Largeneſs of the Houſe, or the Pleaſure of the Gardens, as, that one *David Chalmers*, a Creature of *Bothwel's*, had an Houſe near it, whoſe Back-Door was contiguous to the Queen's Garden, by which *Bothwel* might paſs in and out to her, as often as he pleas'd. In the mean time, the King finding no place for Favour with his Wife, is ſent away with Injuries and Reproaches; and having often tried her Spirit, yet, by no Offices of Obſervance, could he obtain to be admitted to conjugal Familiarity, as before; whereupon he retir'd in Diſcontent to *Sterlin*. A while after, the Queen appointed to go to *Jedburgh*, to hold a Convention. About the Beginning of *October*, *Bothwel* prepar'd an Expedition into *Liddiſdale*; and, carrying himſelf there, neither according to the Place which he held, nor the Dignity of his Family, nor the Expectation of of any Man, he was wounded by a pitiful Highwayman, whom he had taken, and almoſt diſpatch'd with a Leaden Bullet unawares, and ſo he was carried to *Hermitage*-Caſtle, in great Danger of his Life. When the News was brought to the Queen at *Borthwick*, tho' the Winter was very ſharp, ſhe flew in haſte, firſt to *Mulroſs*, then to *Jedburgh*; there, tho' ſhe receiv'd certain Intelligence that *Bothwel* was alive, yet, being impatient of Delay, and not able to forbear, tho' in ſuch a bad Time of the Year, notwithſtanding the Difficulty of the Way, and the Danger of Robbers, ſhe put herſelf on her Journey, with ſuch Attendants, as hardly any honeſt Man, tho' he was but of a mean Condition, would truſt his Life and Fortune to. From thence ſhe return'd again to *Jedburgh*, and there ſhe was mighty diligent in making great Preparations for *Bothwel's* being brought

brought thither; and truly, when he came there, their Converſation together was little for the Credit of either of them: At laſt the Queen herſelf, either having fatigu'd Nature too far by her continual Toil and Watching, Day and Night; or elſe, being particularly decreed to it by the ſecret Providence of God, fell into ſuch a dangerous Illneſs, that no Body almoſt expected or could hope for her Life. When the King heard of it, he went that very Moment to *Jedburgh* with all poſſible Expedition, both to give her a Viſit, and to teſtify his Obſervance by all the good Offices he could; and alſo to incline her to a better Courſe of Life, hoping ſhe might repent of what ſhe had done; as People are wont to do, when they are in a great deal of Danger. But ſhe, on the contrary, would not ſhew the leaſt Sign of Reconciliation; no, ſhe charg'd no Body ſhould riſe up and ſalute him as he came in, and forbad their giving him ſo much as one ſingle Night's Entertainment: But ſhe, ſuſpecting the Diſpoſition of *Murray*, as courteous and civil, deſir'd his Wife to make haſte and fain herſelf ſick, and go immediately to Bed, that ſo, on the Pretence of Sickneſs, the King might be excluded even from thence; nay, ſhe made it her Buſineſs to force him to be gone, for want of Lodging: Which he had done, unleſs one of the Family of the *Humes*, even for very Shame, had pretended a ſudden Cauſe for his Departure, and ſo left his Lodging free for the King.

THE next Day, in the Morning, ſhe return'd again to *Sterlin*: Her Return was the more reflected upon, becauſe, at the very ſame time, *Bothwel* was carried out of the Place where he lodg'd, to the Queen's Lodgings, in the Face of all the People; and, tho' neither of them were well recover'd, ſhe from her Diſeaſe, he from his Wounds; yet they travell'd, firſt to *Kelſo*, then to *Coldingham*, next to *Cragmiller* (a Caſtle two Miles from *Edinburgh*) quite indifferent and careleſs as to the Reports that were ſpread of them by the way. The Queen, in all her Diſcourſe, profeſs'd, that ſhe could never live, unleſs ſhe was divorc'd from the King; and that, if ſhe could not gain that Point, ſhe would lay violent Hands on herſelf. She would, ever and anon, ſpeak of a Divorce, and would ſay, it might be eaſily done, if the Pope's Bull was but recall'd, by which leave was given to contract Marriages againſt the papal Laws; but, ſeeing this Matter was not like to go as ſhe expected, (for theſe things were acted in the Preſence of many of the Nobility) ſhe left off all her other Methods, and contriv'd nothing elſe in her Mind, but how to diſpatch him out of the World at once.

A little before Winter, when the Embaſſadors from *France* and *England* came to be Witneſſes at the Baptiſm of the Prince, the Queen ſtrove, as far as Money or Induſtry could, to make

Bothwel

Bothwel appear the moſt magnificent amongſt all her Subjects and Gueſts at the Entertainment; whereas her lawful Husband was not allow'd Neceſſaries at the Chriſtening; nay, was forbid to come in ſight of the Embaſſadors; and even his Servants that were appointed to be his daily Attendants, were taken from him, and the Nobility forbid to take any Notice of him. But this Carriage, and her Comportment in former Times, the more implacable ſhe was towards him, made them pity him the more, when they ſaw a young and harmleſs Perſon us'd after ſo reproachful a manner; and yet not only bear it patiently, but even endeavour to appeaſe her Rage by the moſt ſervile Offices he could perform; in order, if poſſible, to win ſome Degree of her Favour. As for his Dreſs, ſhe put the Fault upon the Embroiderers, Goldſmiths and other Tradeſmen, tho' 'twas a falſe and a ſhameful Pretence, for every Body knew ſhe herſelf was the Occaſion of it; tho', for fear *Bothwel* ſhould not have Ornaments enow, ſhe wrought many of them with her own Hands. Beſides, Foreign Embaſſadors were adviſ'd, not to enter into Diſcourſe with the King, tho' they were in the ſame Caſtle together, the moſt part of the Day.

THE young Gentleman being thus uncourteouſly treated, expos'd to the Contempt of all, and ſeeing his Rival honour'd before his Face, reſolv'd to go to his Father to *Glaſgow*; who, as ſome thought, had ſent for him. The Queen ſhew'd her uſual Hatred at his Departure, ſhe took away all the Silver Plate, which he had us'd ever ſince he was married, and put Pewter in their ſtead; beſides, ſhe gave him Poiſon before he went away, that the Evil might be more ſecret, if he died, when abſent from Court. But the Poiſon work'd ſooner, than thoſe, who gave it, ſuppos'd it would; for, before he was gone a Mile from *Sterlin*, he had ſuch a grievous Pain all over his Body, that 'twas very apparent his Diſeaſe was not caſual, but the Act of Fraud and Treachery. However, as ſoon as he came to *Glaſgow*, the Miſchief manifeſtly diſcover'd itſelf; blue Puſtules aroſe all over his Body, and put him in ſuch Pain and Anguiſh, that there was little Hope of his Life. *James Abernethy*, a learned, a faithful, and an experienc'd Phyſician, being conſulted about his Diſeaſe, anſwer'd preſently, That he had taken Poiſon. He ſent for the Queen's Domeſtick Phyſician, but the Queen would not ſuffer him to go, for fear he ſhould have Skill enough to cure him; and beſides, ſhe was not willing that many ſhould know of his being poiſon'd. When the Ceremonies of Chriſtening were over, and the Company, by degrees, gone home; the Queen was private with *Bothwel*, ſcarce any Body beſides, at *Drummond* and *Tillibardin*, a Nobleman's Houſe, where ſhe ſpent two Days about the Beginning of *January*, and ſo return'd to *Sterlin*, and pretended daily

to

to go to *Glaſgow*; but, expecting to hear every Day of the King's Death, to prevent the worſt, ſhe reſolv'd to have her Son in her own Power; and, that her Deſign might occaſion no Suſpicion, they began to find fault, that the Houſe, in which he was kept, was inconvenient; that, in ſuch a moiſt and cold Place, he might be ſubject to Rheums: But the true Cauſe of his Removal was far otherwiſe; for 'twas very plain, that the Place he was carried to was far more obnoxious upon the aforeſaid Accounts, for that it was ſituate in a low marſh Soil, having a Mountain betwixt it and the Sun-riſing: Upon that the Child, tho' ſcarce ſeven Months old, was brought, in a very ſharp Winter, to *Edinburgh*. When ſhe heard there that the King was recover'd, as having overcome the Poiſon, by the Vigour of his Youth, and the Strength of his natural Conſtitution, ſhe renew'd her Plot to deſtroy him, acquainting alſo ſome of the Nobility with her Deſign. In the mean time News was brought her, that the King deſign'd to fly to *France* or *Spain*, and that he had ſpoke about it with the Maſter of an *Engliſh* Ship, which was then in the *Firth* of *Clyde*. Upon this, ſome thought that a fair Occaſion was offer'd her to ſend for him, and, if he refus'd to come, to diſpatch him out of the way; nay, ſome offer'd to be Agents in the thing; all of them advis'd, that the bloody Deed ſhould be privately committed, and that it ſhould be haſten'd before he was perfectly recover'd: The Queen, having already got her Son, that ſhe might alſo have her Husband in her Power, tho' not as yet agreed in the Deſign how he ſhould be diſpatch'd, reſolv'd to go to *Glaſgow*, having, as ſhe thought, ſufficiently clear'd herſelf from his former Suſpicions by many kind Letters ſhe had lately ſent him: But her Words and her Actions did not at all agree, for ſhe took almoſt none with her, in her Retinue, but the *Hamiltons*, and others that were, in a manner, hereditary Enemies of the King. In the mean time ſhe intruſts *Bothwel* with doing what moſt contributed to the Deſign at *Edinburgh*; for that was the Place which ſeem'd moſt convenient to them, both to commit, and likewiſe to conceal, ſo great a Wickedneſs; for, there being a great Aſſembly of the Nobles, the Suſpicion might be put off from one to the other, and ſo divided between a great many. When the Queen had try'd all the Ways ſhe could to diſſemble her Hatred, at laſt, by many artful, upbraiding Complaints and Lamentations, paſs'd betwixt them, ſhe could yet ſcarce make him believe, that ſhe was reconcil'd to him. The King, ſcarce yet recover'd from his Diſeaſe, was brought in a Litter to *Edinburgh*, to the Place deſign'd for his Murder, which *Bothwel*, in the Queen's Abſence, had undertook to provide, and that was, an Houſe uninhabited for ſome Years before, near the Walls of the City, in a loneſome, ſolitary Place, between the Ruins of two Churches, where no Noiſe

Noiſe or Outcry could be heard: There he was huddled in with a few Attendants only; for the moſt of them (being ſuch as the Queen had put upon him, rather as Spies than Servants) were gone out of the Way, as foreknowing the Danger at hand; and thoſe, that remain'd, could not get the Keys of the Door from the Harbingers, that provided the Lodgings.

THE thing the Queen was moſt intent upon was, to avert all Suſpicion from herſelf; and ſhe proceeded ſo far in the Art of Diſſimulation, that the King was fully perſuaded there was a firm Reconcilement betwixt them: So that he wrote Letters to his Father, who ſtaid behind, ſick at *Glaſgow*, in which he gave him great Hopes, and almoſt an Aſſurance, That the Queen was now ſincerely his; and, commemorating her many good Offices towards him, he now promis'd to himſelf, that all Things would change for the better. As he was writing theſe Letters, the Queen came in on a ſudden, and, reading them, ſhe gave him many Embraces and Kiſſes, telling him, *That Sight mightily pleas'd her; that now ſhe ſaw there was no Cloud of Suſpicion hovering over his Mind.*

THINGS being thus well ſecur'd on that Side, her next Care was to contrive, as much as poſſible, how to caſt the Guilt upon another; and therefore ſhe ſent for her Brother *Murray*, who had lately obtain'd Leave, and was going to St. *Andrews*, to viſit his Wife, who lay there (as he heard) dangerouſly ſick: For, beſides the Danger of Child-bearing, ſhe had Puſtles, that roſe all over her Body, with a violent Fever. She pretended, the whole Cauſe of her detaining him to be for no other End, but that ſhe might honourably diſmiſs the Duke of *Savoy*'s Embaſſador, who came too late to the Prince's Chriſtening; and, tho' this ſeem'd a mean Pretence to take him off from ſo juſt and neceſſary a Duty; yet he obey'd. In the Interim, the Queen made her Viſits to the King every Day conſtantly, and reconcil'd him to *Bothwel*; whom ſhe, by all means, deſir'd to keep entirely unſuſpected. She made him large Promiſes of her Affection for the Time to come; which over-officious Carriage, tho' ſuſpected by all, yet no Man was ſo bold as to adviſe the King of his Danger, becauſe he had a Habit of telling the Queen whatever he heard, to inſinuate the more into her Favour; only *Robert*, the Queen's Brother, mov'd either with the execrable Horror of the Deed, or with Pity to the young Man, had the Confidence to acquaint him of his Wife's Plot againſt him, but on this Condition, That he would keep it to himſelf, and provide for his Safety after the beſt manner he could. The King, notwithſtanding, reveal'd it to the Queen, according to his Cuſtom; upon which *Robert* was call'd for, and he ſtoutly deny'd it, ſo that they gave one another the Lye, and were laying their Hands on their Swords.

The

The Queen was glad to ſee, that her Deſigns were likely to have ſo good a Concluſion, and that ſo near at hand; without her Trouble, and therefore ſhe calls for her other Brother, *James*, as if he was to decide the Controverſy; but her real Intent was, that he might likewiſe be cut off on the ſame Occaſion; there was no Body preſent but *Bothwel*, who was ſo far from keeping them from fighting, that he would rather have kill'd him that had the worſt of the Combat himſelf, as plainly appeared, when he ſaid, there was no reaſon *James* ſhould be ſent for in ſuch haſte, to keep thoſe from Duelling, who, whatſoever they pretended, had no ſuch mighty ſtomach to it. This buſtle being quieted, the Queen and *Bothwel* were wholly intent, how to perpetrate the Murder; and how to do it, with all imaginable Privacy too. The Queen, to diſſemble both Love to her Husband, and a Forgiveneſs of paſt Offences, cauſes her Bed to be brought from the Palace, into a Chamber below the King's, where ſhe lay, after ſhe had ſat up late with him, in Diſcourſe, for ſome Nights.

IN the mean time, ſhe deviſes all manner of Ways to caſt the *Odium* of the Fact, when committed, upon her Brother *James*, and the Earl of *Morton*; for, ſhe thought, if thoſe two, whoſe Authority and Eſteem was much feared and hated by her, were taken out of the Way, all Things elſe would fall in of themſelves: She was likewiſe incited to it by Letters from the Pope, and from *Charles*, Cardinal of *Lorrain*. For the Summer before, having, by her Uncle, deſir'd a Sum of Money from the Pope, for levying an Army to diſturb the State of Religion in *Britain*; the Pope more cunningly, but the Cardinal plainly, had adviſ'd her to deſtroy thoſe, who were the greateſt Hindrances to the Reſtitution of Popery, and they took care to ſpecify thoſe two Earls by Name; if they were once taken off, they promiſed whole Heaps of Money for the War. The Queen thought ſome diſtant Tidings of this Matter were come to the Ears of the Nobility; and therefore, to clear her ſelf from any Suſpicion, or the leaſt Inclination to ſuch a thing, ſhe ſhewed them the Letters. But theſe Deſigns ſo ſubtilly laid, as they thought, were ſomewhat diſturbed by frequent Meſſages from *Murray*'s Wife, how that ſhe had miſcarried, and that there were ſmall Hopes of her Life. This Meſſage was brought him on the *Lord's Day*, as he was going to a Sermon; whereupon, he returned back to the Queen, and deſir'd leave of her to be gone; ſhe very much urg'd him to ſtay one Day longer, to hear more certain News, alledging, that if he made never ſo much haſte, his coming

would do her no good, but if her Diſeaſe abated, that then the next Morning would be time enough; but he was fully bent on his Journey, and accordingly went. The Queen had deferred the Murder till that Night, and would ſeem to be ſo jocund and diſſolute, as to celebrate the Marriage of *Sebaſtian*, one of her Muſick, in the very Palace, and when the Evening was paſt in Mirth and Jollity, then ſhe went with a numerous Attendance to ſee her Husband; ſhe ſpent ſome Hours with him, and was merrier than uſual, often kiſſing him, and giving him a Ring, as a Token of her Affection. After the Queen went away, the King, with the few Servants that were about him, recollecting the Proceedings of the paſt Day, amongſt ſome comfortable Speeches given him by the Queen, he was much troubled at the Remembrance of a few Words; for ſhe, whether not being able to contain her Joy, ariſing from the Hope that the Murder would be now acted, or whether it fell from her by Chance, ſlipp'd out a Word, *That* David Rize *was kill'd the laſt Year, juſt about that Time:* Tho' none of them lik'd this unſeaſonable Mention of his Death, yet, becauſe the Night was pretty far ſpent, and the next Morning was deſign'd for Sports and Paſtimes, they went ſpeedily to Bed. In the mean time, Gunpowder was placed in the Room below, to blow up the Houſe; other things were cautiouſly and craftily enough tranſacted, yet, in a ſmall Matter, they left a Tract enough to diſcover them. For the Bed, in which the Queen us'd ſometimes to lie, was taken from thence, and a worſe put in its Place, as if, tho' they were prodigal enough of their Characters, they would however be ſaving of their Money. In the mean time, one *Paris*, a *Frenchman*, a Partiſan in the Conſpiracy, entred into the King's Bed-Chamber, and there ſtood ſtill, yet ſo, that the Queen might ſee him, and that was the Sign agreed on betwixt them, that all things were in a Readineſs. As ſoon as ſhe ſaw *Paris*, as if *Sebaſtian*'s Marriage came into her Mind, ſhe began to blame her ſelf that ſhe had been ſo negligent, as not to dance that Night at the Wedding, (as 'twas agreed) and to put the Bride to Bed as the manner is; upon which, ſhe preſently ſtarted up, and went home. As ſoon as ſhe returned to the Palace, ſhe had a pretty deal of Diſcourſe with *Bothwel*, who being, at length, diſmiſs'd, went to his Chamber, chang'd his Cloaths, put on a Soldier's Coat, and with a few in his Company, paſs'd thro' the Guards into the Town: Two other Parties of the Conſpirators, came ſeveral different Ways to the appointed Place, and a few of them entred into the King's Bed-Chamber, of

which

which they had the Keys, (as I ſaid before) and whilſt he was faſt aſleep, they took him by the Throat, and ſtrangled him, and ſo they did one of his Servants who lay near him: When they were murder'd, they carried their Bodies thro' a little Gate, which they had made on Purpoſe, in the Walls of the City, into a Garden near at hand; then they ſet fire to the Gunpowder, which blew up the Houſe from the very Foundation, and made ſuch a Noiſe, that it ſhook ſome of the neighbouring Houſes; nay, thoſe that were found aſleep in the fartheſt Parts of the City were awakened, and frighted at the Loudneſs of the Report. When the Deed was done, *Bothwel* was let out by the Ruins of the City-Walls, and ſo return'd to the Palace thro' the Guard, quite a different Way from that which he came. This was the common Rumour about the King's Death, which held ſome Days. The Queen had ſat up that Night to wait for the Event, and hearing of the Tumult, called together thoſe of the Nobility, who were at Court, and amongſt the reſt, *Bothwel*; and, by their Advice, ſent out to know what was the matter, as if ſhe had been ignorant of all that was done; ſome went to inſpect the Body, the King had only a Linen Shirt on the upper part of his Body, the reſt of it lay naked; his other Cloaths, and his Shoes lay juſt by him: The common People came in great Crouds to ſee him, and many Conjectures there were, yet they all agreed, (which was very afflicting to *Bothwel*) that he could never be thrown out of the Houſe, by the Force of the Gunpowder, for there was no Part broken, bruis'd, or black and blew about his Body, which muſt neceſſarily have happen'd in a Ruin by Gunpowder; beſides, his Cloaths that lay near him, were not ſo much as ſing'd with the Flame, or covered with any Aſhes; ſo that they could not have been thrown thither by any Caſualty, but muſt have been plac'd there by ſome Bodies Hand on purpoſe. *Bothwel* returned home, and, as if he had been ſtruck with Admiration, brought the News to the Queen, upon which ſhe went to Bed, and lay ſecure, ſoundly aſleep, a great part of the next Day.

IN the mean time, Reports were ſpread abroad by the *Parricides*, and carried into the Borders of *England* before Day, that the King was murder'd by the Deſign of *Murray* and *Morton*; yet every Body thought privately within himſelf, that the Queen muſt needs be the Author of the bloody Deed. Neither was the Biſhop of St. *Andrews* free from Suſpicion, there were ſhrewd Conjectures againſt him, as the high and cruel Enmities betwixt the Families; neither was the Biſhop ever well reconciled to the Queen, before

ſhe deſign'd that Wickedneſs in her Mind; and of late, when he accompanied her to *Glaſcow*, he was made acquainted with the utmoſt of her Projects. It increas'd Mens Suſpicions of him, becauſe, at that time, he had retir'd to the Houſe of his Brother, the Earl of *Arran*, which was near the Houſe where the King was ſlain: Whereas before, he always us'd to live in ſome eminent Part of the City, where he might conveniently receive Viſits, and curry Favour with the People by feaſting them; and beſides, Lights were ſeen in his Houſe, and a Watch all the Night, from the upper part of the City, and when the deſign'd Powder-Trap was, then the Lights were put out, and his Vaſſals, many of whom watch'd in their Arms, were forbidden to go out of Doors: But the true Story of the Matter of Fact, which broke out after ſome Months, gave Occaſion to People to look upon thoſe Things as certain Indications, which before were but Suſpicions only.

WHEN the Murder was committed, Meſſengers were preſently ſent into *England*, who were to report, that the King of *Scots* was cruelly murder'd by his Subjects, by the Contrivance, eſpecially, of *Murray* and *Morton*. The News was immediately brought to Court, which ſo inflam'd all the *Engliſh*, and made them have ſuch a perfect Abhorrence of the whole Nation, that, for ſome Days, no *Scotſman* durſt walk abroad, or could without running the Hazard of his Life; and tho' many Letters paſt to and fro, diſcovering the ſecret Contrivances of the Deſign, yet they could hardly be appeas'd. The King's Body, having been left a while as a Spectacle to be gaz'd upon, and a great Concourſe of People continually flocking thither to ſee it, the Queen order'd, that it ſhould be laid on a Bier, and brought by Porters into the Palace. There ſhe her ſelf view'd the Body, the faireſt of that Age, and yet her Countenance diſcover'd not the Secrets of her Mind, neither one way or other. The Nobles, that were there preſent, decreed, that a Royal and Magnificent Funeral ſhould be made for him: But the Queen order'd it ſo, that he was carry'd by private Bearers in the Night-time, and buried in no manner of State; and that which increas'd the Indignity the more, was, that his Grave was made near *David Rizes*; as if ſhe deſign'd to ſacrifice the Life of her Husband to the Manes of that vile Upſtart.

TWO Prodigies happen'd at that time, which are worth the while to relate: One of them a little preceded the Murder, and it was thus. One *James Londin*, a Gentleman of *Fife*, having been long ſick of a Fever, the Day before the King was kill'd, about Noon, raiſed himſelf a little in his Bed,

Bed, and, as if he had been aſtoniſh'd, cry'd out to thoſe that ſtood by him, with a loud Voice, *To go help the King, for the Parricides were juſt then murdering him*; and a while after, he call'd out with a mournful Tone, *Now it is too late to help him, he is already murder'd*; and he himſelf liv'd not long after he had utter'd thoſe Words. The other was juſt at the Time as the Murder happen'd. Three of the familiar Friends of the Earl of *Athol*'s, the King's Couſin, Men of Reputation for Valour and Eſtate, had their Lodgings not far from the King's; when they were aſleep about Midnight, there was a certain Man ſeem'd to come to *Dugal Stuart*, who lay next the Wall, and to draw his Hand gently over his Beard and Cheek, ſo to awake him, ſaying, *Ariſe, they are offering Violence to us.* He preſently awak'd, and conſidering the Apparition within himſelf; another of them cries out preſently in the ſame Bed, *Who kicks me?* *Dugal* anſwer'd, *Perhaps 'tis a Cat, which us'd to walk about in the Night*; upon which, the third, who was not yet awake, roſe preſently out of his Bed, and was going to run away, demanding, *Who it was that had given him a Box on the Ear?* As ſoon as he had ſpoken it, a Perſon ſeem'd to go out of the Houſe by the Door, and that not without ſome Noiſe. Whilſt they were deſcanting on what they had heard and ſeen, the vaſt Report of the blowing up of the King's Houſe, put them into a very terrible Conſternation. He that took the Murder moſt to Heart, was *John Stuart*, Earl of *Athol*, for many Reaſons, but particularly, becauſe he was the chief Maker of the Match between the Queen and him. The Night after the Murder, arm'd Guards watch'd the Palace, as is uſual in ſuch ſudden Conſternations, and they hearing the outſide Wall of the Earl of *Athol*'s Lodging make a Noiſe or Crack, as if ſome were gently digging at the Foundation, they rais'd the Family, which went no more to Bed that Night. The Day after, the Earl went into the Town, and a little after that went home, for Fear of his Life. The Earl of *Murray*, at his Return to Court from St. *Andrews*, was not without Danger neither, for arm'd Men walk'd about his Houſe at Night; but he not being well, and his Servants being accuſtom'd to watch with him all Night, the Villains could not attempt any thing againſt him privately, and openly they durſt not. At length *Bothwel* (who would willingly have been without the Trouble of it) reſolved to perform the wicked Deed with his own Hands. And therefore about Midnight, he ask'd his Domeſticks, how *Murray* did? They told him, he was ſadly afflicted with the Gout; What,

ſaid he, if we ſhould go and ſee him? and preſently he roſe up, and was making the beſt of his Way to his Houſe. As he was going, he was inform'd by *Murray*'s Domeſticks, that *Murray* was gone to his Brother *Robert*'s, to be at more Freedom and Eaſe, and out of the Noiſe of the Court; upon which he ſaid no more, but grieved inwardly, that he had loſt ſo fair an Opportunity, and ſo return'd home. Mean while, the Queen put on very demure Looks, and, diſſembling great Sorrow, thought that Way to reconcile the People to her; but that ſucceeded as ill with her, as the reſt of the Conſpiracy. For whereas it was the Cuſtom, Time out of Mind, for Queens, after their Husband's Death, to abſtain ſeveral Days, not only from the Sight of Men, but even from ſeeing the Light, ſhe indeed perſonated a kind of fictitious Sorrow, but her real Joy ſo exceeded it, that tho' the Doors were ſhut, yet the Windows were open, and throwing off her Widow's Weeds, in four Days, ſhe could well enough bear the Sight of the Sun and Air: And before twelve Days were over, her Heart was grown obdurate, and ſhe was harden'd againſt all the People could ſay; ſhe went to *Seton*, about ſeven Miles from the Town, and never let *Bothwel* be one Moment from her Side; there her Carriage was ſuch, that tho' ſhe chang'd her Habit, and put on exterior Mourning once more, yet did ſhe not ſeem at all to mourn within. The Place was full of the Nobility, and ſhe went conſtantly every Day abroad to the uſual Sports, tho' ſome of them were not ſo proper for the Female Sex: But the coming of Mr. *D'Crocke*, a *Frenchman*, (who had often before been Embaſſador in *Scotland*) did in ſome little degree diſturb their Meaſures; for he telling them how infamous the Matter ſounded amongſt Foreigners, they returned to *Edinburgh*: But *Seton* (I perceive) had ſo many Conveniencies, that tho' the farther Hazard of her Credit lay at Stake upon it, yet ſhe muſt needs return thither again. There the main Head of the Conſultation was, how *Bothwel* might be acquitted of the King's Murder. There was a Deſign before, to try and acquit him; for preſently upon the King's Death, *Bothwel*, and ſome of his Complices, came to the Marquiſs of *Argyle*, who was the hereditary capital Judge in criminal Cauſes. Firſt, they pretended they were wholly ignorant of what was done, and wondred at it, as a new, unheard-of, and incredible Thing; then they proceeded to the Examination; they ſummon'd in ſome poor Women out of the Neighbourhood, but they were daſh'd betwixt Hope and Fear, uncertain whether they ſhould ſpeak out, or be utterly ſilent; but, tho' they were very cautious in

in their Words, yet uttering more than was expected, they were ſent away, as having ſpoke nothing upon any certain Grounds; and, as for their Teſtimony, it was an eaſy Matter enough to deſpiſe it: Upon that, ſome of the King's Servants were ſent for, who had eſcaped the Fire: They, when they were ask'd, How the Aſſaſſins could make their Entrances? Reply'd, That the Keys were not in their Power: And when it was cloſely put to them again, in whoſe Hands they were then? They anſwer'd, In the Queen's: Upon that, the farther Examination was put off, as they pretended; but Mary was quite ſuppreſt, for they were afraid, if they went any farther, the Court-Secrets would have been all publickly known.

AND yet, to put a Gloſs on the Matter, a Proclamation was publiſh'd, and a Reward offer'd to thoſe who ſhould Diſcover the King's Murder. But who dar'd be ſo bold as to impeach *Bothwel*, ſince he was to be the Accuſed, the Judge, the Examiner, and the Exactor of the Puniſhment too? Yet this Fear, which ſtop'd the Mouths of ſeveral ſingle Perſons, could not bridle the Multitude. For Libels were publiſh'd, Pictures made, and Hawkers went by Night about the Streets crying Papers, by which the Parricides might eaſily underſtand, that the whole Matter was diſcover'd, both who deſign'd the Wickedneſs, and who aſſiſted in the Execution of it: And the more Prohibitions that were laid on the Commonalty, the more did their Grief make them ſpeak. Tho' the Conſpirators ſeem'd to deſpiſe theſe things, yet they were ſo inwardly, and ſo ſenſibly touch'd at it, that they could not diſſemble their Sorrow: And therefore omitting the Examination about the King's Death, they fell upon another Method that was ſtill more ſevere; and that was, againſt the Authors of Libels, or (as they worded it) the Calumniators of *Bothwel*; and this was ſo ſeverely proſecuted, that no Pains nor Coſt were ſpar'd: All the Painters and Writing-Maſters were call'd in, that they might diſcover the Pictures and Libels, by thoſe that drew or wrote them; they farther added a Clauſe, ſuitable enough to the Edict, which made it capital, not only to ſell, but even to read them, when they were ſold. But they, who endeavour'd to bridle the Diſcourſe of the People, by threatning capital Puniſhment to them, were not ſatisfy'd with the King's Death, but retain'd their Hatred againſt him, tho' in his Grave. The Queen gave her Husband's Goods, his Arms, Horſes, Cloaths, and other Houſhold-ſtuff, either to his Father's Enemies, or to the Murderers themſelves, as if they had been forfeited into her Exchequer. As theſe Matters were acted in

the broad Face of Day, ſo many did as publickly inveigh againſt them: One of the Taylors who was making ſome of the King's Cloaths fit for *Bothwel* to wear, was ſo bold as to ſay, Now he ſaw the old Country-Cuſtom verify'd: *That the Executioner had the Cloaths of thoſe Perſons that ſuffer'd by his Hand.*

THEY were under another mighty Difficulty, how they ſhould get the Caſtle of *Edinburgh* into the Queen's Hands; *John*, Earl of *Mar*, was Governor of it, upon Condition, that he ſhould deliver it up to no Body but by the eſpecial Order of the Eſtates; and tho' ſuch a Convention was to be the Month after, yet the Queen was ſo earneſt, that every little Delay ſeem'd to her very tedious. And therefore ſhe dealt underhand with the Earl's Friends and Relations, (for he himſelf lay then very ſick at *Sterling*) to ſurrender the Caſtle to her: pretending this as the chief Cauſe, that the Commons of *Edinburgh* were ſo tumultuous, (there being then a Commotion amongſt them) that ſhe could not keep them within the Bounds of their Duty, unleſs ſhe had that Fort in her Hands; and that thereupon, as an Earneſt of her great Affection to *John*, ſhe would put her only Son, the Heir of the Kingdom, into his Hands, to be educated by him; which Office of Guardianſhip, his Anceſtors had diſcharg'd to their great Commendation in the Care of ſo many other Princes, of late Times, but particularly in the Education of her Mother and Grandfather. Tho' the Earl underſtood, and ſaw clearly thro' the Tendency of theſe her Promiſes and Flatteries, yet he complied with her Requeſt. The Queen, finding him more eaſy than ſhe hoped, makes it her next Endeavour to be poſſeſt of the Caſtle, with the firſt Conveniency ſhe could; and yet to keep her Son too: When he would not hearken to that, ſhe ſets upon him by another Wile, and makes Propoſals that he would come to *Linlithgo*, (in the Mid-way between *Edinburgh* and *Sterling*) there, on an appointed Day, to receive the Prince, and to ſurrender the Caſtle. But this Project being ſuſpected of Fraud, it was at laſt agreed, that he ſhould be deliver'd to *Erskin* at *Sterling*, and that he, in the interim, ſhould give the Chief of his Family in Hoſtage, for the Surrender of the Caſtle.

THESE things gave ſome Trouble to the Parricides, but they were moſt of all perplex'd with the daily Complaints of the Earl of *Lennox*: He would not venture to come to Court, by reaſon of *Bothwel*'s Power, accompanied with the higheſt Luxury; but he earneſtly ſolicited the Queen by Letters, that ſhe would put *Bothwel* in Priſon, who, without doubt, was the Author of the King's Murder, till a Day ſhould be appointed

for

for bringing him to his Tryal. She, though eluding his Deſire by many Stratagems, yet finding that the Examination of ſo enormous a Crime could not be avoided, deſign'd to have it carried on in this manner.

THE Aſſembly of the Eſtates to be held on the 15th of *April* grew very near at hand; ſhe was deſirous before that time came to have the Matter tried, that ſo *Bothwel* being abſolv'd by the Votes of the Judges, might be further clear'd by the Suffrages of the whole Parliament. This haſte was the cauſe that nothing was carried on regularly, or according to ancient Cuſtom, in that judiciary Proceſs. For the Accuſers (as is uſual) ought to have been cited, with their Relations, as Wife, Father, Mother, Son, either to appear Perſonally, or by Proxy, within forty Days, for that is the time limited by the Law. Here the Father was only ſummon'd to appear on the thirteenth of *April*, without ſummoning any of his Friends, excepting his own Family, which at that Time was in a low Condition, and reduc'd to a ſmall Number; whereas, in the mean time, *Bothwel* flew up and down the Town, with whole Troops at his Heels; the Earl of *Lennox* thought it beſt for him not to come into a City full of his Enemies, where he had no Friends nor Vaſſals to ſecure him; and beſides, if there was no Danger of his Life, yet there could be no Freedom of Debate. *Bothwel* appears at the Day appointed, and comes into the Town-Hall, being both Plaintiff and Defendant too. The Judges of the Nobility were call'd over, moſt of them his Friends, none daring to appear on the other ſide to except againſt any one of them; only *Robert Cuningham*, one of *Lennox*'s Family, put a ſmall ſtop to the Proceedings; he having Liberty to ſpeak openly, declar'd, that the Proceſs was not according to Law, nor Cuſtom, where the accus'd Perſon was ſo powerful, that he could not be brought to Puniſhment, and the Accuſer was abſent for fear of his Life; and therefore, whatſoever ſhould be determin'd there, as being againſt Law and Equity, was null and void; notwithſtanding all that, they perſiſted in their Deſign. Beſides, *Gilbert* Earl of *Caſſils*, being choſen one of the Judges, rather for Form's ſake, than that he thought he ſhould do any Good, deſir'd to be excuſed, and offered likewiſe to pay the Forfeiture, uſually laid upon thoſe who decline ſitting; but in that very inſtant of time a Meſſenger brought him a Ring from the Queen, with a Command, that he ſhould ſit as one of the Judges, or elſe, ſhe threatned to commit him to Priſon. When that did not prevail, ſhe ſent a ſecond Meſſenger, who told him, he

ſhould

ſhould be puniſh'd as a Traytor if he refus'd; till terrify'd into it by ſuch Means as theſe, they were forc'd to ſit, and truly the Iſſue of the Seſſions was this; they declar'd, they ſaw no Reaſon to find *Bothwel* guilty; yet if any Man at any time after could lawfully accuſe him, they gave a Caution, that this Judgment ſhould be no hindrance to him. Some thought they proceeded with great Wiſdom in bringing it to ſuch an Iſſue. For the Indictment was grounded on ſuch Words, that the ſevereſt Judges could never have found *Bothwel* guilty, for it was laid againſt a Murder committed on the ninth of *February*, whereas the King was murdered on the tenth.

THUS *Bothwel* was acquitted of the Fact, but not of the Infamy of it. Suſpicions increaſed upon him, and his Puniſhment ſeemed only to be deferred; but any Pretence whatſoever, though a ſhameleſs one, ſeem'd good enough to the Queen, who was in great haſte to marry him. But to abſolve himſelf of the Imputation with a better Air, there was a Challenge poſted on the moſt eminent part of the Court, declaring, that though *Bothwel* was lawfully acquitted of the King's Murder, yet to make his Innocency appear the brighter, he was ready to decide the matter in a Duel againſt any Gentleman or Perſon of Honour, that ſhould dare to lay it to his Charge. On the Morning following there was one who did as manfully poſt up an Anſwer to his Challenge, provided the place of Combat was appointed, where he might declare his Name without Danger. Though theſe things ſucceeded reaſonably well, yet the Queen in that Parliament was more rugged than formerly; for whereas before, ſhe pretended Civility in her Carriage, ſhe now plainly diſcovered an Inclination to Tyranny; for ſhe now flatly denied what ſhe had promiſed at *Sterling*, in matters of Religion; and that was, that the Laws eſtabliſhed under Popiſh Tyranny, ſhould be abrogated in the firſt Parliament, and the reformed Religion ſhould be ſtrengthned by new Laws. And when beſides her Promiſe, two Edicts ſigned with her own Hand were produced; being catch'd here, ſhe boggled, and commanded the Commiſſioners of the *Kirk* to attend her another time; and after that, ſhe never gave them an Opportunity to appear before her again; and ſhe alledged, that thoſe Acts of the Eſtates, which were publiſhed before her coming into *Scotland*, by the Conſent of *Francis* her Husband, fell under the Act of Oblivion: That Speech of hers ſeemed to all no leſs than a manifeſt Profeſſion of Tyranny. For whereas the *Scots* had no Laws beſides Acts of Parliament, they entertained

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ſuch private Thoughts in their Breaſts, *what kind of Life they were like to live, under a Prince, whoſe Will was a Law, and whoſe Word and Promiſe were never to be believed.* This was done about the end of the Convention. At the ſame time the Queen was very earneſt to haſten her Marriage, and yet at the ſame time ſhe deſired to procure the publick Conſent by any Means, that ſhe might ſeem to act nothing, but by the Suffrage of the Nobility. And *Bothwel* too, to credit the Marriage with the Pretence of publick Authority, deviſed this Stratagem: He invited all the Noblemen of the higheſt Rank, who were then in Town (as there were many) to ſupper, and when they were in the heighth of their Mirth, he deſired them to ſhew that Reſpect to him for the future, which they had always formerly done. At preſent he only deſired, that as he was a Suiter to the Queen, they would ſubſcribe to a Schedule, which he had made about that matter, and that would be a Means to procure him Favour with the Queen, and Honour with the People. They all ſtood amazed at ſo ſudden and unexpected a Propoſal, and could not diſſemble their Sorrow, and yet they durſt not refuſe or deny him; upon that, a few who knew the Queen's Mind began firſt, and the reſt not foreſeeing that there was ſo great a number of Flatterers preſent, ſuſpected one another, and ſo at laſt, every one of them ſubſcribed. The Day after, when they came to recollect what they had done, ſome of them as ingenuouſly profeſs'd, they would never have given their Conſent, unleſs they had thought the thing had been acceptable to the Queen; for that, as it carried no great ſhew of Honeſty, and was prejudicial to the Publick too; ſo there was Danger, if any Diſcord ſhould ariſe (as it happen'd between her and her former Husband) between her and *Bothwel* in the ſame manner; and he ſhould be rejected, it might be laid to their Doors, that they had betrayed the Queen into a *diſhonourable* Marriage; and therefore before they had gone too far, they reſolved to try her Mind, and to procure a Writing under her Hand, to the following purpoſe, *viz.* That ſhe approved of what they had done in reference to her Marriage. This Writing was obtained with great Eaſe, and given to the Earl of *Argyle* to keep. The next Day all the Biſhops in Town were called to Court, that they might ſubſcribe in like manner. This Trouble being over, there ſucceeded another, which was how the Queen ſhould get her Son into her Power, for *Bothwel* did not think it ſafe for him, to have a young Child brought up, which, in time, might revenge his Father's Murder; neither was he willing, that any

any other ſhould come between his Children and the Crown. Whereupon the Queen, who could now deny him nothing, undertook the Task her ſelf, to bring the Child to *Edinburgh*; ſhe had alſo another Pretence to viſit *Sterling*, of which I ſhall ſpeak by and by; when ſhe came thither, the Earl of *Mar* ſuſpected what was a brewing, and therefore ſhewed her the Prince, but would not let him be in her Power: The Queen ſeeing her Fraud detected, and not able to cope with him by Force, pretended another Cauſe for her Journey, and prepared to return; as ſhe was upon her Journey, either the too great Fatigue of that, or elſe the Fury ſhe was in, that her Deſigns which the Authors thought ſo craftily laid, proved unſucceſsful, made her fall ſuddenly ill, and ſhe was forced to retire into a poor Houſe about four Miles from *Sterling*, where her Pain abating a little, ſhe proceeded on her Journey, and came that Night to *Linlithgo*; from thence ſhe wrote to *Bothwel* by *Paris*, what ſhe would have him to do about her Surprize; for before ſhe departed from *Edinburgh* ſhe had agreed with him, that at the Bridge of *Almon*, he ſhould ſurprize her in her return, and carry her where he would, as 'twere againſt her Will. The common People put this Interpretation on the matter; that ſhe could not altogether conceal her Familiarity with *Bothwel*, and yet could not be well without it; neither could ſhe openly enjoy it as ſhe deſired, without the Loſs of her Reputation: It was too tedious to expect his Divorce from his former Wife; and ſhe was willing to conſult her Honour, which ſhe pretended to have a mighty regard to, and yet ſhe would provide for Pleaſures too. This made her very impatient, and therefore the Device was thought to be very pretty, that *Bothwel* ſhould redeem the Queen's Infamy, with his own great Crime; and yet ſtand in no fear of any Puniſhment for it. But there was a deeper Reach in the Project, afterwards came to Light. For whereas the People did every where point at, and curſe the King's Murderers: They, to provide for their own Security, by the Perſuaſion as 'tis thought of *John Leſly*, Biſhop of *Roſs*, deviſed this Attempt upon the Queen. 'Tis the Cuſtom in *Scotland*, when the King grants a Pardon for Offences, that he who ſues it out, expreſſeth his great Offence by Name, and the reſt of his Crimes are added in general Words; accordingly the King's Murderers determined to ask Pardon for this Surprize of the Queen by Name, and then to put down in their Pardons, by way of Addition, *All other wicked Facts:* In which Clauſe they perſuaded them,

themſelves, that the King's Murder would be included, becauſe 'twas not ſafe for them to name themſelves the Authors of it in the Pardon; nor was it creditable for the Queen to grant it under that Name; neither could it well be added in the Grant of Pardon, as an Appendix to a Crime that was leſs in its own Nature. Another Offence leſs invidious, but liable to the ſame Puniſhment, was to be deviſed, under the Shadow of which, the King's Murder might be diſguiſed and pardoned, and no other did occur to them, but this ſimulated Force put upon the Queen, by which her Pleaſure might be ſatisfied, and *Bothwel*'s Security provided for at the ſame time; and therefore he, accompanied with 600 Horſe, waited her coming at *Almon* Bridge, and took her by her own Conſent to *Dunbar*: There they had free Converſe one with another, and a Divorce was made betwixt *Bothwel* and his former Wife, and that in two Courts: Firſt, ſhe was cited before Judges publickly appointed to decide ſuch kind of Controverſies; and next before the Officials, or Biſhops Courts, though they were forbid by a publick Statute, to exerciſe any part of Magiſtracy; or to meddle with any publick Buſineſs; Madam *Gordon*, *Bothwel*'s Wife, was compelled to commence a ſuit of Divorce in a double Court before the Queen's Judges; ſhe accuſes him of Adultery, which was the only juſt Cauſe of a Divorce amongſt them; and before the papal Judges, who though forbidden by the Law, yet were impowered by the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, to determine the Controverſy: She alledged againſt him, that before their Marriage, he had had too much unlawful, or inceſtuous Familiarity with her Kinſwoman: The Witneſſes and Judges made no Delay in the Caſe. The Suit was commenc'd, proſecuted, adjudg'd, and ended in ten Days.

ON theſe Emergencies, a great many of the honeſt Nobles met at *Sterling* and ſent to the Queen; deſiring to know of her, whether ſhe was kept where ſhe was, with or againſt her Will? If the latter, they would levy an Army for her Deliverance. She received the Meſſage, not without ſmiling, and anſwered them, that 'twas true, ſhe was brought thither againſt her Will, but was ſo kindly treated ſince, that ſhe had little cauſe to complain of the former Injury. Thus was the Meſſenger eluded; but though they made haſte to take off the Reflection of the Force by a lawful Marriage, there were ſtill two Obſtacles in the way; one was, that if ſhe married whilſt a Priſoner, the Marriage might not be accounted good, and ſo eaſily diſſolved. The other, how to have the uſual Ceremonies obſerved, that the Bans

ſhould be publiſh'd on three Lord's Days in the publick Congregations, 'Of a Marriage intended between *James* '*Hepburn*, and *Mary Stuart*; ſo that if any one knew a 'lawful Impediment, why they might not be joined toge-'ther in Matrimony, they ſhould declare it, that ſo it might 'be decided by the Church.' To accompliſh this, *Bothwel* gathers his Friends and Dependents together, reſolving to bring back the Queen to *Edinburgh*, that ſo under a vain ſhew of her Liberty, he might determine of their Marriage at his Pleaſure. His Companions were all arm'd, and as they were on their Journey, a fear ſeiz'd on ſome of them, leſt one time or other, it might turn to their Prejudice, to hold the Queen as yet a Priſoner; and if there were no other Ground for it, yet this was enough, that they accompanied her in an arm'd Poſture, when things were otherwiſe in Peace and Quietneſs: Upon this Scruple they threw away their Arms, and ſo in a ſeeming more peaceable Poſture, they brought her to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, which was then in *Bothwel*'s Power.

THE next Day they accompanied her into the City, and into the Courts of Juſtice, where ſhe affirm'd before the Judges, that ſhe was wholly free, and under no Reſtraint at all. But as to publiſhing the Marriage in the Church, the Reader whoſe Office it was, did abſolutely refuſe it: Upon this, the elder Deacons and Eccleſiaſticks aſſembled, as not daring to reſiſt, and commanded the Reader to publiſh the Bans according to Cuſtom; he ſo far was obedient as to tell them, that he himſelf knew a lawful Impediment, and was ready to declare it to the Queen or to *Bothwel*, when they pleas'd to command him: Accordingly he was ſent for to the Caſtle, and the Queen remitted him to *Bothwel*, who neither by Fear nor Favour, could make him alter his Purpoſe, nor yet durſt he commit the Matter to a Diſpute; yet he went on to haſten the Marriage: There was none found beſides the Biſhop of *Orkney*, to celebrate the Nuptials; he alone preferr'd Court-Favour before Truth, the reſt being utterly againſt it, and producing Reaſons, why it could be no lawful Marriage with one that had two Wives yet living, and had lately confeſs'd his own Adultery, and had been alſo divorced from a third; yet though all Good Men loath'd it, the Commonalty curs'd it, his Relations by Letters diſſuaded him from it, whilſt he was proſecuting it, and abhorr'd it, when it was done; there were ſome publick Ceremonies performed after a mock kind of manner, and married they were. Thoſe of the Nobility there preſent (being very few, and thoſe *Bothwel*'s Friends

and

and Creatures too, the reſt being gone to their Homes) were invited to ſupper, and ſo was *Crocke* the *French* Embaſſador; but he, though he was of the *Guiſes* Faction, and beſides reſided near the Place, yet peremptorily refus'd to come; he thought it ſuited not with the Dignity of that Perſon, whom he repreſented, to countenance that Marriage by his Preſence, which he heard the common People had deteſted and curſed; and beſides, the Queen's Relations did by no means approve it, neither whilſt 'twas a doing, nor yet when it was done. And the King of *France* and Queen of *England* did by their Embaſſadors declare againſt the Turpitude of the Action. Though that was troubleſome to her, yet the ſilent Sadneſs of the People did ſo much the more increaſe the fierce Diſpoſition of the Queen, as things that we ſee with our own Eyes pierce us deeper, than things that we only hear; as they both went through the City, none ſaluted them with their wonted Acclamations, only one ſaid, and that but once, *God ſave the Queen*; upon which another Woman near her ſpoke aloud, once or twice, ſo that the Standers by might hear her, *Let every body have their Deſerts:* That Incident provoked her ſtill much the more againſt the *Edinburghers*, with whom ſhe was angry before. When ſhe ſaw how diſaffected People were to her, both at Home and Abroad, ſhe took Advice with her Cabal, how ſhe might eſtabliſh her Power, and quell any Inſurrection for the future. Firſt of all, ſhe determined to ſend an Embaſſador into *France*, to reconcile thoſe Princes, and the *Guiſes* to her, who ſhe knew were offended with her precipitate Marriage: *William* Biſhop of *Dunblane* was choſen for that Service; his Inſtructions were given him almoſt in theſe very Words:

'*Firſt*, YOU ſhall excuſe me to thoſe Princes, and to my 'Uncle, that they heard of the Conſummation of my 'Marriage by vulgar Report, before ever I had acquainted 'them with my Intentions by my own proper Meſſengers. 'This Excuſe is built as upon a Foundation, on the true 'Narration of his Life, and eſpecially of the good Offices, which the Duke of the *Orcades* hath done me even 'to that very Day, wherein I thought good to make him 'my Husband; You ſhall begin the Declaration of that 'Story, as the Truth is, taking your riſe from his very 'Youth. As ſoon as ever he came to be of Age, after the 'Death of his Father, one of the prime Noblemen of the 'Kingdom, he wholly addicted himſelf to the Service of 'the Princes of this Land, being otherwiſe of a very noble 'Family, both by reaſon of its Antiquity, and alſo the

'high

'high Offices it held in the Kingdom as by Hereditary
'Right: At that time he principally addicted himſelf to the
'Service of my Mother, who then held the Scepter, and
'was ſo conſtant an Adherent to her, that though in a very
'ſhort time a great many of the Nobility, and many
'Towns alſo had revolted from her, on the account of
'Religion, yet he never faultred in his Loyalty; neither
'could he be induc'd by any Proffers, Promiſes or Threats,
'nor by any Loſs of his particular Eſtate, to make a De-
'fection in the leaſt from her Authority; nay rather than
'neglect her Service, he ſuffer'd his Houſe, the Manſion-
'Houſe of the Family, and all his Goods, which were many
'and precious, to be plundered, and his Eſtate made a Prey
'to his Enemies: At laſt, being deſtitute of my Aid, and
'all other beſides, an *Engliſh* Army was brought in by do-
'meſtick Enemies, into the very Bowels of the Kingdom,
'on purpoſe to inforce my Husband (then Earl of *Bothwel*)
'to leave his Eſtate and Country, and to retire to *France*;
'where he obſerved me with all Reſpect, till my return to
'*Scotland*. Neither muſt his Military Exploits againſt the
'*Engliſh* be forgotten, a little before my Return, wherein
'he gave ſuch Proofs of his manly Valour, and great Pru-
'dence too, that he was thought worthy, though a young
'Man, to command his Superiors in Age; ſo that he was
'choſen Chief General of the Army of his Countrymen,
'and my Lieutenant, which Office he diſcharged ſo well,
'that by many valiant Performances, he left a noble Me-
'morial of his Fortitude both amongſt his Enemies, and
'alſo his own Countrymen. After my return, he employed
'all his Endeavours for the Enlargement of my Authori-
'ty; he ſpar'd no Danger in ſubduing the Rebels upon the
'Borders of *England*; where having reduc'd things to great
'Tranquillity, he reſolv'd to do the ſame in other Parts of
'the Kingdom: But as Envy is always the Companion of
'Virtue, the *Scots* ſtill deſiring Innovations and ſome of
'them willing to leſſen my Favour towards him, did ſo ill
'interpret his good Services, that they cauſed me to com-
'mit him to Priſon; which I did, partly to gratify ſome,
'who envied the Growth of his increaſing Greatneſs; and
'partly to allay the ſeditious Commotions, which were
'then ready to break out, to the Deſtruction of the whole
'Kingdom. He made his Eſcape out of Priſon, and to
'give way to the Power of thoſe who were emulous of
'his great Virtues, he retir'd into *France*, and reſided
'there almoſt two Years; during which time, the Authors
'of the former Seditions, forgetting my Lenity towards
'them,

'them, and their Duty towards me, took up Arms, and led
'an Army againſt me. Then it was I commanded him to
'return, I reſtor'd him to his former Eſtate and Dignity,
'and made him Captain-General over all my Forces: And
'then too it was, that his Conduct reſtor'd me again ſo far
'to my Authority, that all the Rebels were quickly forc'd
'to turn Fugitives, and ſeek Shelter in *England*, till a great
'part of them, upon their own Requeſt, were again receiv'd by
'me into Favour. How perfidiouſly I was treated by thoſe
'Exiles that returned, and by thoſe, whom I had oblig'd
'with greater Courteſies than they deſerved, my Uncle is
'not ignorant of, and therefore I need ſay little of it; yet,
'muſt I not paſs over in Silence, with how great Diligence
'he freed me from the Hands of thoſe who held me Captive;
'and how ſpeedily, by his ſingular Conduct, I eſcap'd out of Pri-
'ſon; and, the whole Faction of Conſpirators being diſſipated
'and cruſh'd, I recovered my former Authority. I muſt
'acknowledge his Services to have been ſo grateful to me
'on this head, that I could never ſuffer them to ſlip out of my
'Memory: Theſe things are really and truly Great in them-
'ſelves, yet he hath made ſuch an Addition to them, by
'his unweary'd Diligence and anxious Care in my Behalf,
'that I could never expect greater Marks of Duty and Loy-
'alty in any Man, than I have found in him, even till after
'the Deceaſe of my late Husband: Since that time, as his
'Thoughts ſeem'd to grow more aſpiring, and to have a
'higher Aim, ſo his Actions were ſomewhat now uncom-
'mon, bold and daring; and tho' the Matter was come to that
'paſs, that I was, in a manner, oblig'd to take all things
'in the beſt part, yet was I much offended with his Arro-
'gance, when he came to think it was beyond my Ability
'to requite him any otherwiſe, than by giving up my ſelf to
'him as the Reward of his Services; beſides, I diſliked his
'ſecret Deſigns againſt, and, at length, his open Con-
'tempt of me, and the Force which he uſed to get me
'into his Power, for Fear his Intents ſhould be fruſtrated.
'In the mean time, the whole Courſe of his Life was ſo
'order'd, that it may ſtand as an Example, how very crafti-
'ly Men, that undertake great Deſigns, can conceal their
'Purpoſes till they obtain their Ends. For, I thought, that
'his Diligence and Promptitude, in paying Obedience to all
'my Commands, proceeded from no other Motive, than
'a loyal Deſire to pleaſe me; it never ſo much as enter'd
'into my Imagination, that he had any higher Wiſh or De-
'ſign; neither did I think, that a more gracious Counte-
'nance, which I ſometimes ſhew towards my Nobles, to

'ingage them to a greater Readineſs in obeying my Commands, would have exalted his Mind, ſo far as to flatter himſelf with the Hopes of a more extraordinary Courteſy from me; yet he, turning things that were even merely Accidental to his own Advantage, carry'd on theſe Deſigns unknown to me; and, by his wonted Obſervance, nouriſh'd his ancient Love: He moreover courted the Friendſhip of the Nobility, as if he was privily ambitious of a new Favour; and he was ſo ſedulous in this Point, that tho' I knew nothing of it, yet, when the Convention of the Eſtates was held, he obtain'd a *Chart* from all the Nobility, ſubſcrib'd with their Hands, to make it more authentick, wherein they declared their Aſſent to a Marriage betwixt me and him, and promis'd to venture their Lives and Fortunes to bring it to paſs, and to be Enemies to all thoſe that ſhould oppoſe it: And the more eaſily to obtain the Aſſent of the Nobles, he led each of them into a full Perſuaſion, that all theſe things were managed by my Conſent. When he had once obtain'd this Writing, he next endeavour'd by artful Degrees to win my Conſent, and ſought it in the moſt humble Manner; but my Anſwer not ſuiting with his Deſire, he began to propound ſuch things to himſelf, which are wont to occur in ſuch great Undertakings, as, the outward Demonſtrations of my Good-Will, the Ways by which my Friends, or his Enemies, might hinder his Deſign; and leſt any of thoſe, who had ſubſcrib'd, ſhould withdraw their Aſſent, and many other things might intervene to obſtruct his Purpoſes. At length, he determined with himſelf, to purſue the Favour of his preſent Fortune, and to ſtake the whole Buſineſs, his Life and all his Hopes upon the Hazard of one ſingle Moment; ſo that being reſolv'd to execute his Deſign to the Purpoſe, after he had waited four Days, as I was on my Return home from viſiting my dear Son, he watch'd a convenient Place and Time; and, on the Way, ſeized me with a ſtrong Party of Men, and carried me ſpeedily to *Dunbar*. Every one may very eaſily form a Judgment how I took this, eſpecially from him, from whom I leſs expected ſuch a Treatment, than from any Subject whatſoever. There I upbraided him with my Favours towards him, and how honourably I had always ſpoken before of his Manners and Behaviour, and how ungratefully he had carried it towards me: I ſpoke a great many other things, to free my ſelf out of his Hands; his Uſage indeed was ſomewhat coarſe, but his Words were fair and ſmooth, as that he would uſe me with all Honour and Obſervance, and

would do his utmoſt not to offend me in any thing; but as to his carrying me againſt my Will, into one of my own Caſtles, he crav'd my Pardon for ſo bold an Attempt, alledging, he was forc'd, by the Power of Love, ſo to do, and that his Paſſion made him forget the Reverence and Allegiance which he ow'd to me as a Subject. He ſaid farther, that he was compell'd to go thither for Fear of his Life. Then he began to rehearſe to me the whole Courſe of his Life, and lamented his Misfortune, that thoſe, whom he had never offended, were his bitter Enemies, and whoſe Malice had deviſed all unjuſt Ways to do him a Miſchief; what envious Reflections were made upon him, for the King's Death; and how unable he was to bear up againſt the hidden Conſpiracy of thoſe of his Enemies, whom he knew not, becauſe they pretended Good-will towards him both in Speech and Behaviour; neither was he able to prevent even thoſe Treacheries, which came within the Compaſs of his own Knowledge. Their Malice againſt him was ſo great, that, at no Time or Place he could live a quiet Life, unleſs he was aſſur'd of my unchangeable Favour towards him: And to aſſure that, he knew but one Way, and that was, that I would vouchſafe to make him my Husband; he ſolemnly ſwore withal, that he did not ſeek it as the Means of Preheminence, or to be at the Top and Height of Dignity, but this *one* Thing was all he wanted, that he might be able to ſerve and obey me, as he had hitherto done, all the Days of his Life. He dreſs'd up this Diſcourſe of his, in all the Pomp of Eloquence that his Cauſe could require. But when he found I was not to be wrought upon, either by Prayers or Promiſes, he, at laſt, ſhewed me what he had tranſacted with the Nobility, and all the Eſtates, and what they had promiſed under their Hands. This being produced before me on a ſudden, and beyond my Expectation, I leave it to the King, Queen, my Uncle, and the reſt of my Friends, whether it might not adminiſter a juſt Cauſe of Amazement to me: Upon this indeed, when I ſaw my ſelf in another Man's Power, ſeparate from thoſe who were wont to give me Counſel; nay, when I ſaw thoſe Perſons, on whoſe Fidelity and Prudence I plac'd my ſelf, and all my Hopes, thoſe Perſons whoſe Power muſt confirm my Authority, that otherwiſe would be little or none at all; I ſay, when I ſaw ſuch Men had devoted themſelves to gratify his Will and Deſire, and my ſelf left alone as his Prey, I ponder'd many things in my Mind, but could not find out a Way how to extricate my ſelf; neither did he give me any long time to conſider of the Matter, but preſs'd his Purpoſe with great Eagerneſs:

'At laſt, when I ſaw I had no Hope to eſcape, and that 'there was not a Man in the Kingdom that would ſtir for 'my Deliverance; for I eaſily perceived by the Roll he ſhew-'ed me, and by the great Silence of the Times, that all 'were drawn to his Party: As ſoon as my Anger was a 'little abated, I apply'd my Mind to conſider his Requeſt: 'Then I began to ſet before my Eyes his Services in for-'mer Times, and the great Hopes I had, he would con-'ſtantly perſiſt in the ſame for the future: And again, how 'hardly my Subjects would endure a foreign Prince, who 'was unacquainted with their Laws, and that they would 'not ſuffer me to be a Widow long: That a People, prone to 'Tumults, could not be kept within the Bounds of their 'Duty, unleſs my Authority was upheld and exercis'd by a 'Man, who was able to undergo the Toil of governing 'the Commonwealth, and ſo to bridle the Inſolence of the 'Rebellious; that my Strength was weakned with the 'Weight of thoſe Things, ever ſince I came into *Scotland*, 'and almoſt broke to nothing; inſomuch, that I could no 'longer bear the daily Tumults and Rebellions that aroſe: 'Furthermore, by reaſon of theſe Seditions, I was forc'd 'to create four, or more Lieutenants, in divers Parts of the 'Kingdom; moſt of which, under Colour of the Authori-'ty granted by me, caus'd my Subjects to take up Arms a-'gainſt me. For theſe Reaſons, when I ſaw, that if I 'would ſupport my Imperial State, I muſt incline my Heart 'to Marriage; and, that my Subjects would not bear a fo-'reign King: And that there was not any one of my Sub-'jects, who, for the Splendor of his Family, for Prudence 'and Valour, and other Endowments of Body and Mind, 'could exceed, or ſo much as bear a Compariſon with him, 'whom I have now married; I prevail'd with my ſelf to 'comply with the univerſal Decree of my Eſtates, of which I 'made mention before. After my Conſtancy was prevail'd 'upon by theſe Reaſons, he partly by Force, partly by Flattery, 'obtain'd a Promiſe from me to marry him; which having 'done, I could not obtain from him, (who fear'd, leſt my 'Mind ſhould change,) to put off the Celebration of the Nup-'tials, that I might have time to communicate the Matter 'to the King and Queen of *France*, and to my other Friends 'beyond Sea; but, as he began with the utmoſt Intrepidity 'and Boldneſs, ſo that he might arrive at the top of his De-'ſires, he never gave over ſoliciting me by Arguments and 'earneſt Entreaties, till he at laſt compell'd me, not without 'Force, to put an end to the Matter begun, and that at 'ſuch a Time and Way as he thought moſt convenient to 'his Purpoſe. And upon this Head, I cannot diſſemble, but

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'must needs ſay, that I was treated by him otherwiſe than 'I would, or than I had deſerv'd of him; for he was more 'ſolicitous to ſatisfy them, by whoſe Conſent, tho' ex-'torted from them at the beginning, he judges himſelf 'to have accompliſh'd his Deſires (he having deceiv'd them 'as well as my ſelf) than to gratify me, by conſidering, 'what was fit and creditable for me to do, who had been 'always brought up in the Rites and Inſtitutions of our Re-'ligion, from which he, nor any Man living, ſhall ever turn 'or alter me. Tho' I acknowledge my Error, yet muſt con-'feſs, I much deſire, that the King, the Queen, his Mother, 'my Uncle, nor other Friends of mine, would not, in this 'Point, expoſtulate with him, or rub up old Sores. For 'now Matters being ſo compleated, that they cannot be un-'done, I take all things in the beſt part; and, as he is indeed 'my Husband, I reſolve now to look upon him, as one 'that hereafter I will love and reverence; and they who 'profeſs themſelves my Friends, muſt needs carry the ſame 'Reſpects to him, ſince now we are join'd in the indiſſo-'luble Bond of Matrimony. Tho', in ſome things, he hath 'carried himſelf ſomething negligently, and almoſt raſhly, 'yet I impute it to his immoderate Love towards me, and 'do therefore intreat the King, Queen, my Uncle, and other 'Friends, to reſpect him as much, as if all had been ma-'nag'd by their Advice, even to this very Day; and, on the 'other ſide, we promiſe, in his behalf, that he will gratify 'them in all things, which they ſhall deſire.

THIS was the Remedy provided againſt the bad Reports of the World abroad; but they took Precautions againſt domeſtick Tumults, after they had fixed thoſe by Gifts for the preſent, and Promiſes for the time to come, who were either Perpetrators or Partizans in the King's Murder. To make a Combination of the greater part of the Nobility, becauſe, if that was done, they might undervalue the reſt; or, if they remain'd obſtinate, cut them off. Upon this, they aſſembled many of the Nobility, and propounded to them the Heads of the Capitulations, which they were to ſwear: The ſum was, that they ſhould maintain the Queen and *Bothwel*, and ſupport all their Proceedings; and, on the other ſide, they were to favour and countenance the Concerns of thoſe of the Confederates there preſent. A great many were perſuaded before, and ſo ſubſcribed; the reſt, tho' they thought it a very ill Thing to join in the Conſpiracy, yet they ſaw it was as dangerous to refuſe, and ſo they ſubſcribed too. *Murray* was ſent for, that his Authority (which his Virtue had render'd very great and extenſive),

might give ſome Countenance to the thing. As he was on his Journey, he was adviſ'd by his Friends, to conſult his own Safety, and not to lye in *Seton* Houſe, where the Queen and the chief Conſpirators were, but rather to lodge in ſome Friend's Houſe in a Village hard by. He anſwer'd, that was not in his Power, but come what would, he would never aſſent to any wicked Action, and he left all the reſt to God. As to thoſe Courtiers who were appointed by the Queen, to debate with him about ſubſcribing the League, he made them this reply, 'That he could not juſtly nor honeſtly make 'this League with the Queen, (whom in all things elſe it 'was his Duty to obey;) that he was reconcil'd to *Both-* '*wel*, by the Queen's Mediation: Whatever he had then 'promis'd, he would obſerve to a tittle; neither was it 'equitable, or good for the Commonwealth, that he 'ſhould make another League or Combination with him, 'or any other Man living.' The Queen accoſted him more kindly than ordinary for ſome Days, and promis'd to tell him her Mind in all things, yet ſhe could not ſpeak out for Shame, and therefore try'd his Mind by her Friends; they alſo perceiving his Conſtancy in that which was right, openly confeſt, what 'twas they deſir'd: And when it was plain that they could do no manner of Good with him by their underhand Ways, *Bothwel* ſet upon him at laſt, and after much Diſcourſe told him, that he did that Fact not willingly, nor for himſelf alone. He put on a kind of frowning Countenance at that Word; upon which *Both-* *wel* having ſometimes by ſerious Diſcourſe, ſometimes by Terms that were the very next to downright railing, carry'd the Matter as far as it would go, endeavour'd at laſt to throw in Seeds of Diſcord, and to urge him to a Quarrel. He on the contrary anſwer'd with the utmoſt Moderation, and gave no juſt Occaſion for a Diſpute, yet kept cloſe to his point, and did not depart in the leaſt from his Reſolution. When *Murray* had labour'd under theſe Straits for ſome Days, he ask'd leave of the Queen, that ſince there was no great need of him at Court, he might have Liberty to retire to St. *Andrews* or into *Murray*; for he was willing to go out of the way, that he might not be ſuſpected to be the Author of the Tumults which he foreſaw would ariſe. When he could not obtain that, nor yet remain at Court without great and apparent Danger, he at laſt got leave to travel, but upon Condition, that he ſhould not make any ſtay in *England*, but go through *Flanders* either into *Germany*, or to what other Place he pleas'd. To go to *Flanders*, was all one as to caſt himſelf into evident Danger, and therefore, with

with much ado, he obtain'd leave to paſs through *England* into *France*, and from thence, whither his own Choice ſhould lead him. The Queen being thus freed from a Free-hearted and popular Perſon, endeavours to remove the other Obſtacles to her Tyranny; and thoſe were ſuch, as would not willingly ſubſcribe to her Wickedneſs, or were not like to acquieſce very eaſily in her Deſigns. But ſhe had a particular Reſentment againſt thoſe, who perceiving her to be no better affected towards her Son than towards her former Husband, made an Aſſociation at *Sterling*, not out of any wicked Deſign, but only merely, in order to defend the young Prince, whom his Mother deſir'd to place under the Power of his Father-in-Law. As for him, every body knew that he would make away with the Child, as ſoon as ever he had an Opportunity of doing it, for fear he ſhould live to revenge his Father's Death, at leaſt to prevent his own Children from the Crown. The chief of that Combination were the Earls of *Argyle*, *Morton*, *Mar*, *Athol*, and *Glencairn*; beſides others of the ſame Order, but inferior, and next in Degree; as *Patrick Lindſey*, and *Robert Boyd*, with their Friends and Partners, who had join'd themſelves to them. But *Argyle*, out of the ſame Levity of Temper, with which he came in to them, diſcover'd their Deſigns to the Queen, within a Day or two following; and *Boyd* was by large Promiſes wrought over to the contrary Party. Next to theſe ſhe ſuſpected the Families of the *Humes*, the *Carrs*, and the *Scots*, who lived juſt upon the Borderss of *England*: She ſought by all means to leſſen their Power, and there appear'd a pretty juſt Occaſion to ſecond her Deſigns in that point. For when *Bothwel* was preparing an Expedition into *Liddiſdale*, to make Amends for the Diſgrace he had receiv'd there the Autumn before; and likewiſe to get ſome Reputation by his Arms, and to extinguiſh the Envy heaped upon him on account of the King's Death; the Queen commanded all the Chief of the Families in *Tiviotdale* to come in to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, that there for ſome ſhort time they might be ſecure, as in free Cuſtody; upon pretence, that they might not be led into an Expedition, which did not ſeem likely to be ſucceſsfully accompliſh'd againſt their Wills; and they alſo, if at Liberty, might diſturb the Deſign out of Envy; and in their Abſence, ſhe might inure the Clans to the Government of others; and ſo, by degrees, wear off the Love of their old Patrons and Maſters. But they imagining, that ſome deeper Project lay hid under that Command, went all home in the Night, except *Andrew Carr*, who was generally thought to

be no Stranger to the Parricide, and except *Walter Carr* of *Sesford*, a Man, that by reaſon of his Innocent Life, ſuſpected nothing. *Hume*, tho' often ſummon'd by *Bothwel* to come to Court, as often refus'd the Summons, as knowing the King's Thoughts towards him; yet notwithſtanding the Deſign for the Expedition proceeded, and the Queen ſtaid at *Bothwick* Caſtle about eight Miles from *Edinburgh*. In the mean time, they who had united to defend the King, being not ignorant of *Bothwel*'s Intention towards him, thought it neceſſary to proceed to Action, not only for their own Security, but alſo, that by demanding Juſtice upon the Author of the King's Murder, they might acquit the *Scotiſh* Name from the Infamy, under which it lay amongſt foreign Nations. And therefore, ſuppoſing the common People would follow their Motions, they privately levy'd about two thouſand Horſe: So that the Queen knew nothing of what was acted, till *Hume* came to *Bothwick* Caſtle, with part of the Army, and beſieg'd her, and *Bothwel* together. But the other part of the Conſpirators not coming in at the time appointed, and he having not Force enough to ſtop all Paſſages, and not being ſo active himſelf neither, as he might have been, becauſe the reſt had neglected their Parts; firſt, *Bothwel* made his Eſcape, and after him the Queen in Man's Apparel, and went directly to *Dunbar*. *Athol* was the occaſion why his Aſſociates did not come in time enough; for he, either amaz'd at the Greatneſs of the Undertaking, or held back by his own ſluggiſh Temper, kept the reſt at *Sterling*, 'till the Opportunity of the Service was loſt; yet that they might ſeem to have done ſomething, a great part of them were ſent to beſiege *Edinburgh*. *James Balfure* was Governor of the Caſtle there, put in by *Bothwel*, as being a Partner in the Parricide, and Author of, or elſe privy to all his Deſigns; but when he ſaw he had no Pay for his Service, and was not ſo well reſpected by the Tyrants as he expected, (for they had endeavour'd to take away the Command from him) he drove out thoſe of the contrary Faction, and brought the Caſtle under his ſole Dominion; he then promis'd the publick Vindicators of the Parricide, that he would do them no hurt, and was treating of Conditions how to deliver it up. There were at that time in the Town, the principal of the Queen's Faction, *John Hamilton*, the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, *George Gordon* Earl of *Huntly*, and *John Leſly* Biſhop of *Roſs*: They having Intelligence that their Enemies were receiv'd into the Town, flew to the Town-houſe, and there gathering together a Multitude of People, they offer'd to

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head them and drive out their Foes; but very few coming in to them, they were driven back to the Caſtle; they were received into it by *Balfure*, and a few Days after were ſent away ſafe a by-way: For *Balfure* having not yet fully agreed with the other ſide, would not then cut off all his Hopes of Pardon from thoſe of his Party: The Town eaſily came into the Combination, for it had been burden'd a little before with new Taxes from the Queen; and in the publick Neceſſity they expected no Moderation from her Party, and were unanimouſly offended with her Tyranny; nay, as often as they had Liberty to expreſs their Sentiments, they curſed the Court Wickedneſs with the moſt furious Execrations.

MATTERS being thus ſlowly carried by the Faction of the Nobles at *Bothwick*, the Queen and *Bothwel* by the Neglect of the Guards eſcaped by Night, and with a ſmall Retinue came to *Dunbar*, where they had a well fortify'd Caſtle to ſecure themſelves in; hence there followed ſo great a turn of Affairs, that they who were lately in great Deſpair, did now, by the flocking in of thoſe to them who were either Partners in their Evils, or elſe liking the Umbrage of the Royal Name, grew ſtrong enough, as they thought, to cope with and ſubdue their Adverſaries. On the other ſide, the Vindicators of Liberty were driven to great Straits; for to their great Diſappointment, there were but a few came in to ſo renown'd an Undertaking; the Heat of the Vulgar, as is uſual, quickly abating, and a great part of the Nobility being very averſe, or at leaſt ſtanding aloof off, expecting the Iſſue of the other's Danger; beſides, though they were ſuperior in Number, yet they wanted Artillery to take the Caſtles: Therefore as they perceived their Counſels would at preſent come to no Iſſue, and that Neceſſity lay againſt them, they thought to return without effecting any thing: But the Queen decided their Doubts, for ſhe taking Courage from the Numbers ſhe had, reſolv'd already to march with them for *Leith*, and try her Fortune near at hand; imagining alſo, that her Approach would make many more come in to her and encreaſe her Force; and that her Boldneſs would ſtrike Terror into her Enemies; beſides, the Succeſs which ſhe had met with before, had ſo elated her Spirit, that ſhe thought hardly any Man would at this time make any ſtand, or dare to look her in the Face. This Confidence of hers was very much heighten'd by her Flatterers, and eſpecially by *Edmond Hayes*, a Lawyer; he told her, that all things lay open to her Valour, that her Enemies wanted Force, and were at their Wits end, and at the very

very firſt Noiſe of her Approach, would be for making off as faſt as they could: Whereas, indeed the matter was far otherwiſe, and in thoſe preſent Circumſtances, nothing had been better for her than Delay; for if ſhe had kept her ſelf in the Caſtle of *Dunbar* but three Days longer, the Aſſertors of Liberty being deſtitute of all Preparations for a War, and finding they had attempted their Liberty in vain, muſt have been forc'd to depart every one to his own Houſe. However, excited by theſe bad Counſels, and animated with vain and groundleſs Hopes, ſhe march'd from *Dunbar*, yet ſhe march'd ſlowly, becauſe ſhe diſtributed Arms among the Countrymen, whom ſhe gathered up by the Way. At length, a little before Night, they came to *Seton*, and becauſe they could not be quarter'd there, they divided their Number into two neighbouring Villages, both called *Preſton*: From thence a dreadful Alarm was brought to *Edinburgh* before Midnight, and preſently the Word was given, *To your Arms*; they roſe out of their Beds, and made all the haſte they could into the neighbouring Fields, and there having gathered a good Body together by Sun-riſing, they put themſelves in order of Battel; thence they march'd to *Muſſelburgh*, to paſs the River *Eſk*, before the Bridge and Ford were poſſeſs'd by the Enemy, (that Village is but two Miles from *Preſton*) but meeting no body, and perceiving no Noiſe at all, they placed Guards and Sentinels, and went to their Quarters of Refreſhment. In the mean time, the Scouts which were ſent to watch the Motions of the Enemy, ſeeing a few Horſemen, drove them into the Village, but did not dare to follow them further, for fear of falling into an Ambuſcade; ſo that they brought back no certain News of the Army, only that the Enemy was upon their march: Upon that the Aſſertors of Liberty, marching out of *Muſſelburgh*, ſaw the Enemy ſtanding in Battel-array, upon the Brow of an Hill over againſt them, and that they kept their Ground. The Hill being ſo ſteep, that they could not come at them without Prejudice, they drew a little to the right, both to have the Sun on their Backs, and likewiſe to gain an eaſier Aſcent, and to fight upon a more advantagious Ground; that Deſign of theirs deceived the Queen, for ſhe thought they had fled, and were marching to *Dalkeith*, a neighbouring Town of the Earl of *Morton*'s; ſhe was fully perſuaded, that the Terror of her Royal Name was ſo great, that they durſt not ſtand; but ſhe quickly found, that *Authority, as 'tis gotten by good Arts, ſo may be quickly loſt by bad; and that Majeſty, deſtitute of Virtue, is ſoon brought to nothing.* In their march the *Dalkeithians* brought them forth all manner of Proviſions in abundance.

abundance. When they had refreſh'd themſelves, and quench'd their Thirſt, which annoy'd them very much before, as ſoon as ever they got a convenient place, they divided their Army into two Bodies, *Morton* commanded the firſt, aſſiſted by *Alexander Hume* and his Vaſſals: The ſecond was led on by the Earls of *Glencairn*, *Mar*, and *Athol*; when they were thus ready to charge, *Crock* the *French* Embaſſador came to them, he prefaced to them by an Interpreter, how he had always ſtudied the Good and Tranquillity of the *Scots*, and that he was now of the ſame mind, and therefore he earneſtly deſired, if poſſible, that the Controverſy might be decided to the Satisfaction of both Parties, without Force or Bloodſhed; and in order to bring about ſo deſirable an end, he offered his Service, alledging, that the Queen her ſelf likewiſe was not averſe from Peace; and that he might incline them to believe it, he told them, ſhe would grant a preſent Pardon, and a general Oblivion of what was done, and ſhe faithfully promiſed, that they ſhould all be indemnified, for taking up Arms againſt the Supream Magiſtrate. When Mr. *Crock*'s Interpreter had ſpoken to this effect, *Morton* anſwered, 'They had not taken up Arms 'againſt the Queen, but againſt the Murderer of the late 'King, and that if ſhe would deliver him up to Puniſhment, 'or ſeparate her ſelf from him, then ſhe ſhould underſtand, 'they and their fellow Subjects deſired nothing more, than 'to perſevere in their Duty to her: But that otherwiſe, no 'Agreement could be made.' *Glencairn* added, 'That they 'came not thither to receive Pardon for taking up Arms, 'but to give it.' *Crock* ſeeing their Reſolution, and knowing well, that what they ſpoke was true, and what they deſired was juſt, beg'd leave to depart, and ſo went to *Edinburgh*. In the mean time the Queen's Army kept it ſelf within the ancient Camp-Bounds of the *Engliſh*; it was a Place naturally higher than the reſt, and beſides, fortified with a Work and Ditch; from whence *Bothwel* ſhewed himſelf, mounted on a brave Steed, and proclaim'd by an Herald, that he was ready to fight a Duel with any one of the adverſe Party. *James Murray*, a noble young Man, offer'd himſelf from the other Army; he had done the ſame before by a *Chartel*, but ſuppreſs'd his Name, (as I ſaid before;) *Bothwel* refus'd him, alledging, that he was not a fit Match for him, either in Dignity or Eſtate; then came forth *William Murray*, *James*'s elder Brother, affirming, that laying aſide Money-Matters, he was as powerful as *Bothwel*, and even his Superior in Antiquity of Family, and the Integrity of Repute: He too was refuſed, as being

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but lately made a Knight, and of the ſecond Rank; many of the firſt Rank offered themſelves, eſpecially *Patrick Lindſey*; he truly deſired it as the only Reward of all the Labours which he had undergone to maintain the Honour of *Scotland*, that he might be permitted to fight with *Bothwel*: *Bothwel* excepted againſt him too; and not knowing how to come off with Credit, the Queen interpoſed her Authority, and forbidding him to fight, put an end to the Controverſy: Then marching through the Army on Horſe-back, ſhe tried how they all ſtood affected. *Bothwel*'s Friends and Relations were forward for the Fight; but the reſt told her; that there were many brave Soldiers in the adverſe Army, who being well exerciſed in Arms, would render the Hazard of a Fight very dangerous; as for themſelves, they were ready, but the Commonalty, of which they had a great many, were averſe from the Cauſe; and therefore 'twas much fitter, that *Bothwel* himſelf ſhould maintain his own Cauſe in a Duel, than that he ſhould expoſe ſo many brave Men, and eſpecially the Queen her ſelf, to ſo great a Hazard; but if ſhe was fully reſolved to fight, yet 'twas beſt to defer it till the next Morning: For 'twas ſaid, that the *Hamiltons* were a coming with five hundred Horſe, and that they were not far off; that when they were joined by their Forces, they might then more ſafely adviſe about the main matter; for at that time, the Earl of *Huntly*, and *John Hamilton*, Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, had gather'd their Clans together to *Hamilton*, and the Day after were coming to the Queen; Upon this ſhe bit her Lips with Anger, and fell a weeping, uttering many Reproaches againſt the Nobles, and ſent a Meſſenger to the oppoſite Army, deſiring that they would ſend *William Kircade* of *Grange* to her, that ſhe would ſpeak with him about Conditions of Peace, and that in the mean time the Army ſhould not advance; neither did the Army of the Aſſertors of Liberty proceed, but they ſtood near, and in a low place, ſo that the Enemy's Ordnance could not annoy them. Whilſt the Queen was conferring with *Kircade*, *Bothwel* was bid to ſhift for himſelf, (for that was it which ſhe aim'd at, by pretending a Conference) whoſe Fears made him fly with ſo much haſte to *Dunbar*, that he commanded two Horſemen, who accompanied him, to return back again. Such a Load of Guilt lay upon his Mind, that he could hardly truſt his own Friends. The Queen, when ſhe thought he was out of Danger, articled with *Kircade*, that the reſt of her Army ſhould paſs quietly home, and ſo ſhe came with him to the Nobles, cloth'd only with a Tunicle, and that a mean and thread-bare one too,

reaching

reaching but a little below her Knees: She was receiv'd by the Van of the Army, not without Demonſtration of their former Reverence; but when ſhe deſir'd that they would diſmiſs her to meet the *Hamiltons*, who were ſaid to be coming on, promiſing to return again, and commanded *Morton* to undertake that ſhe would be as good as her Word, (for ſhe hoped by fair Promiſes, to do whatever ſhe would) when ſhe could not obtain it, ſhe burſt out into all the Bitterneſs of Language, and upbraided the Commanders with what ſhe had done for them; they too heard her with Silence: But when ſhe came to the ſecond Body, there was an unanimous Cry from them all; *Burn the Whore, burn the Parricide.* King *Henry* was painted in one of the Banners dead, and his little Son by him, crying out for Vengeance from God upon the Murderers; that Banner two Soldiers ſtretch'd out betwixt two Pikes, and ſet before her Eyes whereſoever ſhe went; at this Sight ſhe ſwooned, and could ſcarce be kept upon her Horſe; but recovering her ſelf, ſhe remitted nothing of her former Fierceneſs, uttering Threats and Reproaches, ſhedding Tears, and ſhewing all the other Tokens that accompany a Woman's Grief. In her March ſhe made what Delay ſhe could, expecting if any Aid might come from elſewhere; but one of the Company cry'd out, there was no reaſon ſhe ſhould expect the *Hamiltons*, for there was not an arm'd Man in many Miles of the place: At laſt a little before Night ſhe entred *Edinburgh*, her Face being covered with Duſt and Tears, as if Dirt had been thrown upon it, all the People running out to ſee the Spectacle, ſhe paſt through a great part of the City in great Silence, the Multitude leaving her ſo narrow a Paſſage, that ſcarce one could go a-breaſt; when ſhe was going up to her Lodging, one Woman of the Company prayed for her; but ſhe turning to the People, told them, beſides other threatning Words, that ſhe would burn the City, and quench the Fire with the Blood of the perfidious Citizens. When ſhe ſhewed her ſelf weeping out of the Window, and a great Concourſe of People was made, amongſt whom ſome commiſerated her ſudden Change of Fortune: The former Banner was held out to her, upon which ſhe ſhut the Window, and withdrew. When ſhe had ſtaid there two Days, ſhe was ſent Priſoner by the Order of the Nobles, to a Caſtle ſituated in *Lough-Levin*; for *Edinburgh* Caſtle was yet held by *Balfure*, who though he favour'd the Aſſertors of Liberty, had not however made any Conditions for the Surrender of the Caſtle.

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IN the mean time, the Biſhop of *Dunblane*, who was ſent Embaſſador into *France*, to excuſe the Queen's Marriage, being ignorant of all that was done in *Scotland* after his Departure, came to that Court at the time; whilſt theſe laſt Tranſactions were on Foot, and obtain'd a Day for Audience. The very ſame Day, there came two Letters to the King and his Mother, one from *Crock* his Embaſſador, another from *Ninian Cockerburn* a *Scot*, who had ſerv'd as Captain of Horſe ſome Years in *France*; both of them diſcover'd the preſent Poſture of Affairs in *Scotland*. The *Scots* Embaſſador being admitted to the King's Preſence, made a long and accurate Speech, partly to excuſe the Queen's Marriage, without the Advice of her Friends; partly to commend *Bothwel* to the Skies, beyond all Truth and Reaſon. The Queen of *France* interrupted the vain Man, and ſhew'd him the Letters ſhe had receiv'd from *Scotland*; how that the Queen was a Priſoner, and *Bothwel* was fled; he was aſtoniſh'd at the ſudden ill News, and fell into a profound Silence: They who were preſent partly jeer'd, and partly ſmiled at this unlook'd for Accident; and there were none of them all but thought ſhe ſuffer'd deſervedly.

ABOUT the ſame time, *Bothwel* ſent one of his moſt truſty Servants into the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, to bring him a ſilver Cabinet, which once belong'd to *Francis* King of *France*, as appear'd by the Cyphers on the outſide, in which were found Letters, almoſt all of them written in the Queen's own Hand. By theſe the King's Murder, and the things which followed, were clearly diſcovered; and it was particularly mentioned in almoſt all of them, that he ſhould burn them as ſoon as ever he had read them. But *Bothwel* knowing the Queen's Inconſtancy, as having had many evident Examples of it in a few Years, had preſerv'd the Letters; that ſo, if any Difference ſhould happen betwixt him and her, he might uſe them as Teſtimonials for himſelf, and demonſtrate by them, that he was not the Author, but only a Party in the King's Murder. *Balfure* deliver'd this Cabinet to *Bothwel*'s Servant, but withal, he inform'd the Chiefs of the adverſe Party, what he had ſent, whither, and by whom; upon which they took him, and found great and mighty Matters contain'd in the Letters, which though before ſhrewdly ſuſpected, yet could never ſo clearly be made out; but here the whole wicked Plot was plainly expoſed to view: *Bothwel* not ſucceeding in any of his Affairs, and being deſtitute of all Help, and out of all Hopes of recovering the Kingdom, fled, firſt to the *Orcades*, then to the Iſles of *Schetland*;

Schetland; and there, being reduced to extream Want, he began to play the Pirate. In the interim, many dealt with, and deſir'd the Queen to ſeparate her Cauſe from *Bothwel*'s; (for, if he was puniſh'd, ſhe might eaſily be reſtor'd with the Good-will of all her Subjects:) But the fierce Woman, bearing as yet the Spirit of her former Fortune, and inrag'd with her preſent Troubles, anſwer'd, *That ſhe would rather live with him in the utmoſt Adverſity, than without him in the moſt Royal Condition.* Various and profound were the Speculations of the Nobles upon this important Head; thoſe, who were for revenging the bloody Deed, hoped, that as ſoon as ever their Intentions ſhould take Air, and be publickly known, the greater part, if not all, would yield them their Approbation, and even concur with them in ſo famous and ſo glorious a Purpoſe; but it fell out far otherwiſe, for popular Envy being abated, partly by Space of Time, and partly by the Conſideration of the Uncertainty of human Affairs, was turn'd into Commiſeration; nay, ſome of the Nobility did then no leſs bewail the Queen's Calamity, than they had before execrated her Cruelty: Both which they did, rather out of an Inconſtancy of Temper, than out of any propenſe Affection to either ſide: Hence it too evidently appear'd, that they did not ſeek the publick Tranquillity, but rather fiſh'd for their own private Advantage in thoſe troubled Waters; many, on the other hand, wiſh'd for Peace and Quietneſs, and they weighed within themſelves, which Party was ſtrongeſt, and ſo were inclin'd to ſide with the moſt powerful. Their Faction was thought to be the ſtrongeſt, who, either conſented to the Murder, or elſe, in Obſequiouſneſs to the Queen, ſubſcrib'd to the impious Deed after it was committed: The chief of thoſe came in to *Hamilton*, and being very ſtrong, would receive neither Letters, nor Meſſengers from the contrary Party, in Order to an Accomodation; neither were they ſparing in their Reproaches, but upbraided them with all the Calumny of Language; and they were ſo much the more inrag'd, becauſe the greateſt part of the Nobles, who reſpected rather the Blaſts of Fortune, than the Equity of the Cauſe, did not come in to the Vindicators; for they that were not *againſt* them they concluded were *for* them. Beſides, they eſteem'd it a piece of vain Glory, that the Vindicators ſhould enter before them into the Metropolis of the Kingdom, and from thence ſend for them, who were the greater and more powerful in Numbers. The other Party, tho' they had not imperiouſly commanded, but only humbly requeſted them; yet, to take away the leaſt Colour of Arrogance that might be imputed to them, they prevail'd with

with the Miniſters of the Churches, to write jointly to them all, and ſeverally to each in particular, that they ſhould not be wanting to the publick Peace, in ſo dangerous and criminal a Juncture; but, ſetting aſide private Animoſities, they ſhould conſult, what was moſt expedient for the publick Good. Theſe Letters did no more good with the contrary Faction, than thoſe of the Nobles before; they all making the ſame Excuſes, as if it had been purpoſely ſo agreed between them. Afterwards, the Queen's Faction met together in many Places, and finding no Means to accompliſh their Deſigns, they all ſlipp'd off, and diſpers'd ſeveral Ways. In the mean time, the Revengers of the publick Parricide dealt with the Queen, (whom they could not ſeparate from the Concerns of the Murderers) to reſign up her Government, upon pretence of Sickneſs, or any other ſpecious Allegation, and to commit the Care of her Son, and the Adminiſtration of publick Affairs, to which of the Nobles ſhe pleas'd. At laſt, with much ado, ſhe appointed, as Governors to the Child, *James*, Earl of *Murray*, if, upon his Return home, he did not refuſe the Charge; *James*, Duke of *Caſtleherault*; *Matthew*, Earl of *Lennox*; *Gileſpy*, Earl of *Argyle*; *John*, Earl of *Athol*; *James*, Earl of *Morton*; *Alexander*, Earl of *Glencairn*; and *John*, Earl of *Mar*. Moreoever, they ſent Proxies to ſee the King plac'd in his Royal Throne, and ſo to enter on the Government, either at *Sterling*, or any other Place, if they thought fit. This happen'd on the 25th of *July*, in the Year of our Lord, 1567. A little before, *James*, Earl of *Murray*, hearing how Matters went at home, return'd thro' *France*, and was pretty nobly entertain'd at Court; yet ſo, that *Hamilton* (whoſe Faction the *Guiſes* knew, were more intimately affected towards them) was far better received, which was occaſion'd chiefly by the *Guiſes*, who were averſe to all *Murray*'s Deſigns. After he was diſmiſs'd, the Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*, who called himſelf the Queen of *Scots* Embaſſador, told the Court, that *James*, tho' abſent, yet was the Chief of the Faction; and, as in former times, all things were acted by his Influence, ſo now he was ſent for, as an Head to the Body of them. Hereupon, ſome were ſent after to bring him back; but he, having had proper Precautions from his Friends, had ſet Sail from the Haven of *Deip*, where he was, before the King's Letters came, and arriving in *England*, was honourably entertain'd by Perſons of all Ranks and Degrees, and ſo ſent home. There he was receiv'd with the higheſt Congratulation and Joy of all the People, eſpecially of thoſe who were Revengers of the Murder, and they all earneſtly de-

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ſir'd him to undertake the Government, whilſt the King, his Siſter's Son, was yet a Child; for he alone was able to manage that great Truſt, with the leaſt Envy, becauſe of his Propinquity in Blood, his known Valour in many Dangers, his great Popularity grounded on his Deſerts; and what was ſtill more, it was the Deſire of the Queen herſelf. He, tho' he knew what they ſpoke was true, yet deſir'd a few Days of Deliberation, before he gave in his Anſwer. In the mean time, he writes earneſtly to the Heads of the other Faction, and chiefly to *Argyle*, as being his Relation, and one, whom he was mighty loth to offend for old Acquaintance ſake; he told him, in what Poſture things were, and what the Infant-King's Party had deſired of him, and therefore he intreated him, by their Nearneſs of Blood, by their ancient Friendſhip, and by the common Safety of their Country, that he would give him Opportunity to ſpeak with him, that ſo, by his Aſſiſtance, himſelf and their Country might be deliver'd out of the preſent Difficulties. He alſo wrote to the reſt, according to every one's Place and Intereſt; and he deſir'd of them all in general, that ſince Matters were in ſuch Confuſion, there was no likelihood of coming to any ſolid Settlement, without a chief Magiſtrate: That they ſhould all agree to meet together, as ſoon as might be, in a Place which they ſhould judge moſt convenient, and ſo, by common Conſent ſettle the publick Affairs, and the Adminiſtration. But being unable to obtain a Meeting from the one Faction, or to procure any longer Delay of a Convention from the other, he was at length, with the unanimous Conſent of all there preſent, elected REGENT.

JAMES VI. *The hundred and eighth King.*

ON the 29th of *Auguſt*, after an excellent Sermon made by *John Knox*, *James* VI. of that Name, began his Reign; *James*, Earl of *Morton*, and *Alexander Hume*, took the Oath for him, that he would obſerve the Laws; they alſo promiſed, in his Name, that he would obſerve that Doctrine, and thoſe Rites of Religion, which were then publickly taught and practiſed, and oppoſe the contrary. Not many Days after, *Hamilton*'s Partiſans began to murmur, that a few Perſons, and thoſe none of the moſt powerful neither, had, without their Conſent, and contrary to their Expectation, graſp'd all things into their own Hands: When they had tried all the Nobility one by one, they found few of their Opinion, beſides thoſe who firſt came in to them, for many were rather Spectators than Actors of what was done.

done. At length, they wrote to the Royaliſts, that *Argyle* was ready to give a Meeting, to confer with the Earl of *Murray*. Theſe Letters being directed to the Earl of *Murray*, without any other Title of Honour, were, by the Council's Advice, rejected, and the Meſſenger diſmiſſed, in Effect, without an Anſwer. But *Argyle*, knowing what had offended in ſuperſcribing his Letters, and truſting to the Fidelity of the Regent, with a few of the chief of his Faction, came to *Edinburgh*, where after he was fully ſatisfy'd, that 'twas not out of any ſlight to thoſe Noblemen who were abſent, but that 'twas mere and abſolute Neceſſity, which had cauſed them to make ſuch haſte, in ſetling a chief Magiſtrate: A few Days after, he came to the publick Convention of the Eſtates.

THE

THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

Book XIX.

WHEN the King was ſet up, and the Power of the Regent almoſt ſettled, there was ſome Quiet, ſome Reſpite from Force and Arms, but the Peace ſtood but on a tickliſh and a tottering Foundation: Mens Minds were yet in a Ferment, and their Indignation, which they could not hide, ſeem'd to portend ſome ſudden Miſchief. In this great Uncertainty of Affairs, all Mens Thoughts and Eyes were turn'd and fix'd upon, what the inſuing Parliament would do: The Time of its Sitting was the 25th of *Auguſt*, where the Aſſembly was ſo numerous, that no Man, ever before, remem-

ber'd ſuch a Concourſe. There the Authority of the Regent was confirm'd, but they differ'd in their Opinions about the Queen; for it appearing by many Teſtimonies and Proofs, eſpecially by her own Letters to *Bothwel*, that the whole Plot of the bloody Deed was laid by her: Some moved with the Heinouſneſs of the Crime, and others, who were afterwards made acquainted with it by her, in Order to remove her Teſtimony out of the Way, leſt they themſelves ſhould be puniſhed as Acceſſories to ſo odious a Crime, voted, that ſhe ſhould ſuffer the utmoſt Extremity of the Law; but the Majority agreed, that ſhe ſhould be only ſentenced to an Impriſonment. After the Parliament roſe, the Winter was paſt in ſettling Judicatories, and puniſhing Delinquents. The Embaſſadors of the *French* and *Engliſh* had Audience, they both deſir'd to ſee the Queen; but ſhe being a Priſoner on a publick Account, it was deny'd them: None but *Bothwel* was then in Arms: Upon which, ſome were ſent with a Navy to catch him as he was committing Acts of Piracy near the *Orcades*, and the Iſles of *Schetland*. The publick Stock was then at ſo low an Ebb, that they were forc'd to borrow Money of *James Douglas*, Earl of *Morton*, to rig and fit out the Navy; ſo that his private Purſe, at that time, bore the Burden of the publick Charge. *Bothwell* was there, in a manner ſecure, both becauſe of the Rigour of the Weather, the Winter-Tempeſts then raging in thoſe Seas; which made them inacceſſible for a Fleet; as alſo, becauſe he knew the Treaſury, which he himſelf had exhauſted, could not afford Money to fit one out; ſo that he was very near being ſurprized by the ſudden coming of *William Kircade* of *Grange*, who commanded the Fleet: Some of his Company were taken, but he himſelf eſcap'd, with a few on the oppoſite Side of the Iſland amongſt the Shallows and Fords, where great Ships could not follow, and ſo ſail'd to *Denmark*: When he came there, not being able to give a good Account from whence he came, nor whither he was bound, he was taken in Cuſtody, and afterward, being known by ſome Merchants, he was clap'd up cloſe Priſoner; and after a loathſome Impriſonment for the Space of ten Years, that, and other Miſeries, made him diſtracted; and thus he came to a moſt ignominious Death, ſuitable to his vile and wicked Courſe of Life.

AT the beginning of the next Spring, the Regent determin'd to make a Progreſs over the whole Kingdom to ſettle Courts of Juſtice there, in Order to repair and amend what went quite the wrong Way, as well as what was juſt upon the Point of being turn'd into a wrong Channel, by

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the Tumults of ſome preceding Years. This Proceeding of his was variouſly interpreted, according to Mens ſeveral Humours and Diſpoſitions: The adverſe Faction declaim'd every where againſt the Regent's Severity, or, as they phras'd it, Cruelty, which was indeed dreadful enough to thoſe Perſons, who, by reaſon of the Greatneſs of their Offences, could not endure to be regulated by the Law, becauſe they had been habituated and bred up to the Licentiouſneſs in former Times: But, if the Queen was only ſet at Liberty, ſome of them had Rewards, others Impunity, in their Eye, by which Means many were drawn in to the contrary Faction; nay, ſome of thoſe too, who had ſerv'd as Inſtruments in apprehending her.

MAITLAND was as great an Enemy to *Bothwel* (whom he look'd upon as a vile and miſchievous Man, and one that would have cut his Throat) as he was a Favourer of the Queen's Affairs; and, becauſe he had no Hopes of overthrowing him, as long as the Queen was alive, therefore, in Parliament, he inclin'd to that Side that would have had her puniſh'd according to Law. *James Balfure* was in the like Circumſtances, as imagining *Bothwel* to be his implacable Enemy, tho' neither of them was thought innocent in the Matter of the King's Death. But when *Bothwel* was taken, and kept Priſoner in *Denmark*, they then apply'd their Thoughts wholly to the Deliverance of the Queen; not only, becauſe they hop'd for an Impunity of their common Crime more eaſily from her; but alſo, becauſe they thought, ſhe that had made away with her Husband, would do but little better with her Son, whoſe Infancy and the Shadow of whoſe Royal Name was that alone, which kept her from the Throne; but beſides, they judg'd it alſo for their own Security, for Fear the Son ſhould come to the Kingdom and be the Revenger of his Father's Death. Beſides, there were no obſcure Conjectures, that the Queen's Mind was not mightily ſet againſt ſuch an Attempt: For ſhe was often heard to ſay, the Child was not long-liv'd; and that a skilful Aſtrologer had told her at *Paris*, that her firſt Child would not live above a Year, and ('tis thought) that ſhe herſelf came once to *Sterling* with the ſame Hopes, intending to bring the Child with her to *Edinburgh*. That Suſpicion caus'd *John Erskin*, Governor of the Caſtle, not to ſuffer the Child to be taken out of his Hands; and made a great part of the Nobility likewiſe, then met at *Sterling*, aſſociate themſelves by Oath, to maintain the ſaid young Prince in Safety.

MOREOVER, the *Hamiltons* were might and main for freeing the Queen; becauſe if her Son could but be remov'd out of the way by her means, they would then be themſelves one degree nearer to the Crown; and after that, it would be no hard Task to take her off into the bargain, becauſe ſhe was hated by every body for her Crimes; and having once been ſtop'd in her Tyranny, would afterwards let forth the Reins looſer, and more impetuouſly to Cruelty. *Argyle* and *Huntly*, of which the one had a Mother, the other a Wife, of the Family of the *Hamiltons*, cheriſh'd their Hopes, and wiſh'd them good Succeſs, but they had alſo proper Reaſons of their own to incline them ſo to do; becauſe neither of them was judg'd to be wholly ignorant or guiltleſs, of the Queen's Crimes; beſides *William Murray* of *Tillibarden*, being quite averſe to the Regent, both by reaſon of his different Opinion in point of Religion, and likewiſe his having a private Grudge againſt him, tho' he had been highly ſerviceable in taking the Queen; yet did not only revolt from the Royal Party himſelf, but drew a great many of his Friends along with him too, upon the Propoſal of no ſmall Rewards. Theſe were the principals in delivering the Queen, there were many others alſo that fell in with their Party, whom either domeſtick Neceſſity, private Grudges, deſire of Revenge, hope of bettering their Fortune, or elſe Propinquity or Obligation to thoſe above nam'd, engaged to that ſide.

IN this troubleſome ſtate of Affairs, the Regent was equally unmovable againſt the Entreaties of his Friends, and the Threats of his Enemies, though by the Publick Libels, which they poſted up and down, he very well knew the cauſe of their Hatred, and their deſire of Revenge: And though ſome Aſtrologers, not unacquainted with the Plots deſign'd againſt him, had foretold, that he would not live beyond ſuch a Day; yet he perſiſted in his purpoſe, often ſaying, *That he knew well enough he muſt die one time or other; and that he could never part with his Life more nobly or creditably, than by procuring the publick Tranquillity of his Native Country.* And therefore, firſt, he ſummon'd a Convention of the Eſtates at *Glaſgow*, to which place the *Lennox* Men, the *Renfroans*, and the Men of *Clydiſdale* were commanded to come, and whilſt he was buſied there, in the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, and in the Puniſhment of Offenders, the Plot that had been ſo long in agitation, for the Deliverance of the Queen, took effect. The manner of it was this: Within the Caſtle where the Queen was kept in *Longh-Levin*, there were the Regent's Mother, three Brothers

thers of his by another Father, and abundance of other Women; yet none were admitted to viſit the Queen, but ſuch as were well known; or elſe, that came by the Regent's Order. Out of theſe domeſtick Attendants, the Queen made choice of *George Douglas* as fitteſt for her purpoſe; he was the Regent's youngeſt Brother, a young Man, ingenious enough, and by reaſon of his Age apt to be impos'd upon by Female Inticements; he being ſomething familiar with her, on pretence to attend her in ſuch Sports, as Courts at idle times refreſh themſelves withal, undertook to corrupt ſome of the common Servants of the Caſtle, by Gifts and Promiſes; and ſhe having intruſted the Management of that Point to him, would not deny any thing to ſuch a Perſon, from whom ſhe expected her Liberty; *George* then having a promiſe of Indempnity from her for himſelf, and his Partizans, and being excited with the Hopes of great Wealth and Power for the future, not without the Conſent of his Mother, (as was verily thought) acted all that ever he could to bring the thing about. And tho' ſome Perſons ſmelt the Deſign, and acquainted the Regent with it, yet he put ſuch a Confidence in thoſe he had plac'd there, that he chang'd none of the old Guard, only *George* himſelf was commanded out of the Iſland; upon that, he departed to the next Village, on the edge of the *Lough*; where, having before corrupted the Officers of the Caſtle with Money, he had in a manner a freer Communication with the Queen by Letters than before; and now truly there were not only thoſe *Scots* admitted to a Partnerſhip in the Plot, who were diſcontented at the preſent State of things, but the *French* were aſſociated too by *James Hamilton*, who had been Regent ſome Years before; and by *James Beton*, Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*: The *Scots* (it ſeems) were to do the Work, and the *French* to pay the Wages.

ABOUT the end of *April*, an Embaſſador came from *France*, and in the Name of his King, deſir'd leave to viſit the Queen, which if he did not obtain, he pretended he would preſently depart. The Regent told him, 'twas not in his Power, that the Queen was not made Priſoner by him, neither could he determine any thing in the Caſe, without adviſing with thoſe who had firſt committed her, and with others, who had afterward confirm'd by an Act of Parliament what was done; nevertheleſs he would gratify his Siſter, and the King his Ally, in what he could, and would call an Aſſembly of the Nobles, the twentieth of the then next Month in order to that End. With that Anſwer the Embaſſador was ſomewhat pacified, and the Re-

gent went on in his Courts of Judicatory; whereupon the Queen having brib'd the Maſter of a Veſſel, her other Companions being ſent about ſleeveleſs Errands, was brought out of the *Lough*; her Eſcape being told to thoſe that were then at *Dinner* in the Caſtle, they made a great ſtir, but to little purpoſe, for all the Boats were haled aſhore, and their Loop-holes, to put out their Oars, were all ſtopt up, ſo that no ſpeedy Purſuit could be made. There were Horſemen expecting the Queen on the other ſide the *Lough*, who carried her to the ſeveral Houſes of the Partizans in the Deſign, and the Day after, which was *May* the third, ſhe came to *Hamilton*, a Town eight Miles diſtant from *Glaſgow*; when the thing was nois'd abroad, many came in to her, ſome diſtruſting the King's Party, which they look'd upon as not very ſtrong; others in hope of Favour from the Queen; and ſome in confidence of a Reward for their old Services in this Tumult, diſcover'd their Minds; and part of them, having obtain'd Pardon for what was paſt, expecting the Event of Fortune, were but looſe Adherents to the Regent. The Defection of others was not ſo much wondred at, but the Revolt of *Robert Boyd*, who till that very Day had obtain'd a great Opinion for his Conſtancy, afforded matter of Diſcourſe; he being brought up on the Ruins of a noble Family (as I ſaid before in the Life of King *James* the Third) parſimoniouſly and meanly under his Father, a valiant Man, and a mighty Lover of the ancient Frugality, follow'd the ſame courſe of Life, as the reſt of his Relations did; that is to ſay, he applied himſelf to richer Families in order to repair his own, and to reſtore this noble Houſe, that was ſo lately flouriſhing, but now decaying, to its ancient Eſtate and Dignity. For this end his Father and he firſt apply'd themſelves to the *Hamiltons*, who were then uppermoſt. And when their Regency was at an end, and the chief Magiſtracy ſettled in the Queen Dowager, and Controverſies about Religion began to ariſe, he join'd in with the Reformers, to whom his Father bore a mortal Averſion. That Faction was accounted the moſt potent; to that he adher'd till the Queen's coming out of *France*; nay, he grew very renown'd for his Conſtancy, Fortitude, and Prudence; and *Gileſpy* Earl of *Argyle*, was ſo far taken with him, that he would ſcarce do any one thing without his Advice. However, when ſome of the Nobles had aſſociated at *Sterling*, not for any treaſonable Project, but only to defend the King, he indeed ſubſcrib'd the League too; but then, both he himſelf and *Argyle* too, who was guided by his Counſel, ſhew'd a great deal of Levity, in

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diſcovering the whole Intrigue to the Queen. From that time forward, *Boyd* ſided with the Queen in all her Deſigns againſt his old Friends, being in good Repute with that Party; but he was accounted an inconſtant Man, a Trimmer, and a Turn-coat, by thoſe whom he had deſerted. When the Queen was committed to Priſon, *Boyd* made his Applications to *Murray* the Regent, and was ſo well reſpected by him, for his induſtrious Ingenuity, that he was admitted into his Cabinet-Council; and tho' ſeveral Opinions paſt upon him by others, yet he was in high Favour with the Regent at *Glaſgow* in his Juridical Proceſſes; yet when he perceiv'd it was like to come to Blows, he went off privately to the Queen, and ſent from thence a Letter to the Earl of *Morton* by his Son, excuſing his Departure, and alledging, he might probably do the *Royaliſts* as much Service there, as if he had ſtaid with them. His Revolt, by reaſon of the good Opinion many had of his Converſation and Manners, gave great occaſion of Diſcourſe.

IN the mean time, the Regent had an hot Debate in Council; whether they ſhould ſtay where they were, or elſe go to the King at *Sterling*: A great many were of opinion, that 'twas better not to ſtay, and they urg'd Arguments for it; as that *Hamilton* was a Town near them full of People, and all the Clanſhips of that Family lay round about it: Beſides, the Queen had with her five hundred Horſe, and it was reported, many more were making towards her from remoter Parts; whereas there were only a few of his own Friends with the Regent, the reſt having run away to the Queen, or gone privately home, about their own Affairs, as if all things had been quiet; and tho' the Citizens of *Glaſgow* were faithful enough, as being provok'd by the many and great Injuries they had receiv'd from the *Hamiltons* when in Power; yet the Town it ſelf was large, not very populous, and every way approachable. On the contrary, others reaſon'd, that all depended on the firſt beginning of things; that his Departure would be diſhonourable, and look like running away; that all Suſpicion of Fear, was then principally to be avoided, for they ſhould animate their Enemies by it, and diſcourage their Friends. On the one ſide, there were the *Cuninghams* and the *Semples*, potent Families; on the other ſide, *Lennox* the King's peculiar Patrimony, from whence the neareſt Neighbours might preſently come in, within the ſpace of a few Hours; the reſt either the next Day, or, at furtheſt, the Day after; in the interim, till further Aid came, they had Strength enough,

enough, eſpecially being aſſiſted by the Townſmen. This Advice prevail'd in Council.

THE *French* Embaſſador poſted betwixt both Parties, rather as a Spy, than a Peace-maker, which yet he pretended to be; for perceiving, that there was but a ſmall Force at *Glaſgow* at firſt, and an Appearance of a great Multitude at *Hamilton*, he earneſtly excited the Queen to put it to a Battel preſently. The Regent had gathered a Party from the Neighbourhood, and expected thoſe farther off from *Merch* and *Lothian*; there came in about ſix hundred Horſe, choice and reſolute Men; he gave them one Day to refreſh themſelves in, and then determined to march out to *Hamilton*, and to engage the Enemy immediately; for he believed Delay was dangerous for him, and advantagious to the Enemy, whom the remote Parts of the Kingdom favour'd moſt. Two Days after, he was inform'd, that about the third Watch, the Enemy was drawing together from all places where they quarter'd; they truſted to their Number, being about 6500 fighting Men, and they knew the Regent had ſcarce 4000; but they reſolved to march by *Glaſgow*, and to leave the Queen in *Dunbarton*-Caſtle, and ſo either to fight, or lengthen out the War as they pleaſed; or if the Regent ſhould be ſo hardy as to ſtop their Paſſage, which they believed he durſt not do, they would then fight, and were confident they ſhould beat him. But he having before determined to provoke them to Battel, as ſoon as ever he could, drew out his Men into the open Field before the Town, the way that he thought the Enemy would come, and there waited for them in Battel-array for ſome Hours: But when he ſaw their Troops paſs by the other ſide of the River, he preſently underſtood their Deſign, and commanded his Foot to paſs over the Bridge, and his Horſe to ford over the River, which they might do, it being low Water, and ſo to march to *Langſide*, which was a Village by the River *Carth*, where the Enemies were to paſs, ſituated in the Foot of an Hill, looking South-Weſt; on the Eaſt and North, the Paſſage was ſteep, but on the other ſide, there was a gentle Deſcent into a Plain, thither they haſtned with ſuch Speed, that the Royaliſts had near poſſeſt the Hill, before the Enemy, who aim'd at the ſame place, underſtood their Deſign, though they march'd thither by a nearer Cut; but the Royaliſts met with two Advantages, which was a great Diſcouragement to their Enemies; one, that *Gileſpy Cambil*, Earl of *Argyle*, who commanded in Chief, fell ſuddenly down from his Horſe ſick, and by his Fall, much delayed the March of his Party. The other, that their Forces being

being plac'd here and there in little Vallies, could never ſee all the Royaliſts at once, whoſe ſmall numbers (as indeed they were not many) made the Enemy to deſpiſe them, and the Diſadvantage of the place too. At laſt, when the Queen's Forces drew nigh, and ſaw the Ground which they aim'd at poſſeſt by the Enemy, they went to another little Hill over againſt them, and there divided their Party into two Bodies: Their chief Strength they plac'd in the firſt; if they had overthrown their adverſe Party there, they knew the reſt would be diſmay'd at their Flight, and ſo they ſhould conquer without fighting. The King's Party alſo divided themſelves into two Wings; *James Douglas* Earl of *Morton*, *Robert Semple*, *Alexander Hume*, *Patrick Lindſey*, each with his Clanſhip were placed in the Right. In the left, ſtood *John* Earl of *Mar*, *Alexander* Earl of *Glencairn*, *William* Earl of *Menteith*, and the Citizens of *Glaſgow*. The Muſqueteers were in the Village and Gardens below near the high Way. Both Armies thus placed in Battel-array, the Queen's Cannoneers and Foot were driven from their Poſts by the King's Forces; on the other ſide, the King's Horſe being fewer in Number, were beat back by the Enemy; after they had performed that Service, they endeavoured alſo to break the Battalions of Foot; in order whereunto, they charg'd directly up the Hill, but were beat back by the King's Archers, and by ſome of thoſe, who after their Rout, had rallied again, and joined with the reſt of their Body: In the mean time, the left Wing of the Enemy march'd by the Highway, where there was a riſing Ground, lower down into the Valley, where, though they were galled by the King's Muſqueteers, yet paſſing by thoſe Straits, they opened and ranged their Body; there 'twas, that the two Battalions held out a thick ſtand of Pikes, as a Breaſt-work before them, and fought deſperately for half an Hour, without giving Ground on either ſide; inſomuch that they, whoſe long Pikes were broke, threw Daggers, Stones, pieces of Pikes or Lances, and whatſoever they could come by, into their Enemy's Faces: But ſome of the hindermoſt Ranks of the King's Forces being flying away, (whether for Fear or Treachery is uncertain,) their Flight without doubt, had much diſordered thoſe who ſtood to it, unleſs the Ranks had been ſo thick, that the foremoſt could not know what the hindmoſt did: Then thoſe of the ſecond Battalion, taking notice of the Danger, and perceiving no Enemy coming to charge them, ſent ſome whole Troops to wheel to the Right, and to join with the firſt; upon which the adverſe Party could not bear their Charge, but.

but were wholly routed and put to flight; many were ſo inrag'd againſt them, that there would have been a great Slaughter in the Purſuit, had not the Regent ſent out Horſe ſeveral ways, to forbid the Execution: The ſecond Squadron of the Royaliſts ſtood ſo long, till they ſaw the Enemy ſcattering and flying in a diſorderly manner; when they in like manner broke their Ranks and purſued. The Queen ſtood about a Mile from the Place to ſee the Action, and after the Rout, fled with ſome Horſe of her Party, who had eſcap'd, toward *England*; the reſt ran away as well as they could to their own homes. There were but few killed in the Field, but more in the Purſuit (being wearied and wounded) all along the Highways and Fields. The number of the Slain was about three hundred, but there were more taken Priſoners. Of the King's Forces there were not many wounded, of the chief Commanders, none but *Alexander Hume* and *Andrew Stuart*, and only one Man killed; the reſt of the Army, beſides a few Horſe, who purſued very far, returned joyfully into the Town; where, after giving Thanks to Almighty God, for proſpering their juſt Cauſe againſt a double Number of their Enemies, and for giving them in a manner, an unbloody Victory, mutually congratulating one another, they went to Dinner. This Battel was fought *May* the 13th, eleven Days after the Queen's Eſcape out of Priſon.

THE *French* Embaſſador expected the Event of the Fight, and promis'd himſelf a ſure Victory on the Queen's ſide, but being thus diſappointed of his Hopes, he put off his Mask, and without taking his Leave of the Regent, to whom he pretended he was ſent, got a Party of Horſe to guide him; and with what Speed he could, made for *England*. In the way he was rob'd by *Moſs-Troopers*; but *James Douglas* Laird of *Drumlanerick*, though he knew he was of the Enemy's Party, had ſuch Deference to the Honour and Name of an Embaſſador, that he caus'd his Goods to be reſtored to him. The Regent paſt the reſt of the Day of Battel in taking a Liſt of the Priſoners; ſome he diſcharged *gratis*; others upon Sureties; the chief Commanders were retained, eſpecially of the *Hamilton*'s Family, and ſent to Priſon. The Day after, knowing how much that Clan was envied in the Neighbourhood, he took only five hundred Horſe, commanding the reſt of the Army to ſtay in their Quarters, and went into the Vale of *Clydiſdale*, where he found all Places naked and deſolate, the Inhabitants being run away, as rather conſcious to themſelves what they had deſerved, than confiding in the Regent's Clemency, of which yet they had

had Experience before, he took the Caſtles of *Hamilton* and *Draſſin*, which were naked Places, only in *Hamilton*-Caſtle was found ſome of the Houſhold-Stuff of King *James V.* The ſame Fear and Terror forced the Queen into *England*, either becauſe ſhe thought no Place in that Part of *Scotland* ſafe enough for her; or elſe, becauſe ſhe durſt not truſt *John Maxwel* of *Herreis*.

WHEN the Regent had ſettled all things, as well as he could, at preſent, he ſummon'd an Aſſembly of the Eſtates to be held at *Edinburgh* in the Month of . . . . The adverſe Party endeavoured many Ways to hinder it: Rumours were ſpread abroad of Aid from *France*, nor were they altogether groundleſs. For ſome Troops were drawn down to the Sea-ſide, under the Command of the Earl of *Martigues*, a ſtout Man of the Family of *Luxemburgh*, to be tranſported with all Speed into *Scotland*; and they had been ſo accordingly, had not the Civil Wars on a ſudden broke out in *France*. But that Aſſiſtance would not have been ſo prejudicial to the Regent, as his Enemies thought, for it would have alienated *England* from them, and engaged it to him. Moreover *Argyle*, with ſix hundred of his Clanſhip, came to *Glaſcow*, where he had a Conference with the *Hamiltonians*, and other Leaders of the Faction, to hinder the Convention, but finding no way to effect it, they went every Man ſeverally home. *Huntly* alſo had got together a thouſand Foot, againſt the Day of the Parliament's Sitting, he came as far as *Perth*, where perceiving that the Fords of the River *Tay* were guarded by *William Ruven*, and the neighbouring Nobility, who continued loyal to the King, he retired without doing any thing of Moment.

ABOUT the ſame time, there came Letters from the Queen of *England*, by the Interceſſion of the adverſe Party, to the Regent, to put off the Parliament; ſhe deſired, that Judgment might not be haſtned concerning the Rebels, till ſhe was made acquainted with the whole Cauſe; for ſhe could not well bear the Injury and Affront, which the Queen, her Neighbour, and near Kinſwoman, urged ſhe had received from her Subjects. Tho' the Requeſt was but ſmall in it ſelf, yet, if it ſhould have been granted, at the Inſtance of the Rebels, they might have thought to have carried all; either becauſe ſuch a trifling Delay ſeem'd to hearten them, and weaken their Enemy, eſpecially ſince it might argue a Fear in the Royaliſts; and that they, in the mean time, reſolv'd to indict a Convention in the Name of the Queen. But the Regent, being ſenſible of what great Conſequence it was, to have the Parliament to ſit; though even all the Power of the

the Enemy had combin'd againſt it, reſolved to keep his Day: In that Parliament, there was a great Debate, whether all thoſe who had taken Arms againſt the King, and afterwards had not obtained their Pardon, ſhould be condemn'd as Traytors, and have their Goods confiſcated. But *William Maitland*, who ſecretly favoured the Rebels, obtained, that only a few of them ſhould be condemn'd at preſent, as a Terror to the reſt; and a Door of Clemency left open to others, if they repented. That Procedure wonderfully encourag'd the Conſpirators, and increas'd their Obſtinacy, ſince they ſaw their Puniſhment deferr'd, and they were verily perſuaded, that neither the Queen of *England*, being their Queen's Neighbour and Kinſwoman, nor the *Guiſes*, who then were very powerful in the *French* Court, nor the *French* King himſelf, would ſuffer ſuch an Encroachment to be made on the Royal Authority; and tho' they ſhould be deſerted by them, yet they were not ſo weak of themſelves, as not to be able to maintain their Cauſe without foreign Aid, as being ſuperior in Number and Power; ſo that nothing was wanting to the Victory, but the empty Shadow of the Royal Name, which was *(ſaid they)* uſurped by Force.

IN the mean time, the Regent attended only the publick Peace; ſome of the neighbouring Offenders he fined in ſmall Sums, and ſo took them into Favour; the Earl of *Rothes*, by his Friends Intercеſſion, was baniſh'd for three Years; as for the reſt, he daily, by Correſpondents, ſolicited them to repent, and come in; but perceiving, that many of them were obſtinate, and inclin'd to Revenge, he levied an Army, and march'd into *Annandale*, *Niddiſdale*, and lower *Galway*, where he took ſome Caſtles, and put Garriſons into them; others, whoſe Owners were more refractory, he demoliſh'd, and, in a ſhort time, would have run over the whole Country, had not Letters from the Queen of *England* interrupted the Courſe of his Victories. She was perſuaded by the Exiles, that the Queen of *Scots* had receiv'd much Wrong: That her ill-affected Subjects had laid unjuſt Imputations on her, and that ſhe would not ſuffer the Royal Name to grow ſo cheap, or Majeſty to be ſo contumeliouſly uſed, as to be expoſed to the Wills of ſeditious Perſons. That the Wrong of this great Wickedneſs redounded only to one, but the Example to all; and therefore, ſhe deſired, they would apply ſome ſpeedy Remedy, that the Contagion of dethroning Princes might not ſpread farther. Having made a great Harangue in her Letters to this Purpoſe, againſt the Avengers of the King's Murder; ſhe deſired of the Regent, 'That he 'would ſend Commiſſioners to her, to inform her of the State

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'of the whole Matter, and to make Anſwer to thoſe, either 'Crimes or Reproaches, which were caſt upon, and al-'ledged againſt himſelf.' This Demand ſeemed very grievous and offenſive, that things, already judg'd, ſhould be called again in Queſtion, to a new and hazardous Tryal, and that before foreign Princes, who are oftentimes emulous, if not Enemies, and their Minds already prepoſſeſs'd by Adverſaries; and for a Man, as it were, to plead for his own Life, before a foreign Judicature, though the Caſe was dangerous and hard, yet many Arguments induc'd him to accept of the Propoſal, though never ſo unequal. Abroad, the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, the Queen's Uncle, rul'd all in *France*; and at home, a great part of the Nobility conſpired in behalf of the Queen; and if the Queen of *England* were diſoblig'd too, then he ſhould have no Force to withſtand ſuch mighty Difficulties. Being thus reſolved to ſend Embaſſadors, he could not tell whom to pitch upon: The chief of the Nobility declining the Employment: At laſt, the Regent himſelf reſolved to go, and chuſe proper Perſons to attend him, amongſt whom was *William Maitland*, though much againſt his Will; but the Regent, knowing him to be a factious Perſon, and inclinable to the Queen's Party, did not think it ſafe to leave him behind, whilſt things were in ſuch a doubtful Condition at home; and therefore he perſuaded him, by great Promiſes and Rewards, to accompany him, not doubting but to overcome his avaritious Mind with large Preſents; the reſt went very willingly. The chief were, *James Douglas*, and *Patrick Lindſey* of the Nobility; of the Clergy, the Biſhop of the *Orcades*, and the Abbat of *Dumfermlin*; of Lawyers *James Macgil*, and *Henry Balnavey*; to whom he added a ninth, *viz. George Buchanan*. Though he found himſelf in theſe difficult Circumſtances, yet two things relieved his Thoughts, one was the Equity of his Cauſe; the other, the laſt Letters he received from the Queen of *England*, gave him Aſſurance, that, if the Crimes objected againſt the Queen of *Scots* were true, ſhe held her unworthy to hold that Scepter any longer. The Regent was a little heartned by thoſe Letters, and with above a hundred Horſe in his Company, he began his Journey, though he had certain Intelligence brought him, that the Earl of *Weſtmorland*, at the Command of the Duke of *Norfolk*, watch'd to intercept him, before he got to *York*; however, *October* 4th, he came to *York*, the Place appointed for the Conference, and the ſame Day, and almoſt Hour, *Thomas Howard*, Duke of *Norfolk*, likewiſe entred the City. The Reaſon why an Ambuſh was laid for the Regent, was

because the Duke, by secret Correspondents, was dealing with the Queen of *Scots* to marry her; and therefore, that the Suspicion of the King's Murder might be more easily taken away, she resolved, if the Regent could be dispatched, to return home, and suppress the Letters she had written to *Bothwel*, which contained a manifest Discovery of the whole; but, because the Duke was so near, she could not so accomplish it, as that he might not also be aspersed with the Infamy of so cruel a Murder; and therefore the Plot was deferr'd till another Opportunity. Besides *Norfolk*, there were appointed two other Commissioners by the Queen of *England*, to determine the Controversies of the *Scots*, the Earl of *Sussex*, who inclined to *Howard*'s Party, as 'twas commonly reported, and Sir *Ralph Sadler*, an indifferent and impartial Person. Within a few Days, there came Messengers from the Queen of *Scots*, to complain of her disobedient Subjects, and to desire Leave of the Queen of *England* to return home, without Delay; they had their Hearing apart from the Regent, and his Attendants: First, they protested, that they came not before them as Judges, that had a lawful Authority over them; then they made a long Harangue, what Wrong the Queen had received from her Subjects; and after, desired of the Queen of *England*, that either she would persuade her ungrateful Subjects to admit their Prince; or, if they refused, then she would supply her with an Army, to force them to do do. After some few Hours, the Regent was heard: He stood upon the Equity of his Cause, before impartial Judges: He pleaded that the Royalists had done nothing, but according to the ancient Laws and Customs of their Nation, and that too ratified and approved in full Parliament; and that he being a single Person, with those few with him, could not abrogate any thing which had been enacted by common Consent of all the Estates in Parliament: But when the *English* Commissioners told them, they could not be satisfied with those Statutes made at their Parliaments at home, and now produced, unless withal they produced the Reasons, which moved the Nobility to such a severe Judgment against the Queen: The Regent was unwilling, as much avoiding to divulge the foul Offences of the Queen, being his Sister also, and that amongst Foreigners, who were forward enough to hear them, and therefore denied to do it, unless upon these Terms, That if he made good the Charge against the Queen, that she killed her Husband, then the Queen of *England* should stipulate and promise to defend the young King's Cause, and take him as 'twere into her Protection. But when the *English* Embassadors told

told them, that they had only a Commiſſion to hear the Demands of both ſides, and ſo to lay the whole Matter before the Queen. The Regent again urg'd them to obtain ſuch a Promiſe from their Queen, or elſe that they themſelves ſhould get a Commiſſion, fully to decide the Controverſy; if they would do that, he promiſed, unleſs he evidently made it appear, that the King was murder'd by his Wife's Means, he would not think himſelf unworthy the Puniſhment due to Crimes the moſt flagrant and enormous. The Commiſſioners wrote to the Queen to know her Mind herein; who returned Anſwer, 'That the *Scots* of the Royal 'Party ſhould ſend one or more of their Number to her 'Court, who might fully acquaint her with the Merits of 'their Cauſe, and then ſhe would conſult, what was fit for her 'to do.' Upon which the Regent ſent *William Maitland*, on whom many ſiniſter Opinions daily aroſe, and *James Macgil*, not ſo much to be his Aſſiſtant in publick Buſineſs, as to obſerve his Actions. The Cauſes which made *Maitland* ſuſpected were theſe, amongſt many others: Before his Journey into *England*, though he mightily endeavoured to conceal his Deſigns, yet by his Words and Actions, and great Familiarity with the Men of the adverſe Party; and farther, by Letters he ſent to the Queen, which were intercepted, they could not be ſtifled. In thoſe Letters he endeavoured to perſuade the Queen, that his Service might yet be uſeful to her, uſing the Example of the Lion in the Fable, who, being taken in a Net, was freed by ſuch mean Animals as Rats. And after he came to *York*, there was ſcarce a Night he did not meet with the chief Embaſſadors of the adverſe Party, conſulted with them, and acquainted them with the Deſigns of the Regent. The Regent did not forbid thoſe Meetings, knowing he ſhould do no good by it, but only make them meet more ſecretly. Though theſe were manifeſt Evidences of his Treachery, yet caſually there happen'd an undeniable Demonſtration of it. *Norfolk* and he went abroad on Pretence of Hunting, where they had a great deal of Diſcourſe concerning the whole Affair, and came to this Agreement amongſt themſelves, to ſpin out the Matter, if 'twas poſſible, and ſo to delay it, that, at laſt, nothing might be done, and yet the Cauſe not ſeem wholly deſerted neither. For, by this means, the Regent muſt depart, without effecting what he came for; or elſe, ſome Commotion at home would inforce him ſo to do, and then other Remedies might emerge in time: For *Norfolk* was then deſigning a Civil War, how to take off the

one Queen, and to marry the *other*. *Maitland* inform'd *John Leſly*, Biſhop of *Roſs*, with this, one intimately acquainted with all the Queen's Affairs, who accordingly inform'd his Miſtreſs by Letter, how the Duke would have her write to Court what Courſe to ſteer for the future; and tho' her Cauſe went but ſlowly on, yet that Delay ſhould not hinder her from expecting a good Iſſue. The Queen having read thoſe Letters, laid them by as looſe Papers, ſo that they came to be read by others; and from hand to hand, were, at laſt, brought to the Regent, who, by them, diſcovered the Main of his Adverſary's Deſign againſt him; as for *Maitland*, he had experienced his Perfidiouſneſs many times before.

WHEN the Embaſſadors before-mention'd came to the Queen at *London*, ſhe, and her Council, thought it beſt, that the Regent himſelf ſhould come up, and ſo diſpute the Controverſy by Word of Mouth: Upon which, he diſmiſs'd part of his Retinue, and, with the reſt, went to *London*; but there he met with the ſame Difficulty as he had done at *York*; for he refus'd to enter upon the Accuſation of the Queen, and his Siſter too, unleſs, if he prov'd her guilty, the Queen of *England* would take the *Scots* King's Party into her Protection; if ſhe would do this he would begin the Accuſation immediately, upon the ſame Terms, as he had propoſed to the Delegates at *York*. Whilſt theſe things were acting in *London*, the Queen of *Scots*, by means of *James Balfure*, endeavoured to raiſe Commotions in *Scotland*; and that the more eaſily to accompliſh her Deſigns, ſhe wrote Letters to all the Exiles, and to *Bothwel*'s Friends, to contribute all their Endeavours to infeſt the contrary Faction by Force of Arms: And not only created Lieutenants thro' all the Kingdom, to whom ſhe gave even kingly Power, but caus'd Rumours to be ſpread abroad, that the Regent, and his Companions, were committed Priſoners to the Tower of *London*; but foreſeeing, that Falſhood could not be long believed, ſhe devis'd another, (to wit) that the Regent had promis'd to ſubject *Scotland* to the Crown of *England*; and, that he was to give up the King, as a Security. 'Tis thought, her Deſign in this, was, that whereas ſhe had promis'd the ſame things by her Commiſſioners; and the *Engliſh* look'd upon it, as a Vanity in her, ſeeing ſhe had no Power to perform it; yet ſhe was willing to poſſeſs the Minds of the Vulgar with an Untruth, and ſo to raiſe an Odium againſt the Regent; and, if ſhe could not avert the whole Reproach from her ſelf, yet, at leaſt, ſhe would have her Adverſaries bear a part with her therein.

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WHEN the Regent ſaw himſelf in theſe Straits, he reſolv'd to end Matters as well as he could, and ſo to return home: Whereupon, at the earneſt Solicitation of the *Engliſh*, who deſir'd to know the Cauſes of the Proceedings in *Scotland*, (without which they could determine nothing;) he alſo being deſirous to ſatisfy the Queen of *England* at that time, whom he could not offend, without great Prejudice to his Cauſe; and being willing to return home to extinguiſh the Civil War, then appearing, in its firſt Riſe, neither of which he could well do, unleſs the Queen of *England* was his Friend, or at leaſt, not his Enemy; induc'd by theſe Motives, he firſt proteſted before the Council of *England*, that 'twas not willingly, but by the Importunity of his Enemies, that he was compell'd to accuſe his Queen of ſo horrid a Crime; that he did not do it out of a licentious Humour to accuſe, but out of Neceſſity to clear himſelf; for he was very unwilling to diſcover thoſe things, which he wiſh'd, if poſſible, might be cover'd in perpetual Oblivion; and therefore, if any Reflection were made on what he did, the Envy ought deſervedly to light upon thoſe, who would not ſuffer him to be like himſelf; that is, to obey his Prince chearfully, when Good; and to reprove him or her againſt his Will, when ſhe was Evil; only he deſired one thing, that the Queen's Proxies, who had inforced him to that Diſpute, might be preſent to hear the Crimes objected; that ſo, if they were falſe, they might diſprove them before the Council; and that he himſelf, in many weighty Matters, might alſo make uſe of their Evidence. The Queen's Commiſſioners refus'd this, as putting little Confidence in their own Cauſe, and inſiſted only on this one thing, that the Queen, who was by Force of Arms ejected, might be reſtor'd: Whereupon, a Day was appointed for the Regent to ſhew Cauſe, why the Revengers of the King's Murder had taken up Arms, (for he himſelf was then in *France*,) and had ejected the Queen from her Government, and acted other things, as till that time they had done. When the time came, he declar'd in order all things as they had been acted, and the Teſtimonies of the Partizans of the King's Murder, made before their Deaths; and alſo the Statute of Parliament, to which many of the Regent's Accuſers had ſubſcribed: And when the Silver Cabinet was produc'd, which the Queen had given her from her former Husband *Francis*, and had beſtow'd on *Bothwel*, in which were Letters to *Bothwel*, writ in *French*, with the Queen's own Hand, and a *French* Poem, not unelegantly compos'd by her; and alſo the manner of the King's

Death, and after his Death, her Surprize, and three Contracts of Marriage with him, the one before the Parricide written with her own Hand, in which, a by a Bill, ſhe promiſes to marry him, as ſoon as ever ſhe was freed from her former Husband: The other was, before the Divorce from his former Wife, writ by *Huntly*'s Hand: The third was openly made, a little before the Marriage. When all this was produc'd, ſeen, and read before the Council; the whole Fact was ſo plainly expos'd, that now no Doubt could be made, who was the Author of it. Though the Queen of *England* could not but believe theſe Diſcoveries, yet ſhe fluctuated in her Mind; on the one ſide, there was Emulation, Queens mutually hating one another; there were alſo ſuch flagrant Crimes, and ſuch evident Proofs, that the Queen thought her Kinſwoman of *Scotland* deſerv'd no Aſſiſtance to reſtore her: And though her Mind inclined to that which was right, yet 'twas ſhaken and heſitated, upon the remembrance of her former State, not without a Commiſeration; and beſides, the Majeſty of Royal Honour, and a Fear, leſt the Example of expelling Princes might creep into the neighbour Kingdoms, wrought much upon her: Beſides, ſhe was afraid of *France*, for the Peace with them was not very ſure or firm; and eſpecially at that time, the *French* Embaſſador pleaded the Cauſe of the baniſh'd Queen. The *Spaniſh* Embaſſador was deſir'd alſo to interpoſe his Mediation; but the Foulneſs of the Crimes ſo deterred him, that he refus'd to meddle with it. Whereupon the Queen of *England*, that ſhe might leave a Door for Repentance, if Matters ſhould ſucceed amiſs in *France*, and not cut off all Occaſion of gratifying them, gave a middle Anſwer, ſo tempering it, that at preſent ſhe ſaid, ſhe knew no cauſe to the contrary, but that all things had been acted according to Law and Juſtice in *Scotland*; yet, as if ſhe deferr'd the compleat Deciſion till another time, ſhe deſir'd, that ſeeing inteſtine Tumults recalled the Regent, he would leave here one of his Retinue in his Stead, to make Anſwer to thoſe Crimes which might be objected againſt him in his Abſence. But the Regent, who ſaw the Matter to be thus delayed, that that Queen might take her Meaſures to give Sentence for her own Advantage, and the Event of foreign Affairs, leſt no Stone unturn'd, that he might have the Cauſe fully determin'd now; and therefore he deſir'd, as moſt juſt and equitable, that if his Enemies, who had long ſtudied beforehand to accuſe him, had any thing to alledge, they would now produce it, and not watch an Opportunity to calumniate him in his Abſence, ſeeing they refus'd to appear Face

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to Face; he was not ignorant, what Rumours his Enemies would cauſe to be ſpread amongſt the People, and what they had already ſaid to ſome of the Council and to the *French* Embaſſador; and therefore, he earneſtly deſir'd of the Council, to command them not to mutter privately, but declare openly what they had to ſay; and that he would not make ſuch haſte home; and though his ſtay would tend much to his own Damage, and Detriment of the Publick, yet would he willingly purge himſelf there in Perſon. Whereupon the Commiſſioners of the baniſh'd Queen were ſent for, and ask'd, if they had any thing to alledge againſt the Regent or his Companions, in reference to the King's Murder, they ſhould produce it. Their Anſwer was, they had nothing at preſent, but they would accuſe them, when they were commanded by their Queen. The Regent anſwer'd, that he was always ready to give an account of all the Actions perform'd by him; neither would he ſhun either Time or Place ſo to do; yet ſeeing the Queen began that Accuſation of him, he deſir'd of his Accuſers there preſent, that if any of them had the leaſt Objection againſt him, they would then declare it; for 'twas much more honourable to produce it, before ſo illuſtrious an Aſſembly, than in private Cabals to ſully his Fame in his Abſence; this they alſo refuſed. Upon which the whole Council called upon them, and in a manner reproach'd them, ſo that they were compell'd, ſingly and ſeverally to confeſs, that they knew nothing of themſelves, why *Murray*, or any of his, ſhould be accus'd of the King's Murder. Then after a long Diſpute, *pro* and *con*, the Council was diſmiſs'd, and from that time, there was never any more mention made of accuſing the Regent, or any of his Companions.

WHILST the Regent was thus neceſſarily detain'd in *England*, on a publick Account, the Queen's Faction tried every way, both at Home and Abroad, to make Diſturbances, but without effect. *James Hamilton*, who had been Regent ſome Years before, ſeeing that things went not according to his Mind at Home, had gone long before into *France*, where he had but a few Companions, but lay privately with a Servant or two to attend him, free from the Hurry of all Publick Buſineſs; but when the Queen of *Scots* was eſcap'd out of Priſon, overcome in Battel, and then fled for *England*; the *French* knowing that *Murray* was call'd home, into his own Country, and in his Paſſage through *France*, not being able to work him over to their Party, in regard they could not ſend Men or Money to *Scotland*, to raiſe Diſturbance there, by reaſon of their own

Commotions at home; they therefore thought it moſt adviſable to ſet up *Hamilton*, in an emulating Competition with him, eſpecially at that time, when the Regent with part of the Nobility were abſent, and out of the way. He was therefore drawn out of his Privacy, and accommodated with ſome few *Piſtols*, and larger Promiſes. In his return thro' *England*, his Friends perſuaded him, that ſince the Queen of *Scots* with her Faction favour'd him, and the Queen of *England* was not averſe from it, he would endeavour to perſuade *Murray* by her Authority to reſign his Regency to him, in as much as that Office, by the Law and Conſent of almoſt all Nations, and eſpecially by the Cuſtom of their own Country, was due to him, as the next in Blood: Neither (ſaid he) was there any great need to make a laborious Search into the Records of Ancient Times for this; in which they might eaſily find, that Governors were always appointed to their Princes when under Age, out of the next of Kin; as when *James* the Third died, in the Abſence of *James* the Firſt, his Uncle *Robert* manag'd the Government, and his Son *Murdac* ſucceeded *Robert*: And of late Times, *John* Duke of *Albany* was made Governor to King *James* the Fifth, whilſt he was under Age: Nay that *Hamilton* himſelf had been Regent, ſome few Years before *Mary*, now Queen, was of Age, fit to govern or marry; and how he was not excluded from that Office, by any lawful Suffrages, but unjuſtly by the Rebellious; and that which increas'd the Indignity was, that it was done in Contempt of the Blood Royal, and a Baſtard ſet up in his Room; but if the Honour were reſtor'd to him, in a very ſhort Time all domeſtick Tumults would be quieted; and the Queen, even without Blood, would recover her Crown and Dignity again. To which the King's Embaſſadors anſwer'd, 'That *Hamilton* deſir'd a thing, not 'only contrary to the Laws and Cuſtoms of their Anceſtors, but if the Conſideration of the Law were omitted, 'yet 'twas very unjuſt in it ſelf; for our Anceſtors (ſaid they) 'by reaſon of the murdering of their Princes by their Kindred, for 1300 Years ago, did wholly change the Method of their Aſſemblies in making a King: For as before, 'in the Family of *Fergus*, our firſt King after the King's 'Death, it was not the next of Blood, but he that was 'moſt fit, was choſen King by Suffrage: So *Kenneth* the 'Third, that he might take away all Plots againſt Princes, 'by thoſe of their Blood, and might alſo prevent the cruel 'and bloody Emulations of their Kindred amongſt themſelves, made this Decree of Succeſſion that now is, for

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'the next of Blood to inherit. And Men by Experience finding, that in ſo great an Inconſtancy of Fortune, 'twas 'ſcarce poſſible, but that ſometimes the Right of chief Magiſtracy ſhould fall on a Child, or elſe, on one unable to 'govern; therefore they decreed, that he, who preceded 'others in Power and Wiſdom, ſhould undergo the Adminiſtration of the Government in the mean time; and 'our Anceſtors obſerving this courſe for almoſt ſix hundred 'Years, have tranſmitted down a Kingdom ſafe to us: 'Thus when *Robert Bruce* died, there ſucceeded Regents 'choſen by Majority of Voices, *Thomas Randolf*, Earl of *Murray*, 'Donald, Earl of *Mar*, *Andrew Murray*, *John Randolf*, 'Robert Stuart; ſometimes particular Perſons, ſometimes more than one, were choſen by our Publick Conventions to that Office: So when *James* the Second was a Child, *Alexander Levingſton* was appointed his Governor, who was no way related to that King in Blood, neither was he ſo much as a Nobleman, but a Knight only, more eminent for his Wiſdom than his Family. And if any ſay, that was for want of ſome of the King's Line, the Excuſe will not hold; for at that very time, there was *John Kennedy*, chief of his Family, his Nephew, by the Siſter of *James* the Firſt, a Man both wiſe and virtuous; there were alſo his Uncles, *James Keanedy*, Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, the eminenteſt Perſon for Virtue in the whole Kingdom; as alſo his Brothers, the Son of the King's Aunt, *Douglas*, Earl of *Angus*; *Archibald* alſo, Earl of *Douglas*, was not excluded from the King's Line, but in Power was almoſt equal to him; at leaſt, he was ſuperior to all others; yet none ever complain'd of the Injuſtice of our Aſſemblies in ſo doing. And not long after, *James* the Third had four Tutors or Guardians aſſign'd him, not taken on the account of Alliance, but choſen by Vote. And of late, *John* Duke of *Albany*, was ſent for by the Nobility out of *Frame*, to govern *Scotland* in the Minority of *James* the Fourth; and when he came, he was ſettled in the Regency, by a publick Statute, enacted in a Convention of the Eſtates, which was not done on the account of Proximity in Blood; for he had *Alexander* an elder Brother, one perhaps inferior to him, yet of far greater Merit than *James Hamilton*, who for a time affected that Dignity: But in the Abſence of *James* the Fifth, *Robert* his Uncle manag'd the Kingdom. I pray, by what Right? Was he aſſum'd into that Office for nearneſs of Blood? No: Was he elected by the People? No, nor that neither: How was

'he then created? I'll tell you how; when King *Robert* the 'Third was neither in Body nor Mind fit to manage the 'Kingly Office, he ſet up *Robert* his Brother in his ſtead, 'and commended his Children to his Care; *David* his 'eldeſt Son he ſtarved to Death; *James* the younger had 'been alſo killed, had he not ſaved his Life by Flight: 'And being thus ſettled in the Poſſeſſion of the Govern-'ment, his Brother dying for Grief, he kept it, without the 'Conſent of the People in Parliament, and tranſmitted it 'to his Son *Mordacus*. How *Robert* the King that died 'laſt ſtood affected towards his Brother is very plain; for, 'as when he was a dying, he abominated and curs'd him, 'as the Executioner of his Children; ſo certainly if he had 'been alive and in Health, he would not have deſigned him 'Guardian to them. We are put in mind of that time, 'wherein, after the Death of *James* the Fifth, he himſelf 'was made Regent; (as if any thing at all was legally 'acted ſince that time.) When Cardinal *Beton* endeavoured by 'Fraud to invade the chief Magiſtracy, he crept into the vacant 'Office, rather out of Peoples Hatred to *Beton*, than Love to 'him; being got into it, he ruled with great Cruelty and Ava-'rice; and not many Years ago, he ſold that Magiſtracy, which 'he got by Force, and the Queen too, then committed to 'his Care; in this was ſhewn, what Affection the People 'bare to him, when they preferred the Government of a 'Woman and a Stranger, before that bitter Slavery they 'ſuffer'd under him. You ſee then, I ſuppoſe, how this 'Requeſt of *Hamilton*'s is contrary to the Laws of our 'Country, and the Inſtitutions of our Anceſtors; nay ſo 'contrary, that for want of Arguments to maintain it, he 'ſupports it only with Falſhood: And if there was any 'Cuſtom of this kind, all Men ſee how unjuſt it is: For 'what can be more unequal, than to commit the innocent 'and weak Age of the Prince to his Care, who either daily 'expects, or wiſhes for the Death of his Pupil? All whoſe 'Family hath born, and doth bear great and laſting Enmity 'with the Family of the King that now reigns? What 'Safeguard can there be here, in nearneſs of Blood, againſt 'ancient Hatred, griping Avarice, and the precipitate Force 'of foreſtalled Tyranny? *Laodicea* Queen of the *Cappado-'cians*, is reported to have ſlain her Sons, as they came to 'Age, thus buying out, or, as it were, redeeming a ſmall 'ſtay in the Government, with the innocent Blood of her 'own Children. If a Mother deſtroy'd the Fruit of her 'own Womb, only to reign a little longer, what ſhall we 'think will old Enemies attempt, or rather, what will 'they not attempt, being inflam'd to Cruelty, by the Stings

'of

'of Avarice, againſt a Child, who is the only *Remora* to 'their Hopes of the Kingdom? And if this Example ſeem 'old, obſcure, and far-fetch'd, I will add ſome more illu- 'ſtrious ones nearer hand; who is ignorant of what was 'lately acted, how that *Galeacius Sforza* was ſlain by his 'Uncle *Lewis*, though he was of Age, and married, and 'the Son-in-Law too, of a moſt powerful Prince? Who 'doth not know the Calamities that followed upon that 'cruel Parricide? The brave fertile Country of *Italy* was 'almoſt made a Wilderneſs; the Family of the *Sforza*'s, 'from whence ſo many valiant Men proceeded, was ex- 'tinguiſh'd; and the Barbarians were introduc'd into the 'pleaſant Country about the *Po*; whoſe Avarice and Cru- 'elty deſpoil'd and ravaged all. Beſides, who is there of 'the Inhabitants of *Great Britain*, that hath not heard of 'the Cruelty of *Richard* the Third, King of *England*, a- 'gainſt his Brother's Children? And with how much Blood 'was that Parricide expiated? If Men that were otherwiſe 'prudent, did not fear to commit ſuch things againſt their 'neareſt in Blood, excited only by the Deſire of the Crown, 'what can be expected from him, whoſe Inconſtancy is 'well known to all, and whoſe ill Management of the 'Government hath already coſt us ſo much Blood? Whoſe 'Family, not content with the Murder of this King's great 'Grandfather, always wrought Treachery againſt his Grand- 'father by the Mother's ſide, as long as he liv'd? And as 'for his Grandfather by his Father's ſide, when he could 'not kill him, he drove him, poor, out of the Kingdom; 'his Father he brought forth as a Sacrifice to be ſlain; his 'Mother and the Kingdom, when they could not enjoy it 'themſelves, they ſold it to Strangers, and after, by the Pro- 'vidence of God, ſhe was deliver'd from that Bondage, 'they caſt her into thoſe Straits, in which ſhe now is. 'What Judgment the Subjects made of theſe things, may 'appear by this, that Men ſeem'd to themſelves deliver'd 'from the Priſon of a moſt miſerable Bondage, and to taſte 'the Sweetneſs of Liberty, when they ſold the Govern- 'ment, which they themſelves were not able to manage, 'to a Woman and a Stranger.

UPON the hearing of this Oration, the Queen told *Hamilton*, that his Demand was unjuſt, and that ſhe would not aſſiſt him in it; but that ſhe was deſir'd by the King's Embaſſadors, not to ſuffer him to depart, (ſince he plotted nothing but Sedition) till they likewiſe went themſelves; which ſhe look'd upon as very juſt, and therefore promis'd them it ſhould be ſo, and upon this, ſhe charg'd him not to depart before that time. The baniſh'd Queen alſo encourag'd her

her Friends with the Hopes of her ſpeedy Return; for ſome Letters of hers were intercepted, wherein ſhe adviſ'd them, to ſeize upon as many Caſtles and fortified Places as they could; and ſo to diſperſe the War abroad, as far as ever they were able: Neither need they fear the Noiſe of a Truce, or Accommodation, for if Matters were ended that way, all the Offences of former times would be cover'd and forgiven, under the umbrage of Peace: But if it ſhould break out into open War, the more Garriſons they had, the greater Opportunity would be put into their Hands, to annoy the Enemy.

WHEN the Regent had ſettled Matters as well as he could in *England*, and had Leave to return, ſome Letters were produc'd, lately intercepted from the Queen of *Scots*, wherein ſhe complains, that ſhe was otherwiſe treated by the Queen of *England*, than ſhe her ſelf firſt expected; or, as was promis'd her, and that was done by ſome Courtiers, who were the Cauſe that ſhe was not ſent back with an Army, as ſhe affirm'd the Queen of *England* had promis'd her; but ſhe hoped ſhortly, to obtain a good Iſſue another way, (for Meſſengers often had paſſed between her and *Howard*, about a Marriage between them) and therefore ſhe will'd them not to be diſcouraged, but to increaſe the Strength of their Party, to make a general Diſturbance, and by all the Arts they could, to hinder the Regent's Return into *Scotland*. Theſe Letters being divulg'd, affected People differently. The Queen of *England* took it ill, that ſhe was accus'd of Breach of Promiſe; as alſo, that the Conditions of the Truce made by her means were not kept: And therefore, being very angry and inrag'd, ſhe remitted much of her ancient Favour to the *Scot*'s Queen, and was more inclin'd to Equity than before. The *Engliſh* who wiſh'd well to the Regent, were afraid that his Enemies would way-lay him to do him a Miſchief in his Journey; for in the Countries which he was to paſs through, there were either for the moſt part *Roman Catholicks*, or elſe Thieves, inhabiting the Borders of both Kingdoms, who were all excited to hope for a ſudden Change; and 'twas plain, they were tampered with to intercept him in his Return, for which reaſon abundance of the *Engliſh* Courtiers offer'd him their Aſſiſtance to ſecure his Paſſage; but he was contented only with his own Retinue, and about the thirteenth of *January* began his Journey: But the Queen of *England* judging it to be for her own Credit and Honour, that he ſhould return in Safety, had of her own accord written to the Commanders and the Warden of the Marches, that when he came to Places ſuſpected, or noted for Robbery, they ſhould take care,

that

that he might not be circumvented; and they were very careful therein, for ſtrong Guards of Horſe and Foot were plac'd about the Way, ſo that he came ſafe to *Berwick*, and the Day after, which was the ſecond of *February*, he was conducted home to *Edinburgh*, to the great Joy of his Friends; who, in great Numbers, were aſſembled. His Enemies hardly believed his coming at firſt, becauſe falſe Reports had been cauſedly ſpread, that he was ſhut up Priſoner in the Tower of *London*; but when it was certainly known, that he was at *Edinburgh*, thoſe who had beſet the Highways to intercept Paſſengers, let go their Priſoners, and ſlip'd away home; ſo that, immediately from a turbulent Tempeſt, there grew a great Calm and Tranquillity.

A FEW Days after, the Nobility of the King's Party had a great Meeting at *Sterling*, where the Tranſactions with the Queen of *England* were opened and highly approved, by the Conſent of all there preſent. About the ſame time, *James Hamilton*, chief of his Family, came out of *England*, who, by a new and unheard-of Pretence and Arrogance, was adopted as a Father, by the Queen of *Scots*, and made Lieutenant of the Kingdom. He declar'd his Commiſſion, and forbad the People to obey any, but thoſe ſubſtituted by him: Upon this, the Royaliſts diſburſt Sums of Money to raiſe Forces, and to prepare to fight if need were: And accordingly, at an appointed Day, they met at *Glaſgow*, but ſeeing the Country came not in to *Hamilton*, according to his Expectation, by the Mediation of his Friends, Terms of Agreement were propoſed, upon which *Hamilton* was commanded to come to *Glaſgow*, to acknowledge the King, as chief Magiſtrate: if he did that, the reſt would be eaſily accommodated; if he refus'd, it was in vain for him to come. He, by the Advice of his Friends that were with him, being forſaken by his Clanſhips, and terrify'd by the near Approach of his Enemy's Army, reſolv'd to comply with Neceſſity, and to promiſe all that was deſir'd; but when the Forces of the Royaliſts were diſbanded, then he would conſult his Advantage at leiſure. When they came to *Glaſgow*, a Day was appointed, wherein they and their Friends ſhould profeſs their Allegiance to the King, and ſo recover their old Eſtates and Honours: In the mean time, they were to remain in Priſon, or to give in Hoſtages, of their Kindred, for their forthcoming. This alſo was added to the Conditions, that all of the ſame Party might come in, if they pleas'd, on the ſame Terms. *Argyle* and *Huntly* refus'd to ſubſcribe to thoſe Articles, either out of Anger to *Hamilton*, that he had given up himſelf to his Enemy's Hands, without asking their Advice; or elſe, becauſe

cauſe they thought to obtain for themſelves more eaſie Terms of Peace, in reſpect of their Power; or elſe, being incourag'd by frequent Letters from *England*, they were eaſily inclin'd to that they had moſt mind to. For, whilſt theſe things were acted in *Scotland*, Letters came from the exiled Queen, containing large Promiſes, and willing them not to be terrify'd with vain Threats, for ſhe ſhould ſhortly be with them, with a great Army. Their Minds were ready to receive this News; and ſo much the rather, becauſe the Queen was kept with a looſer Guard than ordinary; and there was daily talk of her Marriage with *Howard*. When *Hamilton* was come to *Edinburgh*, at the Day appointed, he eluded his Promiſe by ſeveral Pretences; as that the reſt of his Party ſhould come together, and ſo be all comprehended at once in one Agreement: As alſo, that they might ſend to the Queen to know her Mind; and to this end, he deſir'd to defer the Matter, till the 10th Day of *May*. To this his evident trifling, they anſwer'd, that 'twas to no Purpoſe for him to expect *Argyle* and *Huntly*, for they had declar'd, they would manage their Concerns apart. As for the Queen, 'twas demanded, if ſhe did not approve the Capitulation, what they would do? Then *Hamilton* anſwer'd ingenuouſly enough, but not ſo prudently for the time, that he was compell'd to thoſe Conditions, by the Force and Terror of an Army, and that if he were left free to himſelf, he would not ſubſcribe at all: This being openly diſcover'd, the Regent committed *Hamilton* and *Maxwel* to *Edinburgh* Caſtle. The reſt of the Diſpute was about *Argyle* and *Huntly*: For *Argyle*, whilſt the Regent was in *England*, came to *Glaſgow*, to conſult about publick Affairs, with about fifteen hundred Men in his Company: Thither alſo came many of the neighbour Countries of the ſame Faction; where they differ'd in their Opinions, and agreed in nothing, but only to diſturb the publick Peace. The *Hamiltonians* deſir'd of *Argyle*, that ſeeing the Inhabitants of *Lennox* were firm to the King's Cauſe, he would vex them, by driving away their Cattel, that ſo he might the better draw them, tho' unwilling, to his Party; or elſe might ſo impoveriſh them, as to render them unable to be of much Advantage to their own Party. When *Argyle* had communicated the thing to the Council of his Friends, not one of them favour'd his Deſign: For they remembred, that for many Years, the *Lennoxians* had been much addicted to *Argyle*, and that there were many Alliances between them. Beſides, ſaid they, why are the *Argyle* Men nearer to the *Lennoxians*, than the *Hamiltonians*, ſeeing they lie in the middle between them both?

both? Why then ſhould they put a Task, ſo full of *Odium*, upon him? and ſince it was principally their own Affair; let them appear *firſt* in it, and then *Argyle* would not be wanting: He would be a Companion, not a Leader, in ſuch an Expedition. When that Aſſembly had held ſome Days, it was diſſolv'd, without doing any thing, and *Argyle* return'd thro' *Lennox*, which was his neareſt Way, without doing them any Hurt; which Moderation of his indeared him even to the chief of the oppoſite Faction, and made his Pardon more eaſily obtainable.

BUT *Huntly* had indeavoured to break thro' *Mern*, *Angus*, and *Strath-carn*, in the Regent's Abſence, having plunder'd the Country, and their Caſtle, and ranging over the neighbouring Places, had appointed *Crawford* and *Ogilby* his Lieutenants about *Dee*: Uſurping, at the ſame time, all the Power of a King. This Carriage of his made his Reconciliation the more difficult. Theſe two Men, ſeeing their Concerns were different, had a Council aſſign'd, to meet at St. *Andrews*. Thither *Argyle* came firſt: He was eaſily reconcil'd; for, that Year, and the former, he had committed no Act of Hoſtility; and beſides, he was the Regent's Kinſman, and, from his Childhood, his great Acquaintance, and familiar Friend: So that all he requir'd of him, was, an Oath to be faithful to the King for the future; which, if he were not, beſides the uſual Puniſhment of the Law, he did not deſire, but to be accounted the baſeſt Perſon living; the reſt were alſo admitted into Favour, upon the ſame Oath, but on far different Conditions. But *Huntly*'s Caſe, before his Arrival, was long debated in Council. For, whereas in *England*, the Marriage of the exiled Queen with *Howard* was carry'd on, and their coming into *Scotland* was privately deſign'd; their Faction there did, by degrees, take Heart, and incourage the Rebellious to Diſobedience: For, if Matters were put into Confuſion, they thought, the new King would have an eaſier Entrance to poſſeſs the Kingdom; for which Reaſon, when they knew, that the Regent would not be perſuaded to betray the King, as being his Guardian and Uncle, they endeavour'd, by all means, to abridge his Power. For, beſides thoſe, that openly took Arms againſt the King, a great part of the Counſellors did not now, as heretofore, favour *Huntly* in Secret, but openly; they pleaded ſtrenuouſly for him, that he ſhould be indemnified for what was paſt, ſince that was the readieſt and ſafeſt Way to Agreement; nay, that it was more creditable for the State, to heal civil Breaches without Violence, and not to proceed to Forfeiture of Goods or Loſs of Life; and, by

this means, Peace might be obtain'd at home, and Renown abroad. But, if a military Courſe were taken, they muſt fight with a Man, who, by reaſon of his ancient Power, his great Alliance, and by his many Clanſhips, was very formidable; and, if he were overcome, (which yet was uncertain) yet he might fly to the *Highlands* and mountainous Deſerts, or to foreign Princes, where, out of a ſmall Spark of Diſguſt, a mighty Flame of War might, in time, be kindled. On the other ſide, 'twas alledged, that the War would not be ſo formidable, as ſome imagin'd: For his Father, tho' he had the Report of a very prudent Man, even whilſt his Force was intire, was yet eaſily ſubdu'd; and therefore, this young Man, whoſe Power was not yet eſtabliſhed, and beſides, was diſcourag'd by the recent Calamity of his Family, was never able to bear up againſt all the Power of the Kingdom, and the Majeſty of the kingly Name too; and if he were overcome in Fight, or, if diſtruſting his Forces, he fled to the Mountains, there were thoſe, who, by the ſame Largeſſes, by which he had attached them to his Service, or by greater, might be induc'd either to kill him, or to betray him to the Regent. *For the Faith of Mercenaries is changed with Fortune, they follow the Proſperous, and forſake the Afflicted.* As for foreign Princes, *They eſteem'd Men according to their Power, neither were they concern'd for another's Miſery, but reſpected only their own Advantage.* But if any King of another Temper ſhould be ſo clement and merciful, as to entertain a Fugitive, and a Beggar too; yet now, the Times were ſuch as took off that Fear. For *England* alone, of all *Europe*, was the Country which enjoy'd a flouriſhing Peace, and that favour'd the King's Cauſe; but other neighbour Kingdoms were ſo buſied with domeſtick Diſſenſions, that they had no Time to look abroad: And if they had Leiſure ſo to do, yet there was ſome ground of Hope, that Equity would prevail more with them, than Mercy towards Exiles, who were Rebels to their own Kings, and faithleſs to the Kings of other Nations: As for the Indemnity, which, they ſay, will declare our Clemency; it will rather be an Argument of our Negligence, in regard, a juſt Combat being declin'd thro' Fear, a War is imprudently nouriſh'd under a Pretence of Peace, and that an unjuſt Pretence too, which would incourage the creſtfallen Spirits of the Rebels, and weaken the chearful Endeavours of the King's faſt Friends. For, how do you think will both Parties ſtand affected, when the one ſide ſees, that all is lawful for them, without preſent Puniſhment, and ſo they hope it will be for the future: And the other ſees perfidious

perſidious Enemies to enjoy the Rewards of their wicked Crimes, themſelves robbed of all their Goods, and vexed with all the Calamities of War; and whereas they expected a Reward for their Faithfulneſs and Conſtancy, inſtead of it to be puniſh'd for their Love to their King and Country? And therefore, who can doubt, but that, if Matters hereafter come to Arms, (which of Neceſſity they muſt do, unleſs this Fire be now quenched, before they break forth) who, I ſay, can doubt, but that Party will be ſtrongeſt, which thrives by its Wickedneſs, and who may do all things with Impunity, rather than the other, who muſt ſuffer all Injuries offer'd to them forcibly with Patience? And if thoſe Inconveniencies did not attend this vain ſhew of Clemency, yet, neither the Regent, nor the King himſelf, could lawfully ſo pardon, as to give away the Goods of the robbed to their Plunderers: If they ſhould do that, they muſt lay down the Perſons of Rulers, and take upon them the Habit of Spoilers too; if ſuch a Condition ſhould be granted, it were much more cruel for People to be deſpoiled of their Eſtates by Kings, *the Granters of Indemnity*, than by their very Enemies that robbed them. Many things having been alternately canvas'd, and alledged to this purpoſe, on either ſide: Thoſe who were for his Indemnity were outvoted by a few Voices. The Regent declar'd, that, for Peace-ſake, he was very willing to pardon the private Wrongs done to himſelf and the King; but, for the Injuries offer'd to particular Perſons, he neither could, nor would pardon them: But if *Huntly*, and thoſe Friends of his, who follow'd his Party, could make ſome Terms of Agreement with thoſe they had plunder'd, he was very willing, by the Conſent of both Parties, to appoint Arbitrators, who might adjuſt the Value of the Loſſes.

PEACE, as 'twas thought, being ſettled on theſe Conditions, there aroſe another Diſpute ſeemingly ſmall, but manag'd with greater Eagerneſs than before: The Controverſy was, whether Pardon was to be given to all of *Huntly*'s Party promiſcuouſly? Or whether every Man's Cauſe and Deſert ſhould be conſider'd apart? Some were of Opinion, that becauſe they thought *Huntly* was dealt hardly with in being forc'd to pay Damages to the Sufferers, that it was equitable to indulge him here, and not to preſs ſo ſeverely, as to diſoblige his Followers alſo: On the other ſide, 'twas alledged, that the chief Aim, in ſuch kind of Wars, was to diſſolve Factions; and that could not be done eaſily, any otherwiſe than if the Judgment of Pardon or Puniſhment did reſide in the Breaſt of the Prince alone: All Men under-

underſtand, how unjuſt it is, to impoſe an equal Fine on thoſe, whoſe Offences are unequal; and that the adjuſting of the Puniſhment, ſhould be left to *Huntly* himſelf, was by no means fit, for he ('twas probable) would exact the lighteſt Mulct from the greateſt Offenders; and would lay almoſt the whole Burden upon ſuch as were leaſt criminal; ſince in impoſing Puniſhment, he would not weigh each Man's Merit, but rather his Propenſity to his Service; and as any Man had been more fierce and cruel in the War, ſo he would obtain from him an higher Place in his Favour. On the other ſide, the lighteſt Offenders would have the ſoreſt Puniſhment, and they, who were leſs active in Wickedneſs, ſhould be fined for their Moderation and Favour towards the King. Theſe Reaſons ſo prevail'd with the Council, that they decreed to weigh every Man's Caſe apart; and yet, that they might ſeem to gratify *Huntly* in ſome things, his Domeſticks were exempted, he was to lay a Fine on them himſelf as he pleas'd; but that which he moſt deſir'd, that the Regent ſhould not come with an Army into the North-parts, was abſolutely refus'd him.

THINGS being thus ſettled with *Huntly* at St. *Andrews*, the Regent, with two Companies of Soldiers, and a great Number of his Friends, went firſt to *Aberdeen*, then to *Elgin*, at laſt to *Inverneſs*: The Inhabitants near the Town were commanded to appear, they obeyed the Summons, ſome paid down their Money, impoſed as a Fine on them, others gave Sureties: *Huntly*, and the chief of his Clanſhips put in Hoſtages. Thus having ſettled the Country towards the North, being highly gratulated by all good Men through all his March, he returned to St. *Johnſton*'s, where an Aſſembly of the Nobility was indicted, on account of Letters, which *Robert Boyd* had brought out of *England* to the Regent at *Elgin*; ſome of them were Publick, ſome were Private; the Private ones were from ſome Courtiers in *England*, containing a relation of *Howard*'s Conſpiracy, which was ſo ſtrong and cunningly laid, that they thought no Force or Policy could withſtand it, though all the remaining Power of *Britain* were united together: In theſe Letters his Friends exhorted him not to mingle his own flouriſhing Fortune with the deſperate Condition of others, but to provide for himſelf and his Concerns, yet unimpair'd, apart.

THE State of Affairs in *England* compels me here a little to digreſs; becauſe at that time, the Good and Ill of both Kingdoms were ſo conjoin'd, that the one cannot well be explained without the other. The *Scots*, a few Years before, were delivered out of the Slavery of the *French* by the Aſſiſtance

ſiſtance of the *Engliſh*, and thereupon they obſerved and ſubſcribed to the ſame Rites in Religion, in common with the *Engliſh*; that ſudden Change of things ſeemed to promiſe an univerſal Quietneſs to all *Britain*, free from all domeſtick Tumults: But preſently upon this, the Pope, with the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, threatned a War, and privately combined to give another turn to things. The Pope was not wanting, by his Exhortations and Promiſes, to ſtir up their Minds already inraged; but the Kings were not ſufficiently agreed amongſt themſelves; and their Forces were ſo exhauſted, that they rather deſired a War, than were able to make it. Beſides, there was an Emulation between them, one could not well bear that the other ſhould have ſo great an Acceſſion as *England*, if it were conquered, to his Dominions. And then alſo ſome Diſputes aroſe between them and their Subjects, which diverted their Thoughts from foreign Affairs, though the Novelty of a Woman's Reign, and ſhe a young Woman too, and unmarried, gave Encouragement thereto, (eſpecially ſince thoſe who were ill affected to her, ſaid ſhe was born to *Henry* the Eighth in an unlawful Marriage) and the former Differences about the Kingdom and Religion, were rather ſtifled than extinguiſhed; and beſides that, the Sparks of Diſcontent glowed ſtill in Mens Minds, which in a ſhort time were likely to break out into a Flame.

IN the mean time, the *Engliſh Catholicks* had made many Attempts, but in vain, for they were ſoon quell'd; and though their Deſigns never ſucceeded, yet Foreigners ſtill feeding them only with blooming Hopes, not with real Supplies, they ſtill perſiſted in the ſame reſolute Deſign, wanting rather a Commander for their Numbers, than Power or Courage to aſſemble. The common People of that Profeſſion had taken a View of all the Nobility, and they found none fit enough, to whom they might commit their Lives and Fortunes; many of the moſt ſtirring had been cut off in the Civil Wars; many had gone over to the other Party; ſome were ſo old, that they were unfit for Publick Buſineſs; or elſe, the Vigour of their Minds, as well as the Strength of their Bodies, was ſo debilitated, that they deſired Peace, if it were but a tolerable one. There was only one Man, who for Courage and Power ſeemed fit to undertake ſo great a Buſineſs, and that was *Thomas Howard*, who though he was of himſelf inclinable to Quietneſs, yet there were ſome Cauſes which moved him to ſtudy Innovations; for his Father and Grandfather, though they had been highly eminent, both in War and Peace, yet in the Storms of an

unſtable Court, they had been ſo toſs'd, that their higheſt Glory was balanc'd with as great Diſgrace. His Father was condemn'd for Treaſon, and publickly beheaded; and two Queens, his Kinſwomen, had been alſo put to Death; he in thoſe Difficulties was liberally brought up, and ſo preſerved his Family from being quite extinguiſh'd: In his very Youth he gave a Specimen of great Prudence, and in a few Years, by the Death of his Wives, and by new Marriages, he grew ſo rich, that, next to the Queen, he was the moſt potent of the *Engliſh*; for Wealth and Prudence, the reſt of the Nobility yielded to him; but as for his Skill in Military Matters he had yet given no Proof of his Valour; but in the Controverſies of Religion, he carried himſelf ſo ſwimmingly and ambiguouſly, that though he favoured Popery in his Heart, yet he was ſuch a Patron of the contrary Party, that many of them made ſure of him, in their Thoughts, as their own.

DURING this, the Queen of *Scots* Army was routed, and ſhe herſelf fled to *England*, when ſhe wrote Letters to that Queen, concerning the cauſe of her coming; ſhe was bid by her to retire to the Houſe of the Lord *Scroop*, Warden of the Marches, till ſhe conſidered of her Demands in Council; *Scroop*'s Wife was *Howard*'s Siſter, and by her Means the Treaty of Marriage was ſecretly begun between the Queen and *Howard*, and the Opportunity ſeemed to be offered by God himſelf, ſeeing *Howard*'s third Wife was lately dead, and he was then a Widower. The Deſign was concealed, as being intruſted but to a few, yet 'twas whiſper'd abroad among the common People; *for narrow Spirits cannot conceal great Hopes, but Joy gives them Vent, and ſo they fly abroad.* The Matter was ſo far advanc'd, that the Fire of a Civil War ſeemed ready to break out, nay and ſome were ſo confident of Succeſs, after they had conſidered the Strength of their Parties, that they thought *Howard* might eaſily do what he pleaſed, without uſing any Force.

THINGS were in this Poſture, when the *Scots* Nobles had a great Meeting at *Perth*, to hear the Demands of both Queens, both of them having written to them. The Queen of *England*'s Letters propoſed one of theſe three Conditions. The firſt was abſolute, that the Queen might be reſtored to her Throne and Dignity, as formerly. But if that could not be granted, then, that ſhe might reign jointly with her Son, that ſo ſhe might enjoy Princely Honour in Letters and Publick Acts; in the mean time, the Regency ſhould be in the Hands of the preſent Regent, till

the

the King came to the Age of ſeventeen. *If* neither of thoſe could be obtained, then the third Condition was, (if the Queen could be perſuaded to accept of it) that ſhe ſhould live privately at home, being content with thoſe Honours, which, ſaving the Authority and Majeſty of the King, might be granted to her. This laſt Requeſt was eaſily aſſented to, if the Queen would accept it; but the other two were peremptorily refuſed. For the better and more incorrupt Part of the Nobility were reſolute in this, that they neither could, nor ought to determine any thing, which might diminiſh the King's Authority, eſpecially being lawfully inthron'd; but the two former Heads leſſened the King's Honour, nay and expoſed his Life too, being a Pupil, unleſs it could be thought, that his Mother, who was known to be cruel towards her Husband, and was not well affected toward her Son neither, being exaſperated by her Baniſhment beſides, ſhould be no more kind to him, than ſhe had been ever before. The Letters alſo from the exil'd Queen were read, wherein ſhe deſired, that ſome Judges might be appointed to conſider of her Marriage with *Bothwel*; and if 'twas found contrary to Law, that ſhe might be divorced from him. Thoſe Letters highly incenſed the King's Party, becauſe ſhe wrote her ſelf as Queen, and commanded them as Subjects: Nay, ſome would not have had them anſwered at all, becauſe they endeavoured to abridge the King of his Power, and to inſtate the Rule in the ſole Power of an exil'd Queen; but that Part of the Council which was for the Queen, alledged, that they wondred much, why thoſe who had formerly the laſt Year much deſired, that ſhe would ſeparate her Cauſe from *Bothwel*'s; now when it was freely offer'd to them, ſhould hinder it as eagerly, (or rather more) as they had before earneſtly deſired it; if a Word or two in the Letters did diſpleaſe them, that Fault might eaſily be amended; nay, ſome there were, who undertook (provided the Matter of the Divorce might be diſcuſſed in the mean time) to procure a Commiſſion from her, in what Expreſſions they themſelves would have it: On the contrary, the adverſe Party urg'd, that they ſaw no new Cauſe of ſuch great haſte, ſixty Days was but a lawful time for *Bothwel*, who was out of the Kingdom, to appear; within which time a new Commiſſion might be ſent: Neither ought that Delay to ſeem long, eſpecially to her, who had paſt over ſo great a Matter in Silence, two Years; and had now ſent Letters, which were of themſelves an hindrance, why thoſe who were willing to gratify her, could not comply with them; but if ſhe deſired a Divorce, 'twas eaſy to be obtain-

ed: let her but write to the King of *Denmark*, deſiring him to puniſh the Murderer of her former Husband; whom if dead, though they all were unwilling, yet ſhe might marry where and whom ſhe pleaſed; but if ſhe refuſed this, then 'twas plain, ſhe ſpoke not ſincerely and from her Heart, but made a counterfeit Pretence of Divorce; that, if ſhe married again, ſhe might alſo live in a diſputable and uncertain Matrimony, even with her next Husband too: And of this there was a ſtrong Suſpicion, becauſe ſhe deſired ſuch Judges to determine the Divorce, who had no Power in the Caſe. For what Power could the Regent have over Exiles, with whom he had nothing at all to do, who, unleſs they themſelves pleaſed, might refuſe to ſtand to his Judgment; or how ſhould they ſubmit to another's Judgment, who were under the Power and Dominion of other Princes; but ſeeing there ſeem'd to be ſome hidden Fraud in the Caſe, a Deciſion was not to be haſtily made, but the Queen of *England* was to be acquainted with it, in whoſe Power it was, either to promote or hinder it. Hereupon a young Nobleman of the Regent's Friends was ſent to the Queen of *England*, to acquaint her with the Acts of the Convention. Some may perhaps wonder, that ſince greater Matters were tranſacted with leſs Diſpute, there ſhould be ſuch ado made about the Divorce: But this was the cauſe of it; *Howard* had privately tranſacted by his Friends, concerning his marrying the Queen of *Scots*; and the Conſpiracy was ſo ſtrong both at home and abroad, that 'twas rumoured among the Vulgar, the Deſign was to take away both of the lawful Princes, and ſo to ſeize on the two Kingdoms for themſelves; the Place, Time, and the whole of the Deſign was ſo ordered, that all things ſeem'd to be ſecure againſt any Force whatſoever. The Conſpirators did moſt inſiſt on this, to remove what might hinder the Marriage: If that were done, they ſeemed ſecure, that all the reſt ſhould fall in of it ſelf. On the contrary, they who were for the King, made it their chief Buſineſs to caſt in Rubs to delay it; for that in the mean while, many ſecret Deſigns might in time be diſcovered, and the Conſpiracy prevented by the Care of both Princes.

In this poſture of Affairs the Decree of the *Scots* Council was brought to the Queen of *England*; but ſhe, alledging, ſhe was not ſatisfied with that Anſwer, and the Meſſenger did not ſeem to her a fit Perſon with whom ſhe might confer, in ſo dangerous a time, and about ſuch weighty Matters, deſired to be better inform'd by the *Scots* of thoſe Matters. Whereupon there was another Aſſembly

of

of the Nobility indicted at *Sterling*, where they drew up this Anſwer, 'That as for the laſt of her Requeſts it might 'admit a Conſultation, in order to an Agreement; but the 'ſecond was of that kind, that no Conſultation at all could 'be admitted on that Head, without manifeſt Impiety, in 'regard it would not only diminiſh, but even extirpate the 'Royal Authority: For beſides, that all Partnerſhip in Im-'pream Magiſtracy is dangerous; how can two be equally 'join'd in Government, of whom *one* was a Youth, ſcarce 'out of his Infancy; the *other* a Woman in the prime of 'her Age, of a crafty Diſpoſition, having paſt through va-'riety of Fortunes, who, as ſoon as ever ſhe can wind her 'ſelf into Part of the Government, will by the Strength of 'that Faction, which though ſhe was removed by a Pub-'lick Decree from the Adminiſtration, do yet labour to 'introduce her, not by Entreaties, but Threats; or elſe by 'corrupting the King's Enemies; or laſtly, by foreign Sol-'diers, whom ſhe is now buſy to procure, ſoon derive the 'whole Authority to her ſelf? How will ſhe endure, that 'an Infant ſhould be equall'd with her, who would not be 'equalled even with her Husband? Beſides, if ſhe ſhould 'marry ſome powerful Perſon, (ſuch a Matter being now 'on Foot) her Strength would be doubled, and her Huſ-'band (as of Neceſſity he muſt) be admitted into Part of 'the Government; perhaps he would not willingly ſuffer, 'that his Children ſhould be prevented in the Succeſſion by 'a Son-in-Law; and then, in what a Caſe would the Child 'be? What if his Friends, (as all Men are inconſtant) ſhould 'prefer a preſent Benefit to their future Hopes, and ſo ſide 'with the ſtrongeſt? What can attend an Infant, being now 'thruſt down into the ſecond, and then into the third Place, 'but utter Ruin? As for other things, they had rather leave 'them to her private Thoughts to meditate upon, than to 'make a previous Conjecture, what an angry Woman hav-'ing Power in her Hands, prompted by the imperious Coun-'ſels of her Uncles, having evidenc'd her Cruelty towards 'her Husband, being alſo exaſperated by her Baniſhment, 'would attempt againſt a Child, eſpecially when ſtript of 'all Aid of Nature and Providence, and expoſed as a Sa-'crifice to her Rage? And what Life would his Friends 'lead, by whom ſhe thought ſhe was ſo grievouſly wrong'd? 'Beſides, what would the State of Religion be, when ſhe 'could vent that Rage, which in former times her Fear 'had concealed, eſpecially if an Husband, of known Ar-'rogance, ſhould further excite her innate Cruelty? How 'eaſily might his Friends be deſtroyed, when the young

'King was ſlain; or elſe, how ſoon might the King be 'ſubverted, when he had loſt his Friends? For theſe Rea-'ſons, the Queen could not be aſſumed into a Part of the 'Government, without evident Deſtruction to the King's 'Affairs. Matters ſtanding thus, there was no need to ſpeak 'any thing to the firſt Head of her Demands.

ROBERT PETCARN was ſent to carry this Anſwer into *England*, a Man of no leſs Prudence than Loyalty; and he came to that Court in the very Criſis of time, when the Conſpiracy to kill the Queen, and to ſeize on both Kingdoms, was diſcovered. The Plot was ſo ſtrongly laid, that the Queen of *England* began to be afraid of her ſelf; and after ſhe had ſent *Howard* to the Tower of *London*, ſhe durſt not proceed to puniſh the Queen of *Scots*, but was conſulting to ſend her by Sea, to the Regent of *Scotland*; but when the Storm was a little over, that Deſign flew off.

In the mean time, the Regent ſeeing the Power of the adverſe Faction mightily increaſe, ſends for *William Maitland*, who was a great Incendiary to the Conſpiracy, from *Perth* to *Sterling*; he being conſcious of his Guilt, though he had experienc'd the Regent's Lenity to all his Friends, even in the greateſt Offences, yet made no great haſte to come; till having before ſifted out, by his Friends, if any Deſign was form'd againſt him; he tampered alſo with the Earl of *Athol* to go with him, that, if need were, he might uſe him as his Intercеſſor: As he was ſitting in Council at *Sterling*, *Thomas Crawford*, a Dependant of the Earl of *Lennox*'s, accuſed him of having an Hand in the King's Murder: Whereupon he was commanded to be kept cloſe Priſoner in a Chamber in the Caſtle; whilſt others were ſent to apprehend *James Balfure*, who was abſent. The wiſer ſort would have had them both proceeded againſt according to Law, as having been the Authors of all the Tumults, that had happened for ſome Years; and as they were privy to the Murder of the laſt King, ſo they were Leaders of the Faction againſt the preſent: But the Lenity of the Regent overcame all Conſideration of Publick Good; ſo that it prov'd calamitous to his Country, and fatal to himſelf: *Balfure*, by his Friends Mediation, obtained Pardon for his Conſpiracy, though lately entred into; and *Maitland* was brought to *Edinburgh*, into a Lodging not far from the Caſtle; ſome Horſemen were appointed to guard him, under the Command of *Alexander Hume*, a young and active Nobleman; but *William Kircade*, Governor of the Caſtle, about ten a Clock at Night, brought counterfeit Letters to *Alexander*, (as

(as if they had been the Hand-Writing of the Earl of *Murray*,) which commanded him to deliver *Maitland* into his Cuſtody: He knowing in how great Favour *Kircade* was with *Murray*, readily obeyed, and thus *Maitland* was carried into the Caſtle by the Governor, who, even till then, had privily been of the Enemy's Party; the Nobility were exaſperated at it, and almoſt doubted, whether they ſhould impute ſo great an Offence to *Kircade*, or to the Regent himſelf, as one not ignorant of his Audacity; and the matter had come to a Sedition, if the Sanctity of his whole Life had not outbalanc'd all Imputations of Reproach: 'Tis true, *Kircade* was a valiant Man, and accounted, till that time, a faithful Obſerver of Friendſhip, and as he had received many other Courteſies from the Regent, ſo he had been lately preferr'd by him to the Government of the Caſtle, before his other Friends and Kindred, though the prudenter ſort did, even then, ſuſpect him; but ſuch was the Indulgence of the Regent towards thoſe whom he once lov'd, that he could not be ſevere to them, though taken in the very Act of Offending. *Kircade*, the next Day, was ſent for by the Regent, but refuſed to come; and 'twas an unlucky Opportunity, for then *Howard* and the Queen were daily expected; and thereupon, the Spirits of the adverſe Faction encouraged, ſtrange Reports were commonly ſpread abroad, that the Regent was forſaken by his intimate Friends, in ſuch a doubtful time; and ſo the Caſtle being held againſt him, he was left to his Enemy's Will, others being likely to follow ſo leading an Example very ſhortly; when their Governor was taken away, the innocent King and his Favourers would be delivered up to thoſe Puniſhments, which the cruelleſt Tyrants could deviſe; yet the Regent was not moved by their Speeches, but the next Day went to the Caſtle, and ſpoke to the Governor with an unchang'd Countenance, as if he had been reconciled to him, and ſo returned to the Expedition he had undertaken againſt the Robbers. In his Paſſage through *Merch* he turned aſide, as he was wont familiarly to do, to *Alexander Hume*, the Chief of that Clanſhip; there alſo (*Hume* himſelf being covetous, and having been drawn off by great Promiſes to the contrary Faction) he found no good Reception from *Hume*'s Wife, who being an arrogant Woman, even ridiculed him to his Face; thence he went to *Teviotdale*, coming thither with a ſmall Retinue, and little more than his ordinary Guard, the Thieves admiring his Valour and Conſtancy, in that Solitude of his Friends, having received the Publick Faith for

their return, came in ſuch Numbers to him, that their Multitude equalled, nay ſometimes exceeded thoſe of his Attendants; yet he remitted nothing of his former Greatneſs of Mind, but anſwered them as became the Dignity of the Publick and his own too; and without doubt, he had quieted them without Force, had not ſome of the neighbour Nobility, affected to *Howard*, and now ready to take Arms, hindred his Deſign. His Friends came in to him at the time appointed, and then he march'd into the Territory of the Thieves, though ſome of the Neighbourhood endeavoured to diſſuade him, by telling him of the Difficulty and Danger of the Expedition; he paſt with his Army through *Liddiſdale*, *Ewſdale* and *Eskdale*, and received Hoſtages not only from them, but from thoſe beyond them; only ſome, who, by reaſon of the Greatneſs of their Offences, deſpair'd of Pardon, were outlawed. This Expedition procur'd him not only the Favour of the People for ſettling them in Security, but raiſed their Admiration alſo, that a Man forſaken by his intimate Friends, and extreamly unprovided of Neceſſaries, ſhould accompliſh that in a few Days, which the moſt potent of our Kings, in full Peace, and with great Forces, could hardly effect in a long time.

WHILST theſe things were acting, he was made acquainted, that the *Engliſh* Conſpiracy was detected, *Howard* committed to Priſon, and the *Scots* Queen more ſtrictly guarded than before; and that *Robert Petcarn* had performed his Embaſſy with good Succeſs, and was returned; he inform'd him, that his Proceedings were very acceptable to the Queen of *England*; that he had quieted the Borders; that he had impriſoned the Earl of *Northumberland*, one of the Conſpirators, who was fled into *Scotland*; that he was purſuing all the reſt as Enemies; that he had ſent to the Governor of *Berwick*, to offer him Aſſiſtance freely on all Occaſions. Theſe Courteſies ſhe promiſed to remember, and that ſhe would not be wanting to him in his Dangers, but all the Force of *England* ſhould be at his Service if need were.

ALL the time of this Expedition, the Regent had daily Information brought him by his faithful Friends, of a great Conſpiracy againſt him entred into at home. And in all the Letters the Governor of the Caſtle was ſtill accuſed; whereupon, the Regent's old Courteſies and ancient Acquaintance not being yet quite worn out of his Memory, he wrote to him plainly, and ſent him a Copy of all his Accuſations. He anſwered ſo coldly to the Crimes objected, that

that he became now more ſuſpected than before; He denied, that any Man could ſhew his Subſcription to any Pact, relating to that Conſpiracy.

IN the mean time, the Day for *Maitland*'s Trial drew near; for, after he was carried to the Caſtle, to put a bold Face on a bad Matter, he expreſly deſired to be brought to his Trial; for he was fully perſuaded, that the Power of the Conſpirators was ſo great in *England*, and alſo in *Scotland*, (of whom he was one of the chief) that nothing could be orderly or lawfully determined: For in Trials of Life and Death, there uſed to be great flockings together of Friends and Vaſſals, according to the Faction, Favour or Nobility of the accus'd, as it happen'd alſo at that time. The chief of the Faction againſt the King, *viz.* the Earls of *Hamilton*, *Gordon*, and *Argyle*, gather'd all their Force againſt that Day; hoping, that if the Judgment were diſturb'd by Force, (as 'twas eaſy ſo to do) that they might quietly end the Conflict at one Skirmiſh, as being ſuperior in Number of Men, Opportunity of the Place, and alſo better provided for War. The Regent expected not a Conteſt by Arms, but Law, and had therefore made no Preparation on the other ſide; and thus being unwilling to put things to the utmoſt Hazard before he needs muſt; and alſo, leſt the Majeſty of the Government might be leſſened by contending with his Inferiors, he put off the Day of Trial, and a Day after, about *January* Firſt, having ſent the Earl of *Northumberland* to a Priſon in *Lough-Leven*, went to *Sterling*.

THE adverſe Faction thus again diſappointed, and perceiving the Authority and Power of the Regent to increaſe, and that, beſides his Popularity at home, he was alſo ſupported by the *Engliſh*, being ſtirr'd up, partly by Emulation, partly by the large Promiſes from the Queen of *Scots*, who by Letters inform'd them, that the *French* and *Spaniſh* Forces would be preſently with them, proceeded to accompliſh that which they had long deſign'd, even the cutting off the Regent. As long as he was alive, they knew their Projects could not take effect, and therefore they ſent Meſſengers, through all Countries to the chief of their Faction, to enter into a League to that purpoſe. To this League the *Hamiltons* ſubſcrib'd, and thoſe, who either themſelves or their Children were Priſoners in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*. The Governor himſelf was thought to be privy to it, and that which follow'd increaſed the Suſpicion; *James Hamilton*, Son of the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s Siſter, promiſed his Aſſiſtance, and endeavour'd to find a fit Time and Place

Place to commit the Murder. It happen'd, that at the ſame time ſome Hopes were given to the Regent, that *Dunbarton* would be ſurrendred upon Conditions; whither he went, but returned without Succeſs. *Hamilton* being intent on all Occaſions, his Ambuſhes not ſucceeding well firſt at *Glaſgow*, then at *Sterling*, appoints *Linlithgo* to be the Place fitteſt to execute his Purpoſe, becauſe that Town was in the Clanſhip of the *Hamiltons*, and the Archbiſhop his Uncle had a Houſe there, not far from that where the Regent us'd to lodge; in that Houſe, being prepared for the Murder, he ſecretly hid himſelf. The Regent was made acquainted with the Plot, both before, and even that very Day before it was light; the Diſcoverer for more ſurety added, that the Murderer lay hid in three or four Houſes from his Lodging; that if he would ſend a ſmall Party with him, he would pull him out of his Hole, and ſo diſcover the whole Deſign, and Order of the ſecret Plot; but the Regent would not alter his former Purpoſe; only he deſign'd to go out of the Town through the ſame Gate he came in at, and then turn about and proceed in his Journey; nor did he keep to this Reſolution neither; either becauſe he undervalued ſuch Dangers, as believing his Life to be in God's Hand, to whom he was willing to render it, when 'twas call'd for; or elſe, becauſe the Multitude of Horſe, waiting for him, ſtopt up the way. When he was got on Horſeback, he thought to ride ſwiftly by the ſuſpected Places, and ſo to avoid the Danger; but the Multitude of the People crouding in, hinder'd his Deſign, ſo that the Murderer, out of a wooden Balcony, which he had purpoſely cover'd with Linen, as if 'twere for another Uſe, ſhot him with a Lead-bullet, a little below the Navel, and it came out almoſt by his Reins, and alſo kill'd the Horſe of *James Douglas*, which was beyond him; he himſelf eſcap'd by a back Door or Paſſage of the Garden, which he had pluck'd down on purpoſe; and ſo mounting a ſwift Horſe, ſet on purpoſe to carry him off, after he had committed the Fact, by *James Hamilton*, Abbat of *Aber-Brothwick*, rode to *Hamilton*, with the great Gratulation of thoſe who waited to hear the Event of his audacious Enterprize; when they heard he had effected it, they commended him highly, and rewarded him, as if now the Royalty had been actually tranſlated into their own Family.

In the mean time, at *Linlithgo*, the reſt were ſtartled at the ſuddenneſs of the Noiſe, and the Regent told them he was wounded, and, as if he had not felt it, he leap'd from his

his Horſe, and went on Foot to his Lodging: They who were ſent for to cure the Wound, at firſt ſaid, 'twas not Mortal; but his Pain increaſing, though his Mind was not diſturb'd, he began ſeriouſly to think of Death. Thoſe who were about him, often told him, that this was the Fruit of his own Lenity, in ſparing too many notorious Offenders; and, amongſt the reſt, his own Murderer, who had been condemn'd for Treaſon. To which he return'd a mild Anſwer, according to his Cuſtom, ſaying, *Your Importunity ſhall never make me repent of my Clemency.* Then, having ſettled his domeſtick Affairs, he commended the King to the Nobles there preſent, and without ſpeaking a reproachful Word of any Man, departed this Life before Midnight, about *January* 23d, in the Year of our Lord 1571. His Death was lamented by all good Men, eſpecially by the Commons, who lov'd him alive, and lamented him dead, as the publick Father of his Country; for beſides his many other noble Atchievements, they call'd to mind, that, not a Year before, he had ſo quieted all the troubleſome Parts of the Kingdom, that a Man was as ſafe on the Road, or at his Inn, as in his own Houſe; and Envy dying with him, they who were diſaffected to him when alive, really praiſed him when dead. They admir'd his Valour in War, which yet was always accompanied with a great Deſire of Peace; his Celerity in Buſineſs was always ſo ſucceſsful, that an eſpecial Providence of God ſeem'd to ſhine on all his Actions; beſides, his Clemency was great in moderately Puniſhing, and his Equity as great in his legal Deciſions: When he had any ſpare time from War, he would ſit all Day long in the College of Judges; ſo that his Preſence ſtruck ſuch a Reverence into them, that the *Poor* were not oppreſt by falſe Accuſations, nor tir'd out by long Attendances, ſince their Cauſes were not put off to gratify the *Rich*. His Houſe, like an Holy Temple, was free, not only from Impiety, but even from wanton Words; after Dinner and Supper, he always caus'd a Chapter out of the Holy Bible to be read; and though he had ſtill a learned Man to interpret it; yet if there were any eminent Scholars there, (as frequently there were a great many, and ſuch were ſtill well reſpected by him,) he would ask their Opinions; which he did, not out of a vain Ambition, but a deſire to conform himſelf to its Rules. He was in a manner too liberal; he gave to many, and that very often; and his Alacrity in giving commended the Gift. To a great many, who were modeſt in receiving, he preſented privately with his own Hand.

In

In a Word, he was honeſt and plain hearted to his Friends and Domeſticks; for if any of them did amiſs, he reprov'd them more ſharply than he did Strangers. By theſe his Manners, Deportment, and Innocency of Life, he was dear and venerable, not only to his Countrymen, but even to Foreigners, eſpecially to the *Engliſh*, to whom in all the Viciſſitudes of Providence in his Life, his Virtues were more known, than to any other Nation.

THE

THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

BOOK XX.

ALL that time, which immediately followed the Death of the laſt Regent, although it was free from Blood-ſhed, yet was it embroiled with the various Attempts of the Factions. Before the Murder, the *Hamiltons* in great Numbers had met at *Edinburgh*, under the Pretence of prevailing with the Regent, to releaſe *James Hamilton*, the Head of their Kin or Tribe, who was yet kept Priſoner in the Caſtle: But after the Murder was perpetrated, they ſent ſome from amongſt them, to the reſt of the *Hamiltons*, who were to diſſuade the other Clans, (for ſo they would have made People

People believe) from joining with, or protecting the publick Parricides: But, as very many ſuſpected, it was to bid them be prepared, and ready for all Occaſions. For the next Night after the Murder, *Walter Scot*, and *Thomas Carr* of *Farniheſt*, entring into *England*, ravaged all Places with Fire and Sword; and that, with ſomewhat more Cruelty than was uſed in former Times. Neither was it ſo much the Deſire of Booty, or Revenge, which mov'd them to this unuſual Cruelty, as the Effect of what was long before reſolved by the Biſhop of St. *Andrews*, and the reſt of the Heads of the Faction to incenſe the *Engliſh* againſt the *Scots*: And if they could provoke them no other way to take up Arms, then by Injuries to draw them, tho' unwillingly, into a War. The Governor of the Caſtle, altho' convinced by many Evidences, ſo that all Mens Eyes and Diſcourſe were upon him by way of Reflection, as yet continued in his former counterfeited Loyalty to the King: 'Twas upon his Account, that *William Maitland* was delivered out of Priſon: For when he had, in many Words, pleaded his Innocency before the Council, the Nobles, then preſent, atteſting, that it did not, with any Certainty, appear to them, that he was guilty of thoſe Crimes which were laid to his Charge, (for he was accuſed to have been privy to the King's and Regent's Murders, and alſo to be the Author of the Civil War that was lately raiſed in *England*) he was at laſt diſmiſſed; yet ſo, that the Matter ſeem'd to be deferred till another time, rather than abſolutely to be decided then: He alſo, proteſting his Innocency upon Oath, promiſed to appear whenever the King's Relations would appoint a Day for his Trial. Afterwards, when, upon conſulting about the State of the Kingdom, they had almoſt agreed, that of thoſe, whom the Queen, before ſhe abjured her Government, had nominated Tutors to the King, he that would undertake it, provided he had not afterwards revolted to the adverſe Faction, ſhould have the chief Adminiſtration of Affairs. *Maitland*, now contriving the Diſturbance of Affairs, brought it ſo about, that it ſhould be again ſignified to the abſent Lords, that they might, if they pleaſed, be preſent in the Parliament of the Regent, to be aſſembled at a certain Day, leſt they might afterwards complain, that ſo great an Affair was haſtily huddled up in their Abſence. *Athol*, with a few others, conſented; neither did the reſt refuſe it, that they would take away all Occaſion of Detraction and Calumny from their Adverſaries, rather than that they had any Hopes, that this Delay of the Parliament would bring any Profit to the Publick.

AFTER

AFTER theſe things, *Thomas Randolph*, the *Engliſh* Embaſſador, had Audience; for that Queen, the Regent being yet alive, had ſent her Embaſſadors, to demand thoſe *Engliſh* Exiles, who, after *Howard*'s Conſpiracy was detected, and he puniſhed for Fear of Puniſhment, had eſcaped thither: The Regent giving theſe Embaſſadors Audience at *Sterling*, put them off till his Arrival at *Edinburgh*; and, after his Death, Things being in a great Confuſion, they returned without any Anſwer. But when they convened about choſing a Regent, *Randolph*, (who, for ſome Years, had been in *Scotland*) for that he was thought to be well read in the Affairs, and in the Men of that Kingdom; and that his former Embaſſies had been alſo advantagious to both Nations, was in great Eſteem with all good Men like himſelf. Being introduc'd into the Council, he declar'd, 'How great 'his Queen's Good-will had always been towards the *Scots*: 'That, as ſhe had not formerly been wanting to them in 'their Diſturbances, ſo ſhe would not fail them now. Then 'he rehearſed their Incurſions into *England*, the Slaughters, 'Rapines, and Burnings of late Days committed: Adding, 'that ſhe knew well enough, that none of theſe Things 'were acted by the publick Council; that therefore, at pre-'ſent, her Kindneſs and Friendſhip towards them was the 'ſame it ever was: So that, although ſhe had been in the 'higheſt Manner, and without any Cauſe, provoked; yet 'ſhe did not, as ſhe might juſtly do, repeat Particulars, nor 'publickly require Reparation; nor, for the Fault of a 'few, ſeek Puniſhment of *all*: That indeed ſhe was not ig-'norant, what a great Diſturbance in publick Affairs there 'was of late; yet, ſhe was no wiſe doubtful of the Good-'will of honeſt Men towards her: That, in Favour of 'them, ſhe did not only free the Publick from any Guilt, 'but if, by reaſon of domeſtick Troubles, they could not 'compel the Diſturbers of the Peace to reſettle Things, ſhe 'would join her Forces with theirs, that ſo, by common 'Conſent, they might exact Puniſhment of thoſe Violators 'of Leagues and Truces: But if they were not able to do 'that, then ſhe would revenge their Injuries with her own 'Forces: That her Army ſhould paſs peaceably through the 'Country, without the leaſt Damage to it: That none that 'had not been guilty of the Crimes alledged, ſhould be 'concerned in the Puniſhment.' The remaining Heads of his Embaſſy contained Admonitions, ever profitable in all legal Aſſemblies, but now, as the preſent Poſture of Affairs was very neceſſary, *viz.* 'That they ſhould firſt of 'all, with all Care and Vigilance, have regard to Religion,

'which

'which alone teaches us our Duty, both towards God, and 'Man: That ſeeing no Common-wealth at Diſcord with-'in itſelf can long ſubſiſt, they ſhould bend their chiefeſt 'Endeavours, and ſtrive, with their utmoſt Force, that at 'home, *among Fellow-Subjects and Countrymen*, Peace and 'Concord might be religiouſly obſerved; and ſeeing God, 'the Framer of the Univerſe, had indulged them with a 'kingly Government, it was juſt for them to honour and 'obey their Kings, and to yield all Obſervance and Obe-'dience to them: That Peace, Concord, and Friendſhip 'with all Men, as much as poſſible, are moſt acceptable to 'God, and quench, or, at leaſt, leſſen the Thirſt of ſhedding 'human Blood, (which Wickedneſs God eſpecially deteſts): 'That they increaſe the Riches of all in general, and ren-'der a People more formidable to their Enemies: That 'Juſtice is the Preſerver of the publick Safety, of which 'the chief Part now to be made uſe of is, the Puniſhment 'of Offenders: And ſince Treaſon is moſt hateful to every 'lawful Government, its Abettors, to what Part of the 'Earth ſoever they retreated, ſhould have neither Mercy, 'Favour, nor Indulgence ſhewed them.' Thus far *Randolph*, whoſe Advice ſeemed both pious, wholſome, and reaſonable. But, becauſe none was yet choſen Regent, he could not have any certain Anſwer, and therefore was put off till the firſt of *May*. At laſt, *William* and *Robert Douglas*, Brothers, by the Mother's ſide, to the late murder'd Regent, petition'd, that the villainous Death of their Brother, ſuffer'd upon no private, but the Common-wealth's Account, ſhould be revenged. Herein, the Opinions were various, although all agreed, that the Murderers were to be puniſhed: Some thought fit, that a Day ſhould be appointed for thoſe ſuſpected of the Murder to appear, (and many of their Names were given in): Others were of Opinion, that Court-Days were not to be waited for againſt thoſe, who were now in Arms, to maintain, by Force, that Fact which they had impiouſly committed: And that it was fit, not only to take up Arms forthwith againſt them, but likewiſe againſt all thoſe, who were ſentenced by the laſt Parliament. To this Opinion, the Knights of the Shires were moſt inclined, yet they could not obtain their Deſires, through the Diſſuaſion chiefly of *Athol*, who ſaid, they ought to expect a more numerous Aſſembly of the Nobility; and of *Morton*, who thought, that ſhould they join more Crimes together, the Revenge of the Regent's Death would miſcarry, and a Civil War break out; becauſe all thoſe, who dreaded the Peace, would join with the Murderers. That

therefore

therefore their Crimes ſhould be ſeparated, and Affairs, if poſſible, by Law tranſacted, and nothing innovated before the firſt of *May* (which was the Day appointed for their Meeting). And ſo that Seſſion was diſſolved; moſt part of the People condemning this Delay of the Nobility, becauſe (*ſaid they*) all things are acted, as the King's Enemies pleaſe, who had occaſion'd theſe Delays on purpoſe, that, in Proceſs of Time, the *Odium* of the Murder might diminiſh, and the oppoſite Faction, in the mean while, gain Strength. This Opinion of the People was confirmed, not only by ſome preceding Accidents, but alſo by very many which followed: For preſently, when the Regent's Murder was yet hardly divulged, *James Hamilton*, upon a Mortgage of his Lands, procures Money of *John Somerval* of *Camnethen*, which, together with another Sum, borrowed of his Friends, he ſent to his Accomplices to hire Troops, having warned them before, to be ready for all Attempts, becauſe of the ſudden Alteration which had happen'd, upon their having rid themſelves of their capital Enemy. And after that, the Queen's Party ceaſed not to have Meetings in many and diſtant Places. About the 15th of *February*, almoſt all the Chiefs of the rebellious Faction met together at *Glaſgow*; whence *Argyle* and *Boyd* wrote to *Morton*, that they, becauſe, as yet, they knew not who were the Actors in, or privy to the Regent's Murder, would willingly communicate their Counſel with the reſt of the Nobility, as well for its Diſcovery as Puniſhment, but that they would not come to *Edinburgh*; but if the King's Party would be perſuaded to meet them at *Linlithgo*, at *Falkirk*, or at *Sterling*, they would, without Delay, come thither. This being communicated to *Maitland* by *Morton*, (for ſo the Letter deſired) came to nothing. About the ſame time, *Thomas Car* wrote to his Father-in-Law, the Governor of the Caſtle, from *Linlithgo*, that, if the Queen of *England* would be prevailed withal, to lay by her Reſentment of the late Incurſions, he would endeavour, that, for the future, the Borders ſhould be quieted, and kept in due Order; but, if ſhe ſhould refuſe theſe Offers, he would continue in the Deſign he had begun; not doubting, but that his honeſt Countrymen, who yet retained their Loyalty to their Queen, would join with him, and that the *French* Auxiliaries would likewiſe ſpeedily arrive.

ABOUT the 3d of *March* the *Hamiltons*, with *Argyle* and *Boyd*, met at *Linlithgo*; but the killing of one common Soldier begetting a Tumult, diſturbed all their Counſels; which made the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews* take home the

Hamiltons along with him. The reſt of the Rebels, eſpecially *Huntly*, *Athol*, *Crawford*, *Ogilby*; as alſo, thoſe on this ſide *Forth*, *Hume*, *Seton* and *Maitland*, met at *Edinburgh*, where *Morton* was, accompanied but with a few, till the Earls of *Glencairn* and *Mar*, with their Followers, came to him. About the 4th of *March*, the Heads of the Factions met to conſult about the main Affair, but this Conſultation went but ſlowly on, by reaſon of *Argyle*'s Abſence, whoſe Power and Authority was then very great. *Huntly* goes to him, undertaking to perſuade him to join with the reſt of the Faction, but returns without Succeſs, by the Treachery of *Maitland*, (as moſt Men thought) who deſired to drill on Affairs, that, amidſt the Confuſions of the Kingdom, he might have the fitter Opportunity for Innovations. *Argyle* alſo, in all his Undertakings, had another Impediment, which hindred, that his Power was not now ſo great, as it was found to be formerly, which was, that though he himſelf was a moſt eager Favourer of the Queen's Cauſe, yet neither his Friends and Dependents, nor his very Brother, could be prevailed with to follow him againſt the King. The enſuing Night, a ſudden Terror, without any apparent Cauſe, ſo ſeized upon all the Factious, that they watch'd in their Armour till it was Day-light; and, in the Morning, as fearfully retired from *Edinburgh*. All the time of this Convention, the chief Thing controverted, was, by what Authority the *Scots* might, at that time, chooſe a Regent? Some, according to the Queen's Letters Patents, by which ſhe had deſigned eight of the Nobility, that, out of them, one or more, as ſhould be thought fit, might be nominated as Tutors to her Son, would have *one* of that Number placed at the Helm. Others were of Opinion, that thoſe Letters were now uſeleſs, ſince a Regent was already choſen, according to their Appointment; and that all Thoughts of them ſhould be laid aſide, as being not made to be always in Force, but for that one Juncture of Time only. Some there were, who would have the whole Affair deferred, till the general Convention of the Nobility, but theſe were chiefly of *Maitland*'s Faction, who expected, that a great Diſtraction in Affairs would follow, which, in a great Multitude, without a Governor, is eaſily rais'd, but not ſo eaſily laid. The third Opinion condemned both theſe: The firſt, becauſe now there ought leſs Account to be made of the Queen's Letters-Patent, ſince (if the Matter of Law were conſidered) they were, from their beginning, of little or no Force: The other, for that a Prorogation would both draw much Danger along with it, as alſo a greater Delay than

the preſent Condition of Affairs could well permit; and therefore they would have all thoſe to meet, who, at firſt, had adviſed the King to enter upon the Government, and had conſtantly adhered to him ever ſince: Theſe, according to the Senſe of this Party, were to take the beſt Care they could for the publick Welfare, and ſpeedily appoint ſuch a Regent, who was both able and willing to provide for the Safety both of King and Kingdom. But this Opinion was alſo rejected, and thus before any thing was concluded upon, the Convention broke up.

So many Meetings having been tried in vain, the Rebels again return to the old Seminary of the *Engliſh* War, thereby to draw the Populace to their Faction; and ſend out the ſame Officers of the Freebooters, as they called them, who were ſent before, who left nothing of Cruelty uncommitted, even to the utmoſt Extremity. And, in the mean time, the Heads of their Faction beſpatter the Queen of *England*, with all manner of Reproaches: And they maliciouſly accuſe the *Scotiſh* Nobles, as Penſioners to the *Engliſh*, commonly giving out, in a way of Threatning, that, if their Adverſaries called in the *Engliſh* to their Aid, they would have Recourſe to the *French* and *Spaniards*. About this time, Mr. *Le Verac*, of the King of *France*'s Bed-Chamber, came from *France* to *Dumbritton*, who, with his large Promiſes, ſomewhat elevated their Spirits. Hereupon, the *Hamiltons* appointed a Meeting of their People, to be held the 9th of *April*, at *Linlithgo*; where, when the Queen's Faction was gathered together in great Numbers, they began openly to treat of that, which they had long before meditated in their private Cabals, *viz.* that, if a War againſt the *Engliſh* could be made, private Injuries and Actions, either about the King's or Regent's Murder, in that univerſal Diſturbance of Affairs, would thereby either grow out of Remembrance, or, at leaſt, the Reſentment of them much abate. Theſe Things having been tranſacted at *Linlithgo*, by the Aſſociates of the Conſpiracy only, who having not yet plainly unmasked their Intentions, that they might have more ſhew of Authority, determine to meet at *Edinburgh*, on the 11th of *April*, and might thereby, beſides the other Conveniencies which the Place would afford them, draw the Citizens, of whom they always made great Account either way, to their Party. This ſeemed no hard Matter, ſince they had already gained *William Kircade*, the Governor both of the City and Caſtle to their Side: But, becauſe they underſtood, that Watch and Ward was kept there, and that the common People were more inclined to their Adverſa-

ries, they thought fit to ſend to the Citizens, firſt, to know whether it was their Pleaſure they ſhould meet there? The Citizens Anſwer was, that they would exclude no Perſon, that was deſirous of the publick Peace, and obedient to the King; but that they would admit neither the *Engliſh* Exiles, nor the *Hamiltons*, into their City, leſt they ſhould either highly diſpleaſe the Queen of *England*, in whoſe Kingdom they had great Traffick, or ſeem to join in Counſel with thoſe that were guilty of that horrid Murder; neither would they endure the Propoſal of any new Edicts, which might tend to the leſſening of the Regal Authority; or, that their Soldiery ſhould be forc'd (as the Cuſtom was) to run to their Arms by Sound of Drum. Upon theſe Conditions, how hard ſoever they ſeemed, they notwithſtanding came into the City, in Hopes, by degrees, to gain upon the unwary Multitude, and by ſoothing them with fair Speeches, at laſt, to win them all over to them; but, for all this, they could not prevail with the Citizens to deliver up their Keys, or to ceaſe their uſual Watch, though *Kircade*, Governor of the Caſtle and City, join'd his utmoſt Endeavours with them ſo to do.

ALL that time, they viſited *Maitland* (who, if he did not diſſemble deeply, was troubled with the Gout) every Day, and in ſuch Numbers, that his Houſe was commonly called a School, and he a Schoolmaſter: *Athol*, mean while, inceſſantly paſſed from one Place to another, that he might draw thoſe of the contrary Faction to this Meeting at *Edinburgh*; but they all unanimouſly refuſed to come before *May* 1. (which was the Day generally agreed on by all) unleſs they were ſatisfied of the Neceſſity of coming before; if any thing of Moment had happen'd, which would admit of no Delay, they would have them acquaint the Earl of *Morton* with it, who was at his Houſe but four Miles off, and he would tell the reſt of it. *Athol*, at laſt, appoints a Day, on which ſome of either Faction ſhould meet at *Morton*-Hall, which is in *Dalkeith*; but this Place did not pleaſe the Queen's Faction, not that they dreaded any Treachery, but out of a Conceit, that it would be an undervaluing to their Authority, if they ſhould come to *Morton*, rather than he come to them. For which Reaſon, after many Attempts, and finding nothing proceeded to their Satisfaction, they were forc'd to break up the Meeting; for being deſirous to rid the City of their Adverſaries, and ſeeing they could not prevail with the Citizens to join with them; in order to it, they reſolved to call in a greater Number of their Friends who lived neareſt to them, that,

in Spite of the Inhabitants, they might get all Things into their own Power. The Governor of the Caſtle facilitated this very much, who ſet at Liberty thoſe Perſons whom he had in Cuſtody, (and they were almoſt all the Heads of the Queen's Faction). But a ſudden Rumour, that the *Engliſh* Army was come to *Berwick*, ſtartled all their Reſolutions: *Alexander Hume*, and *John Maxwel*, lately let out of Priſon, without any publick Authority, betook themſelves to their own Homes, to look to their domeſtick Affairs: And *Hume* had part of the Money (gathered for raiſing of Soldiers) given him, to fortify his own Caſtle, *Hume*. *Thomas Car*, and *Walter Scot*, who, by the Inſtigation chiefly of the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, had made Incurſions into *England*, foreſeeing, that, from this beginning, a War would be kindled between the two Kingdoms, being deſerted by their Neighbours, and doubtful of their own Strength, ſend to the Heads of their Faction for Aid; or, if that could not be done, that, at leaſt, they would come as far as *Lauder*, (a neighbouring Town) and from thence make a Shew of War. When therefore they could neither obtain their Requeſt in this, nor yet the leaſt Portion of their common Stock for the publick Advantage; and, being highly incenſed to be thus betrayed and forſaken by thoſe very Men that had put them upon the War, every one of them betakes himſelf to take care for his own Saftey, their Hopes, for the time to come, being all blaſted: Thus ſo many croſs Accidents unexpectedly falling out at one and the ſame time, entirely diſturbed all their Plots and Machinations; but the ſudden Approach of the *Engliſh* Army was what moſt ſurprized them; and therefore, to ſee if they could put a Stop to it, they make uſe of two Embaſſies into *England*; one to *Thomas*, Earl of *Suſſex*, to deſire a Truce, till ſuch time as they had laid open the State of their Affairs to the Queen of *England*: The other Embaſſador carried Letters to the Queen, containing many things, as well for their own Cauſe, as againſt the King's Faction; eſpecially, by making their Boaſts of greater Forces than they had in Reality, and vilifying thoſe of their Adverſaries, thereby covertly threatning the *Engliſh* with a War: For *Maitland* had made them believe, that that Queen, a Woman naturally timorous, would do any thing rather than be brought to a War, at a Time, when both the *French* and *Spaniard* were, for many Reaſons, at Enmity with her, and her own Affairs at home were ſcarce ſettled: The Rebels deſired, that, by the *Engliſh* Queen's Arbitrement, all the Ordinances of the laſt two Years ſhould be called in, although many amongſt them had

ſubſcribed them; and that all things being, as it were, acted *de novo*, a new Ordinance ſhould, by a general Conſent, be made: And that they might better ſet forth the Power of their Faction, their Letter had all the great Mens Names, that were of their Party, ſubſcribed to it; and for the greater Oſtentation of their Multitude, they ſet to it the Names of many as well of the adverſe Faction, as of thoſe that were Neuters; in Hopes, that the *Engliſh* (by reaſon of the great Diſtance, and their Ignorance of Things done ſo far off; and that their Letters to the Queen would be expoſed to the View but of few Perſons) would hardly be able to detect their Fraud.

ABOUT that time an Accident happened, as they thought, very advantagious to their Affairs, as hoping, that it would both make the *Engliſh* leſs forward, and at the ſame time terrify the *Scotch* Populace, *viz.* the Arrival of a certain *Frenchman*, however of a mean Condition, who as being *Lanſack*'s menial Servant, was for his Maſter's ſake entertained at that Court. This Man brought a great many Letters all of the ſame Purport from the *French* King, not only to the Heads of the Queen's Faction, but likewiſe to many who had not declared themſelves for either Faction, in which great Thanks were given to every one of them, for their having hitherto taken the Queen's Part; the King deſiring them conſtantly to perſiſt in ſo doing, and he would ſend them Aſſiſtance, even greater than they had deſired of him, as ſoon as ever he could do it with Conveniency. He alſo that brought the Letters adds, as from himſelf, *That all things were now quiet in* France, Jaſper Colligny *and the other Rebels being reduced to ſuch Terms, as to promiſe to leave* France, *leſt their Preſence ſhould be a hindrance to the Publick Peace: And that he doubted not, but the Soldiers which were to be ſent to aſſiſt them, would all be raiſed before his Return.* The wiſer ſort, although they knew that theſe things were for the moſt part nothing but vain Reports, yet permitted the common ſort to be deluded by them. When therefore the Minds of many People became by theſe Means to be raiſed up, their Joy was leſſened by the unſucceſsful return of their Embaſſadors: For *Suſſex* cou'd not by any Conditions they could offer him, be induced to think it to be for the *Engliſh* Intereſt, either to maintain an Army only to idle their time away in Truces, or wholly to deſiſt from War. And the Queen having after Peruſal, cauſed their Letter to be ſealed up again, and ſent back to the King's Party in *Scotland*; which was done, that the Expectation of an Anſwer from her ſhould cauſe

Delay

Delay in Affairs, and thereby their Fraud be eaſily found out. And for as much as their Letter contained nothing but vain boaſting, and that the *Engliſh* were not ignorant of any thing that had been tranſacted in *Scotland*, their Embaſſadors, with very ſevere Reproaches, were forced to return. Being thus diſappointed and frightned by the ſo ſudden drawing near of the *Engliſh* Army to their very Borders, and thoſe who were to have aſſiſted them, being gone to defend their own Homes; having alſo ſmall Confidence in the Citizens, and knowing that their Enemies would come to *Edinburgh* on the firſt of *May*: They therefore retired from thence, and went to *Linlithgo*, thinking that Place to be very commodious for the ſending for thoſe of their Party from the moſt diſtant Places of the Kingdom; as alſo for the hindring the Journies of the others that were going to the Aſſembly; and for bringing about of thoſe other things, which were lately diſcuſſed at their Conſultations. From this Place the *Hamiltons*, with their Friends and Vaſſals, made the whole Road leading to *Edinburgh*, very unſafe for Paſſengers; and knowing that *John Erskin*, Earl of *Mar*, was to come that way, they placed themſelves on the neighbouring Hills to hinder his Journey; but he knowing how the Way was beſet, paſſed the River about two Miles above; and ſo on *April* 29th in the Evening came ſafe to *Edinburgh*. After that Day, the King's Party kept at *Edinburgh*, and the Queen's at *Linlithgo*, mutually charging one another, as the Cauſes and Riſe of theſe Civil Combuſtions. But thoſe at *Edinburgh* informed their Oppoſites, that they were willing to come to an eaſy Agreement upon other Heads, as that if they had done any one any Wrong, they would give him juſt Satisfaction, as indifferent Arbitrators ſhould award; provided always, that this King's Authority might be ſecured, and that both Parties might join to revenge the Murder of the laſt King, and of the Regent. To this Propoſal, they at *Linlithgo* gave no ſatisfactory Anſwer, but inſtead thereof made an Edict, that all Subjects ſhould obey the Queen's Commiſſioners; and the three Earls of *Arran*, *Argyle* and *Huntly*, indicted an Aſſembly to be held at *Linlithgo Auguſt* the third. Whereupon the other Party ſent *Robert Petcarn* their Embaſſador to the Queen of *England*, to treat with her about ſuppreſſing the common Enemy; and to ſhew how well-affected the *Scots* ſtood towards her, he was to inform her, that they would chuſe ſuch a Regent, as ſhe ſhould pleaſe to recommend or approve.

THUS, whilſt each Party was croſſing one another's Deſign, the *Engliſh* enter *Teviotdale*, and ſpoil the Towns and Villages belonging to the Families of the *Cars* and of the *Scots*, (who had violated the Peace, by making Excurſions into *England*, and giving Harbour to ſuch *Engliſh* Fugitives as fled to them for Shelter) waſting and burning their Country. The Earl of *Suſſex*, their General, beſieged *Hume* Caſtle, where the Owner of it had laid up much Proviſion, and all the Neighbourhood had brought in their beſt Goods to that Fort, as into a Place of Safety. It was valiantly defended by the Garriſon within, and the *Engliſh*, the next Day after, were about to raiſe the Siege; when Letters were brought to the Garriſon-Soldiers, written a while before by *Alexander*, Owner of the Caſtle, which diſturbed all their Meaſures. For by theſe Letters he commanded them to obey the Orders of *William Drury* an *Engliſh* Knight, and to do what he commanded them, without any Diſpute. *Drury* acquainted *Suſſex* herewith, whereupon the Caſtle was ſurrendred and plundered, and *Suſſex* placing in it a Garriſon of *Engliſh*, with a great Booty, returned to *Berwick*. Thus *Hume*, who was ſo far from being afraid of the *Engliſh*, that rather he thought them his very Friends, as knowing that *Drury* and *Suſſex* both did ſecretly favour *Howard*'s Affairs, almoſt ruined himſelf by his own Credulity; for at laſt being forſaken of all his Friends and Relations, who were moſtly Royaliſts, he came with one or two in his Company to *Edinburgh*, and ſhut up himſelf, as a Recluſe, in the Caſtle there.

ON the other ſide of the Borders, *Scroop* an *Engliſh* Commander entred *Annandale*, and ranſack'd the Lands of one *Johnſton*, (who alſo had made Incurſions into *England*) but *Johnſton* himſelf with a few of his Companions, being well acquainted with the Paſſes of the Country, made a Shift to eſcape from the Horſe that purſued him. *John Maxwel*, who had gathered together three thouſand Men out of the Neighbourhood, yet durſt not adventure to come in to his Aid, but only ſtood upon his own Guard. A while after, the *Engliſh* that were at *Berwick* having received Hoſtages, and thinking that Matters would have been carried with Fidelity towards them, ſent in three hundred Horſe, and one thouſand Foot, under the Command of *Drury*, againſt the common Enemy. Upon the Rumour of their March, the *Hamiltonians* went to *Glaſgow*, reſolving to demoliſh the Caſtle of the Archbiſhop there, that it might not be a Receptacle to the Earl of *Lenox*, then returned out of *England*, and that Country be made the Seat of War. They knew

that

that it was kept but by a few raw Soldiers, that the Governor was abſent, and that it was unprovided of Neceſſaries, ſo that they thought to ſurprize it by their ſudden Approach; for they flew into the Town in ſuch haſte, that they ſhut out a good part of the Garriſon-Soldiers from entring the Caſtle; but being diſappointed of their Hopes, they began to batter and ſtorm it with the utmoſt Violence, and were as valiantly repulſed, for the Garriſon-Soldiers (which were but twenty four) did ſo warmly receive them for ſeveral Days, that they killed more of the Aſſailants, than they themſelves were; and the reſt they beat off, very much wounded: Of their own, they loſt but one Man, and none of the reſt received ſo much as a Wound. But the *Hamiltonians* hearing that the *Engliſh* were already at *Edinburgh*, and that *John Erskin* was come to *Sterling*, with a Deſign ſpeedily to relieve the Caſtle, though they had received ſome additional Force, even from the remote Parts of the Kingdom; yet toward Evening they raiſed their Siege, and in great fear pack'd away: *Hamilton* and *Argyle* himſelf poſted into *Argyle*'s Country: *Huntly* went home, over the almoſt impaſſable Mountains; the reſt ſhifted for themſelves, and ran ſeveral ways to ſave their Lives.

BUT the *Engliſh*, two Days after they came to *Edinburgh*, went to *Glaſgow*, and in their Paſſage through *Clydſdale*, waſted all the Lands of the *Hamiltons*, and any others that had conſented to the Death of the Regent; as alſo of thoſe who had harbour'd the *Engliſh* Fugitives, and carried away a very great Booty, making Havock in all the Country; when the Engines to beat down the Caſtle, that was ſituated near a Village called *Hamilton*, were bringing to *Sterling*. *Drury*, who privately favoured the *Engliſh* Rebels, had almoſt rendred the whole Expedition fruitleſs; for he was ſo far from quieting the *Engliſh* who mutinied, becauſe their Pay was not paid them at the Day; (whereupon they threatned immediately to lay down their Arms) that 'twas thought by many, he himſelf was the Author of the Mutiny: But the Soldiers were appeaſed, upon the receiving their Pay down upon the Nail; and the great Guns being planted, and playing againſt it, the Caſtle was ſurrendred in a few Hours. Amongſt the Booty, ſome there were that knew the Apparel, and other Houſhold-ſtuff of King *James* the Fifth; that the Owner of the Caſtle, when he reſign'd up his Regency, had ſo ſolemnly ſworn he had none of. The Caſtle was left half demoliſh'd; and the Town, together with the ſtately Manſion of the *Hamiltons*, the wild common

common Soldiers burnt to the Ground, againſt the Will of their Commanders. Upon which the Army march'd back, the *Engliſh* to *Berwick*, and the *Scots* each to their own home; *Drury* interceded for the Garriſon, that they ſhould march away in Safety, who being diſmiſs'd, took *Robert Semple* Priſoner, the chief of his Family, out of the Houſe of his Son-in-Law, who was quietly returning home, as if the Service had been ended; which Paſſage greatly increas'd the Suſpicion on *Drury*.

THESE Matters were ſcarce finiſh'd, before *Petcarn* return'd from his Embaſſy out of *England*, and brought this Anſwer, *That the Queen wonder'd, they never made her acquainted with the State of their Affairs till now, four Months after the Death of the Regent; and by reaſon of this Delay, ſhe was uncertain in her Hopes concerning them; in the mean time, that ſhe had been often ſolicited by the Importunity of the* French *and* Spaniſh *Embaſſadors in the Name of their Kings, and that ſhe was even tired out with the daily Complaints of the* Scots *Queen, that ſhe had promis'd them Audience, but upon Condition, that the Queen of* Scots *ſhould write to her Party for a Ceſſation of Arms, till the Conference was ended; that thoſe Innovations which they had attempted by their publick Edicts, they ſhould revoke by other Edicts contrary to the former, and ſo ſuffer things to ſtand as they were, when the Regent was murdered; that the* Engliſh *Exiles ſhould be given up without Fraud; and if upon the Conference, Matters were accommodated between them, Hoſtages and other Pledges ſhould be given on both ſides, for the faithful Performance of Agreements. Upon theſe Conditions a Conference was promiſed, and having oblig'd her ſelf in ſuch Circumſtances, ſhe could not join with them in their Deſign in making a new Regent, leſt ſhe might ſeem to condemn their Queen without hearing her; but in general ſhe ſaid, that ſhe had a great Affection for them, and their Welfare. In the mean time, ſhe deſir'd, that they would abſtain from Arms, and from making a Regent, and ſhe would take care, that ſuch a ſmall Delay ſhould be no Damage to them.* This Anſwer being reported to the *Scots*, did variouſly affect them. On the one hand, the Neceſſity of the Time requir'd them to ſteer their Counſels, ſo as they might be pleaſing to the Queen of *England*; and on the other, they knew of what Concernment it was to the Publick, that one chief Magiſtrate ſhould be ſet up, to whom all Complaints might be made; and for want of creating one ſome Months already paſt, the Enemy had improv'd the Delay to gather Forces, to make new Courts of Juſtice, daily to ſet forth new Edicts, and

to

to uſurp all the Offices of a King. On the other ſide, the Royaliſts were dejected, and a Multitude, without one certain Perſon whom to obey, could not be long kept in Obedience. After the Embaſſador's Return, News came, that there was a new Inſurrection in *England*, and that, in *London*, the Pope's Bull was faſtned on the Church Doors to exhort the *Engliſh*, partly to caſt off the unjuſt Yoke of the Queen's Government, and partly to return to the *Popiſh* Religion; and it was thought, that the Hand of the Queen of *Scots* was in all this.

THESE things, though kept private, yet came to be known by Letters from the Earl of *Suſſex*; and alſo, the ſame *Thomas Randolph* had, in Preſence, confirm'd it, yet they could hardly be reſtrain'd from chuſing a Regent. But, at laſt, a middle Way prevail'd, that they might have an Appearance of a chief Magiſtrate, to ſet ſet up an inferior Regent, or Deputy-Governor, to continue till the 12th of *July*, in which time, they might be farther inform'd of the Queen of *England*'s Mind; they judg'd, that ſhe was not averſe from their Undertaking, eſpecially upon this Ground, that ſhe had put it into the Articles of Capitulation, that the Rebels ſhould give up all the exil'd *Engliſh*: If that were done, they might eaſily underſtand, that the Spirits of all the *Papiſts* about *England* were alienated from the Queen of *Scots*: If it were denied, then the Conference, or Treaty would break off, and the Suſpicions, which made the Commonalty averſe, would daily increaſe. For they ſaw, that other things would not eaſily be agreed upon, when a greater Danger was imminent over the *Engliſh* than the *Scots*, upon the Deliverance of their Queen; and, if other things were accorded, yet the Queen of *England* would never let her go, without giving Hoſtages; neither was ſhe able to give any ſuch, who could make a ſufficient Warranty. Theſe Conſiderations gave them ſome Encouragement, ſo that they proceeded to create *Matthew Stuart*, Earl of *Lenox*, the King's Grandfather, to be Vicegerent for the time.

WHILST this new Vice-Roy, by the Advice of his Council, was buſied in rectifying Things, which had been diſorder'd in the late Tumults; Letters came opportunely from the Queen of *England*, *July* the 10th, wherein ſhe ſpake much of her Affection to the King and Kingdom of *Scotland*, and freely offer'd them her Aſſiſtance; withal, ſhe earneſtly deſired them to abſtain from naming of a Regent, which was a Title invidious of it ſelf, and of no good Example to them; only, if they ask'd her Advice, ſhe thought none was to be preferr'd to that high Office before the King's Grandfather;

Grandfather; none being of greater Fidelity to the King, yet a Minor; and who now for the ſame Reaſons was made Deputy-Governor of the Kingdom. Theſe Letters incourag'd them, by the joint Suffrages of all the Eſtates, of a Vice-Roy, to make him Regent. As ſoon as ever he was created Regent, and had taken an Oath (according to Cuſtom) to obſerve the Laws and Cuſtoms of his Country: Firſt of all he commanded, that all which were able to bear Arms, ſhould appear at *Linlithgo*, *Auguſt* the 2d, to hinder the Convention, which the Seditious had there indicted in the Name of the Queen; then he himſelf ſummon'd a Parliament in the Name of the King, to be held the 10th Day of *October*; he alſo ſent to the Governor of the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, (who, as yet, pretended great Friendſhip to the King's Party, tho' his Words and Actions did very much diſagree) to ſend him ſome Braſs-Cannon, Carriages, and other Things for the managing them: This he did, rather to try them, than in Hopes to obtain his Deſires. He promis'd very fair at firſt, but when the Day was coming on, that the Parliament was to meet, when he was deſir'd to perform his Promiſe, he peremptorily refus'd, alledging, that his Service ſhould be always ready to make up an Agreement between, but not to ſhed the Blood of, his Countrymen. Nevertheleſs, the Regent came, at the Day appointed, to *Linlithgo*, with five thouſand arm'd Men in his Company; but hearing, that the Enemy did not ſtir, only that *Huntly* had placed one hundred and ſixty Soldiers at *Brechin*, and had ſent out an Order, commanding the Inhabitants to get in Proviſion for ſome thouſands of Men by the 2d of *Auguſt*: The Garriſon, there plac'd by him, not only robbed the Inhabitants, but all Travellers, when they were wearied with their Journey. Upon which, the Regent, by the Advice of his Council, reſolv'd to march thither, and to ſeize on the Place, which would be of great Advantage to him, before *Huntly*'s coming; and, if Occaſion offer'd, there to fight him, before his Partners came up with their Force, and ſo to defeat that Party of Muſqueteers, which was all he had; and, by that means, might take ſome of the Leaders of the Faction, as the Earl of *Crawford*, *James Ogilby*, and *James Balfure*, who, he heard, were there. Purſuant to this, he commanded *Patrick Lindſey* and *William Ruven*, chief Officers, and *James Haliburton*, Governor of *Dundee*, to take what Soldiers they could raiſe at *Dundee*, and St. *Johnſtons*, and to make haſte thither to prevent the News of their coming: They made all the Speed that ever they were able; the next Night horſing their Foot

for

for greater Expedition; however, as they drew near the Place, they march'd ſlowly, to get ſome Refreſhment, before they charg'd the Enemy; ſo that the Alarm was taken at *Brechin*, that the Enemy was a coming: Upon which, *Ogilby* and *Balfure*, who chanc'd to be there, got the Soldiers preſently together; and incouraging them as well as they could for the time, they told them, that they and *Huntly* would return again in three Days; and ſo they got on Horſeback, and haſted away over the Mountains: The Soldiers, that were left, catch'd up what was next at hand, and about twenty of them got to the Tower of a neighbouring Church: The reſt fled into the Houſe of the Earl of *Mar*, which was ſeated on a Hill near to it, it was like a Caſtle, and commanded the Town. *James Douglas*, Earl of *Morton*, with eight hundred Horſe, went a farther March about, and came not in till the Day after: The Regent ſent home the *Lennoxians* and the *Renfroans*, to guard their own Country, if *Argyle* ſhould attempt any thing againſt it; but he himſelf, in three Days, overtook thoſe whom he had ſent before to *Brechin*. At the Noiſe of his coming, the neighbour Nobility came in, ſo that now he muſter'd ſeven thouſand effective Men; whereupon they who were in the Church-Tower preſently ſurrendred themſelves. The reſt having ſtoutly defended themſelves for a few Days, killing and wounding ſome, who were unwary in their Approaches; at laſt hearing, that Braſs-Cannon were planted againſt them, and that *Huntly* had forſaken them, ſurrendred alſo at Mercy to the Regent. He hang'd up thirty of the moſt obſtinate, many of them having been taken and releas'd before; the reſt being very feeble he diſmiſt. *Huntly* was then about twenty Miles off, endeavouring to gather more Force, but in vain; (for moſt Men, when they had free Liberty to declare themſelves, abhorred ſo bad a Cauſe): Upon which he was forc'd, thro' Fear, to provide for his own Safety, and with a ſmall Party retired into the remote Countries.

AFTER this the Regent return'd to *Edinburgh*, to be preſent at the Parliament there ſummon'd; and, by their Advice, to ſettle the preſent Diſturbances. The Rebels perceiving, that, by the Agreement of all the Eſtates, there was no Hope left them; eſpecially they who were guilty of the King's Murder, and of the Death of the Regent, dealt with the Queen of *England*, that, becauſe ſhe had promis'd the *French* and *Spaniſh* Embaſſadors, that ſhe would hear both Parties, and compoſe Things, if ſhe could, that therefore no new Decree ſhould be made in the mean time. This Delay being obtain'd, (for nothing was done in that Aſſembly,

bly, only the Election of the Regent was confirm'd) the Rebels never ceas'd to ſolicit the *French* and *Spaniard* to ſend Forces into *Britain*, to reſtore the Queen; and becauſe they affirmed, that the Reſtitution of the Pope's, or the old Religion, depended on her, therefore they had Recourſe alſo to the Pope, that, tho' he were far remote, yet he might help them with Money. Whereupon he ſent an Agent into *Scotland*, to enquire into the preſent State of Things there, who giving an Account, that the *Popiſh* Party there was very weak; and that all the Rebels were not unanimous in the reſtoring of Popery, he refus'd to intermeddle with it; but, in the mean time, he endeavour'd to raiſe up ſome Commotion in *England*, by his Execrations and Curſes hung upon Church-Doors by Night, by his Indulgences, and by his Promiſe of Indemnity for what was paſt; for there, he thought, his Faction was the ſtrongeſt. The Regent, having appointed the Parliament to be held the 25th of *January*, (for within that Time he hoped to ſatisfy all foreign Embaſſadors) to compoſe Things legally and judicially, as well as he could, return'd to *Edinburgh*. The Rebels, having renew'd the Truce, by means of the Queen of *England*, till the Embaſſadors of both Parties had been heard before her; yet, contrary to the Peace deſir'd by themſelves, were very buſy to attempt Alterations, encourag'd (as 'tis thought) by the Favour of the Earl of *Suſſex*, who then commanded the Army of the *Engliſh* in *Northumberland*. For he, either not altogether deſpairing of the Duke of *Norfolk*'s Affair, or elſe induc'd by the Promiſes of the exiled Queen, of whoſe Return he had ſome Hopes, was ſomewhat inclinable to the Rebels; which the *Scots* taking notice of, were more ſparing in communicating Counſels with him. The Winter being thus paſt in the reviving of the Truce; the Parliament ſummon'd on the 25th of *January* was deferr'd till *May*. In the mean time the *Hamiltons* having, in vain, ſuborn'd many Men to kill the Regent, at laſt ſeized upon the Tower of *Paſley*, driving out the Garriſon-Soldiers, as thinking they might do it with Impunity, whilſt Mens Minds were imploy'd in greater Things. The Regent appointed the Earl of *Morton*, *Robert Petcarn*, and *James Macgil*, his Embaſſadors to *England*, to reaſon the Affair with the Embaſſadors of other Princes, and ſent them away *February* the 5th, and he himſelf march'd to *Paſley*, where he ſummon'd in the neighbour Nobility, that were of his Party, and attacked the Caſtle: Having cut off their Water, the beſieged were forc'd to a Surrender. Afterwards, when *Gilbert Kennedy* annoyed the Royaliſts, with his plundering Incurſions

ſions in *Carrick*, he went to *Aire*; and as ſoon as *Kennedy* heard of the Approach of a few Troops, being alſo afraid of his Clanſhips, who had been always loyal to the King and his Party, he gave his only Brother as Hoſtage, and appointed a Day to come to *Sterling*, and ſubſcribe to the Capitulation agreed on. *Hugh Montgomery*, Earl of *Eglington*, and *Robert Boyd*, follow'd his Example; and ſurrendring themſelves to the Regent, were by him receiv'd to Favour. During all this time that the Regent was quelling the Seditious, and *Morton* was abſent in his Embaſſy in *England*; they that held *Edinburgh* Caſtle, being freed from the Fear of their Enemies near at hand, ceas'd not to liſt Soldiers, in order to put Garriſons into the moſt convenient Places of the City, to take away Proviſions which the Merchants had brought to *Leith*, and to provide all things neceſſary to endure a Siege, till their expected Relief from foreign Parts might arrive.

THE Regent was very much bruis'd by a Fall from his Horſe, and therefore return'd to *Glaſgow*, where a common Soldier came to him, and gave him ſome Hopes of ſurprizing *Dunbarton*; he had been a Garriſon-Soldier in the Caſtle there, and his Wife coming often to viſit him, had been accus'd, and whip'd for Theft, by *Flemming* the Governor. Her Husband, being an uxorious Man, and judging his Wife to have been wrongfully puniſh'd, went from the Caſtle; and from that Day forward, imploy'd all his Thoughts how he might do *Flemming* a Miſchief: Upon which, he breaks the Buſineſs to *Robert Douglas*, Kinſman to the Regent, and promiſes him, that if he would aſſign a ſmall Party to follow him, he would ſhortly make him Maſter of that Caſtle. *Robert* acquainted *John Cuningham* with the Deſign, who was to enquire diligently of him, how ſo great an Attempt could be accompliſh'd? He, being a blunt rough Soldier, perceiving that they boggled at his Propoſal, becauſe he could not well make out how to accompliſh what he had promiſed. Since, ſaid he, you do not believe my Words, *I'll go on my ſelf, the firſt Man in the Service; if you will follow me, I will make you Maſters of the Place; but, if your Hearts fail you, then let it alone.* When this was told to the Regent, tho' the Thing it ſelf, being in Reality a great Enterprize, had ſomewhat elevated their Spirits, and made them willing enough to have it effected, yet the Author (tho' they judg'd him truſty enough) ſeem'd not a fit Inſtrument to bring about ſo great an Undertaking: Upon which, *Thomas Crawford*, a bold Man, and a good Soldier, was made acquainted with the Project, and 'twas agreed between them,

them, rather to try the Hazard of ſo great yet caſual Affair, than idly to neglect ſuch an Opportunity. Upon which, a few Days were appointed to provide Ladders, and other Neceſſaries, and the Deſign was to be put in Execution the firſt of *April*, for then the Truce granted to the Rebels, by the Mediation of the Queen of *England*, would expire. In the mean time, no Talk at all was to be made about it.

BEFORE I declare the Event of this Piece of Service, give me leave to tell you the Nature and Situation of the Caſtle of *Dunbarton*. From the Confluence of the Rivers *Clyde* and *Levin*, there is a plain Champaign of about a Mile, extended to the Foot of the adjoining Mountains; and in the very *Angle* where the two Rivers meet, ſtands a Rock with two Heads or Summits. The higheſt, which is to the Weſt, has on the very Top of it a Watch-Tower, from whence opens a large Proſpect to all adjacent Parts. The other being lower, looks towards the Eaſt; between theſe, that ſide that turns towards the North and the Fields, hath Stairs aſcending obliquely by the Rock, cut out by Art, where hardly a ſingle Man can go up at once. For the Rock is very hard, and ſcarce malleable by any Iron-Tool; but if any part of it be broken off by Force, or falls down of it ſelf, it emits a Smell far and near like *Sulphur*. In the upper Part of the Caſtle there is a vaſt ſtony Rock of the Nature of a Load-ſtone, but ſo cloſely cemented, and faſtned to the Rock, that no Manner of joining at all appears: Where the River *Clyde* runs by to the South, the Rock (naturally ſteep in other Parts) is ſomewhat bending; and ſtretching out its Arms on both ſides, takes in ſome firm Land which is ſo incloſed, partly by the Nature of the Place, and partly by human Induſtry, that, in the overthwart or tranſverſe Sides of it, it affords ſufficient Space for many Houſes; and in the River, a Road for Ships, very ſafe for the Inhabitants, by playing from the Caſtle Braſs-Ordnance, but unſafe for an Enemy; and ſmall Boats may come up almoſt to the very Caſtle-Gate. The middle Part of the Rock, by which you go up, being full of Buildings, makes, as it were, another Caſtle diſtinct and ſecluded from the higher one: Beſides the natural Fortification of the Rock, the two Rivers, *Levin* to the Weſt, and *Clyde* to the South, make a kind of Trench about it; on the Eaſt Side, when the Tide is in, the Sea waſhes the very Foot of the Rock; when 'tis out, that Place is not ſandy (as uſually Shores are) but muddy; the fat Soil being diſſolv'd into Dirt. This Strand is alſo intercepted, and cut by many Torrents of Water, which tumble down from the adjacent Mountain.

Mountain. The other ſide, turns towards a plain Field full of Graſs. The Caſtle has three Fountains in it always running; beſides Springs of freſh Water in many other Places. The ancient *Britons*, as *Bede* ſays, call'd the Place *Alcuith*; but the *Scots*, who were heretofore ſever'd from the *Britons* by the River *Levin*, becauſe that Fort was built on the Borders of the *Britons*, call'd it *Dumbritton*, now *Dunbarton*. There is a little Town hard by of the ſame Name, upon the Bank of the River of *Levin*, about a Mile diſtant from the Confluence of the Rivers.

THIS Caſtle was accounted impregnable; and in all foreign and civil Wars, was of great Advantage to them that held it, and as prejudicial to their Enemy. At that time, *John Flemming* was Governor of it, by Commiſſion from the baniſh'd Queen; he, tho' he conſented not to the King's Murder, yet having not a Force ſufficient to defend himſelf againſt the Royaliſts, ſided with the Parricides, and for four Years laſt paſt, had kept up the Garriſon at the Charge of the King of *France*, (whom he had perſuaded, that almoſt all the *Scots* had ſecretly confederated with the Queen of *England*;) and made his Boaſts to him, that he held, as it were, the Fetters of *Scotland* in his own Hands; and whenever the *French* had Leiſure from other Wars, if they would but ſend him a little Aſſiſtance, he would eaſily clap them on, and bring all *Scotland* under their Power: And the *French* King was as vain in feeding his fond Humour; for he ſent him ſome military Proviſions by one Monſieur *Verac*, whom he commanded to ſtay there, and to give him an Account of all the Affairs of *Scotland*. Beſides, the Inſolence of the Governor was increas'd by the Treachery of the Garriſon-Soldiers of *Edinburgh* Caſtle, who had lately revolted from the King; he was alſo ſomewhat animated by the Sickneſs of the Regent, who was almoſt kill'd with a Fall from his Horſe, and was troubled with the Gout beſides; he was no leſs incouraged by the Truce, which the Queen of *England* had obtained for them till the End of *March*. Theſe Conſiderations made him and his Garriſon-Soldiers ſo ſecure and negligent, that they went frequently to make merry into the Town, and lie there all Night, as if they had been lull'd at Reſt in the very Boſom of Peace.

AFFAIRS ſtanding in this Poſture, and Preparation being made for the Expedition as much as the preſent Haſte would permit, *John Cuningham* was ſent before with ſome Horſe, to ſtop all Paſſengers; that ſo the Enemy might have no Intelligence of their coming. *Thomas Crawford* followed after with the Foot; they were ordered to meet together at *Dum-*

beck, a Hill about a Mile or two from the Caſtle about Midnight. At that Place *Crawford* (as he was commanded) told the Soldiers what the Deſign was they were to go upon, and how they were to effect it; he ſhew'd them who was to lead them on, and had promiſed to ſcale the Walls firſt; and then he, and thoſe Commanders that would be taken Notice of for their Courage, were to follow. The Soldiers were eaſily perſuaded to follow their Leaders; and accordingly the Ladders were carried, and other Things, to ſtorm the Caſtle; and the Foot, a little before Day, march'd on towards it. The Horſe were commanded to ſtay in the ſame Place, to expect the Event. As they were approaching the Caſtle, they met with two Rubs; one was, that the Bridge over the Brook that runs beween the Fields was broken down; the other, that a Fire appearing ſuddenly near it occaſion'd a Suſpicion, that the Bridge was broken down on Purpoſe to ſtop the Enemy; and the Fire kindled by the Garriſon-Soldiers, to diſcover and prevent the Enemy's Approach; But this Fear was ſoon diſpell'd, by their repairing the Bridge as well as they could in ſuch haſte, and making it paſſable for the Foot; the Scouts likewiſe were ſent out to the Place where the Fire was ſeen, and they could find no Sign of any Fire at all; ſo that in Reality the Fire was a mere *Ignis Fatuus* of a meteorous Nature, like thoſe Fires which are bred in the Air, and ſometimes pitch on the Ground, and preſently vaniſh; but they had a greater Cauſe of Fear, leſt the Sky, which was clear and ſtarry, and the Approach of the Day, ſhould diſcover them to the Sentinels that watch'd above; but, on a ſudden, the Heavens were cover'd with a thick Miſt, yet ſo that it reach'd not beyond the middle Rock of the Caſtle, but the upper Part of it was ſo dark, that the Guards in the Caſtle could ſee nothing of what was done below. But as the Miſt came ſeaſonably, ſo there was another Misfortune, which fell out very unluckily, and had almoſt ruined the whole Deſign: For many Ladders being neceſſary in Order to get up that high Rock, and the firſt were unmanageable by reaſon of their Length; and being over-laden with the Weight of thoſe who went haſtily up, and not well faſtned at Foot in a ſlippery Soil, fell ſuddenly down with thoſe that were upon them: That Accident caſt them into a great Conſternation for the preſent; but when they found that no Body was hurt in the Fall, they recollected their almoſt deſpairing Spirits; and, as if God Almighty had favoured their Deſign, they went on upon that dangerous Attack with greater Alacrity, ſetting the Ladders up again more cautiouſly; and when

when they came to the middle of the Rock, there was a Place reaſonably convenient where they might ſtand; there they found an Aſh-Shrub caſually growing amongſt the Stones which did them great Service, for they ty'd Ropes to it, and let themſelves down; by which means, they lifted up their Fellows that were left below; ſo that at one and the ſame time, ſome were drawn up by the Ropes to the middle of the Rock, and others, by ſetting other Ladders, got up to the top of it. But here they met with a new and unexpected Misfortune, which had almoſt deſtroyed all their Meaſures; for one of the Soldiers, as he was in the middle of the Ladder, was ſuddenly taken with a kind of Fit of an Apoplexy; ſo that he ſtuck faſt to the Ladder, and could not be taken from it, but ſtopp'd the Way to thoſe that would follow. This Danger was alſo overcome by the Diligence and Chearfulneſs of the Soldiers; for they ty'd him to the Ladder, ſo that, when he recovered out of his Fit, he could not fall; and then, in great Silence, turning the Ladder, the reſt eaſily mounted; when they came to the top of the Rock, there was a Wall to which they were to fix their third Ladders, to get over it. *Alexander Ramſey*, with two Files of Muſqueteers, got upon it; the Sentinel preſently ſpy'd him, gave the Alarm, and caſt down Stones upon him and his Men: *Alexander* being aſſaulted with this unuſual Kind of Battery, as having neither Stones to throw again, nor Helmet to defend himſelf, leap'd however down from the Wall into the Caſtle, and there was ſet upon by three of the Guard; he fought it out bravely with them, till his Fellow-Soldiers, being more ſolicitous for his Danger than their own, leap'd down after him, and preſently diſpatch'd the three Sentinels. In the mean time, the reſt made what haſte they could, ſo that the Wall being old, looſe, and over-charged with the Weight of thoſe who made haſte to get over it, fell down to the Ground; and by its Fall, as there was a Breach made for the reſt to enter, ſo the Ruins made the Deſcent more eaſy thro' the Rock, that was very high and rugged within the Caſtle: Upon which, they entred in a Body, crying out with a great Noiſe, *For God and the King*; and often proclaimed the Name of the Regent; ſo that the Guards being aſtoniſhed forgot to fight, but fled every one to ſhift for himſelf as well as he could; ſome kept themſelves within Doors, till the firſt brunt of the Soldiers Fury was over. *Flemming* eſcaped the Danger, by ſlipping down thro' the oblique Rock, having but one in his Company who was knock'd down, but he, deſcending a By-way, was let out of the Gate, and ſo got into a Veſſel on the

River, which, by reaſon of the Tide's being in, came up to the lower Caſtle, and twenty five more of the Garriſon-Soldiers, who had been drinking and whoring in the Town all Night, taking the Alarm, never offer'd to fight, but fled every one which way he could. There were taken in the Caſtle, *John Hamilton*, Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*; *John Flemming* of *Bogal*, a young *Engliſh* Gentleman, that had fled from the laſt Inſurrection in *England*; *Verac*, a *Frenchman*, who, ſome time before, had been ſent to them with ſome warlike Proviſions, and ſtay'd there in the Name of his King, to acquaint the *French* King with the State of Affairs in *Scotland*: *Alexander*, the Son of *William Levingſton*, endeavoured to eſcape by changing his Habit, but was diſcovered, and brought back. The Regent being inform'd of the taking the Caſtle before Noon came thither: And firſt, he highly commended the Soldiers, then he comforted *Flemming*'s Wife, and gave her not only her own Furniture, Plate, and all her Houſhold-ſtuff, and Utenſils, but alſo aſſigned an Eſtate, part of her Husband's, which had lodg before been forfeited into the King's Exchequer, to maintain her ſelf and Children: The reſt of the Booty was allowed the Soldiers. Having ſettled Things thus, he had Leiſure to take a View of the Caſtle; and coming to the Rock, by which the Soldiers got up, it ſeem'd ſo difficult an Aſcent to them all, that the Soldiers themſelves confeſs'd, if they had foreſeen the Danger of the Service, no Reward whatſoever ſhould have hired them to undertake it. *Verac* was accuſed by the Merchants, that when they came into the Bay of *Clyde*, he had robb'd them in an hoſtile Manner: Upon which, many of the Council were of Opinion, he ſhould have been indicted as a Pirate or Robber; but the empty Name of an Embaſſador prevailed more with the Regent, which yet he himſelf had violated by his unwarrantable Conduct: However, that the injured People might be kept in ſome Hopes (at leaſt) of Satisfaction from him, he was kept ſeemingly for a Trial, and lodg'd in a Houſe at St. *Andrews*, whoſe Owner was inclined to the Rebels; whence he was taken away, as 'twere by Force, which was the Thing aim'd at, and then he ſuddenly left the Kingdom. The *Engliſhman*, tho' many Suſpicions were fix'd upon him; and tho' the commendatory Letters of *John Leſly*, Biſhop of *Roſs*, to *Flemming*, which were found after the Caſtle was taken, really convicted him, yet he was ſent home; but after he was gone, 'twas found, that he was ſuborn'd by the Duke of *Norfolk*'s Party to poiſon the King of *Scots*: *Bogal* was kept Priſoner. There was one Priſoner more, whom

whom the Governor moſt deſired to have puniſh'd, and this was the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews:* He, in former times, while his Brother was Regent, had adviſed him to many cruel and covetous Practices; and under the Queen alſo, he bore the Blame of all Miſcarriages. The Regent fear-ed, if he ſhould delay his Puniſhment, the Queen of *England* would intercede for him, and the Archbiſhop's Friends were in great Hopes of it; and leſt Straitneſs of Time ſhould prevent them, the Archbiſhop earneſtly deſired he might be try'd by the legal Way of the Country, for that would occaſion ſome, tho' not much Delay. But theſe Interpoſals were over-ruled, it being alledged, that there was no Need of any new Proceſs in the Archbiſhop's Caſe, for it had been already judg'd in the Parliament. Upon which, being plainly convicted as guilty of the King's Murder, as alſo of the laſt Regent's, he was hang'd at *Sterling*. There was then new Evidence brought in againſt him; for the greateſt Part of it had been diſcover'd but lately. The Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, who lodg'd in the next Houſe, when the Propoſition of killing the King was made to him, willingly undertook it, both by reaſon of old Feuds between their Families, and alſo out of Hopes thereby to bring the Kingdom nearer to his Family: Upon which, he chuſes out ſix or eight of the moſt wicked of his Vaſſals, and commended the Matter to them, giving them the Keys of the King's Lodgings; they then enter'd very ſilently into his Chamber, and ſtrangled him when he was aſleep; and when they had ſo done, they carried out his Body thro' a little Gate, (of which I ſpoke before) into an Orchard adjoining to the Walls; and then a Sign was given to blow up the Houſe. The Diſcovery of this Wickedneſs was made by *John Hamilton*, who was a chief Actor therein upon this Occaſion: He was much troubled in his Mind, Day and Night, his Conſcience tormenting him for the Guilt of the Fact, and not only ſo, but, as if the Contagion reach'd to his Body too, that alſo was miſerably pained and conſumed by degrees; endeavouring all ways to eaſe himſelf, at laſt he remembred, that there was a School-Maſter at *Paſley*, no bad Man, who was yet a *Papiſt*; to him he confeſſes the whole Fact, and the Names of thoſe who joined with him in perpetrating the Murder: The Prieſt comforted him what he could, and put him in Mind of the Mercy of God; yet, becauſe the Diſeaſe had taken deeper Root, than to be expiated by ſuch Remedies, within a few Days he was ſo overwhelmed with Grief, that he dy'd. The Prieſt was not ſo ſilent in the Thing, but that ſome Notice of it came to the King's

Friends. They many Months after the Murder was committed, when *Matthew*, Earl of *Lennox*, was Regent, and when *Dunbarton* was taken, and the Biſhop brought to *Sterling*, cauſed the Prieſt to be ſent for thither: He then juſtified what he had ſpoken before about the King's Murder; upon which, being ask'd by *Hamilton*, how he came to know it? Whether 'twere revealed to him in auricular Confeſſion? He told him, yes; then ſaid *Hamilton*, you are not ignorant of the Puniſhment due to thoſe, who reveal the Secrets of Confeſſions, and made no other Anſwer to the Crime. After fifteen Months or more, the ſame Prieſt was taken, ſaying Maſs the third time; and, as the Law appointed, was led out to ſuffer; then alſo he publickly declared all that he had before affirmed in the Thing in plainer and fuller Words, which were ſo openly divulged, that now *Hamilton*'s Vaſſals fell out amongſt themſelves, and charged one another with the King's Death.

IN the mean while, the Rebels had procured a little Money from *France*, by means of the Brother of him, who commanded *Edinburgh* Caſtle. Beſides, *Morton* was returned from his *Engliſh* Embaſſy, and in a Convention of the Nobles held at *Sterling*, declar'd the Effect of it in theſe Words:

'When we came to *London*, *Feb.* 20. we were referred 'to a Council, choſen out for that Purpoſe; who, after 'much Diſpute between us, at laſt inſiſted upon two Points, 'firſt, that we produce the cleareſt and beſt Arguments we 'had, to ſhew the Juſtneſs of thoſe Actions, which had 'paſs'd in *Scotland*, both formerly and at preſent, that ſo the 'Queen might be ſatisfied in the Equity of them, and thereby know how to anſwer thoſe who demanded a Reaſon 'for them: If we could not do that, yet the Queen would 'omit nothing which might conduce to our Safety. In Anſwer to which, we gave in a Memorial to them to this 'effect: The Crimes wherewith, at firſt, our King's Mother alledged, that ſhe was falſly charged with, have been 'ſo clearly prov'd by the Earl of *Murray*, and his Aſſociates 'in that Embaſſy, that both the Queen her ſelf, and thoſe 'who were delegated by her to hear the Cauſe, could not 'be ignorant of the Author of the King's Murder, which 'was the Source of all our other Miſeries: To repeat them 'again before the Queen, who, we doubt not, is therein 'ſufficiently ſatisfied already, we think it not neceſſary; and beſides, we our ſelves are unwillingly drawn into the Trouble of repeating the Memory of ſo great a Wickedneſs. 'But they who cannot deny, that this Fact was cruelly and

'impiouſly

'impiouſly perpetrated, do yet calumniate the Reſignation of 'the Kingdom, and the Tranſlation of the Government 'from the Mother to the Son, to be a new and intolerable 'Thing, extorted from her by mere Force. Firſt, as for 'the Matter of Fact in puniſhing our Princes, the old Cuſ-'tom of our Anceſtors will not ſuffer it to be called *new*; 'neither can the Moderation of the Puniſhment make it in-'vidious: 'Tis not needful for us to reckon up the many 'Kings, whom our Forefathers have chaſtis'd by Impriſon-'ment, Baniſhment, nay, Death it ſelf; much leſs need we 'confirm our Practice by foreign Examples, of which there 'are abundance in old Hiſtories. The Nation of the *Scots* 'being at firſt free, by the common Suffrage of the People, 'ſet up Kings over them, conditionally, that, if Need were, 'they might take away the Government by the ſame Suffrages 'that gave it: The Footſteps of this Law remain to this very 'Day, for in the neighbouring Iſlands, and in many Places 'of the Continent too, which have retained the ancient 'Speech and Cuſtoms of our Forefathers to this Day; the 'ſame Courſe is yet obſerved in creating their Magiſtrates. 'Moreover, thoſe Ceremonies which are uſed in the Inau-'guration of our Kings themſelves, have an expreſs Repre-'ſentation of this Law, by which it eaſily appears, that king-'ly Government is nothing elſe but a mutual Stipulation 'between King and People; and the ſame moſt clearly ap-'pears by the inoffenſive Tenor of the old Law, which hath 'been obſerved ever ſince there was a King in *Scotland*, even 'unto this preſent Time, no Man having ever attempted 'to abrogate, abate, or diminiſh this Law in the leaſt. 'Tis 'too long to enumerate, how many Kings our Anceſtors 'have put by their Kingdoms, have baniſh'd, impriſon'd, 'put to Death; neither is there the leaſt Mention made of 'the Severity of this Law, or the abrogating of it, and that 'on good Grounds: For 'tis not of the Nature of ſuch 'Sanctions, which are ſubject to the Changes of Time; 'but, in the very Original of Mankind, 'twas ingraven in 'Mens Hearts, approv'd by the mutual Conſent of almoſt 'all Nations, and together with Nature it ſelf was to re-'main inviolable and eternal; ſo that theſe Laws are not 'ſubject to the Empire of any Men, but all Men ſubject to 'the Dominion and Power of them. This Law preſcribes 'to us in all our Actions, 'tis always before our Eyes and 'Minds, whether we will or no; it dwells in us: Our An-'ceſtors followed it, in repreſſing the Violence of Tyrants 'by arm'd Force. 'Tis a Law not proper to the *Scots* 'only, but common to all Nations and People in well-

'inſtituted Governments. To paſs by the famous Cities of '*Athens*, *Sparta*, *Rome*, *Venice*, who never ſuffer'd this 'Right to be taken from them, but with their Liberty it ſelf: 'Even in thoſe Times, wherein Oppreſſion and Tyranny 'were moſt triumphant in the *Roman* Government; if any 'good Man was choſen Emperor, he counted it his Glo-'ry to confeſs himſelf inferior to the whole Body of the 'People, and to be ſubject to the Law. For *Trajan*, when 'he delivered a Sword to the Governor of a certain City, '(according to Cuſtom) is reported to ſay, *Uſe it either for me, 'or againſt me, as I deſerve:* Even *Theodoſius*, a good Em-'peror in bad Times, would have it left recorded amongſt 'his Sanctions and Laws, as a Speech worthy of an Em-'peror, and greater than his Empire it ſelf, to confeſs, *That 'he was inferior to the Laws:* Nay, the moſt barbarous Na-'tions, who had little Notion of Civility, had however a 'Senſe and Knowledge of this, as the Hiſtory of all Na-'tions, and common Obſervation ſhews. But not to inſiſt 'on obſolete Examples, I will produce two in our own 'Memory: Of late, *Chriſtiern*, King of *Denmark*, for his 'Cruelty, was forced out of the Kingdom, with all his 'Family, a greater Puniſhment than ever our People exact-'ed from any of their Kings; for they never puniſh'd the 'Sins of the Fathers upon their Children. As for him, he 'was deſervedly puniſh'd, after a ſingular Manner, as the 'Monſter of his Age, for all kind of Wickedneſs. But 'what did the Mother of the Emperor, *Charles* V. do, as 'to deſerve perpetual Impriſonment? She was a Woman 'in her flouriſhing Age, and her Husband dy'd young, even 'in the very Prime of his Age; it was reported, ſhe had a 'Mind to marry again, ſhe was not accus'd of any Crime, 'but for a certain then and now allowable Intemperance, '(as the ſevere *Catos* of the Age ſpeak); and of an ho-'nourable Copulation, approved by the Laws of God and 'Man. If the Calamity of our Queen be compared with '*Chriſtiern*'s of *Denmark*, ſhe is not leſs an Offender, (to 'ſay no more) but ſhe has been more moderately proceed-'ed againſt and puniſh'd: But if ſhe be compared with *Joan* 'of *Auſtria*, the Mother of the Emperor *Charles*, what did 'that poor Lady do, but deſire, as far as lawfully ſhe might, 'a Pleaſure allowed by the Law, and a Remedy neceſſary 'for her Age? Yet, being an innocent Woman, ſhe ſuffer'd 'that Puniſhment, of which our Queen convict of the 'higheſt Crimes, does now complain: The Murder of her 'lawful Husband, and her unlawful Marriage with a pub-'lick Parricide have now the ſame, who, in killing the King,

'did

'did inflict the Puniſhment due to wicked Men on the In-
'nocent. But here they remember not what the Examples
'of their Anceſtors prompt them to; neither are they mind-
'ful of that eternal Law, which our noble Progenitors,
'following even from the firſt beginnings of Kingdoms,
'have thereby reſtrain'd the Violence of Tyrants. And,
'in our preſent Caſe, what have we done more, than trod in
'the Steps of ſo many Kingdoms and free Nations, and ſo
'bridled that Arbitrarineſs, which claim'd a Power above
'Law? And yet we have not done it with that Severity nei-
'ther, as our Anceſtors have us'd in the like kind; for they
'never would have ſuffer'd any one, who had been found
'guilty of ſuch a notorious Crime, to eſcape the Puniſh-
'ment of the Law. If we had imitated them, we had been
'free from Fear of Danger, and alſo from the Trouble of
'Calumniators; and this may be eaſily known by the Con-
'duct of our Adverſaries. How often have they accuſed
'and arraigned us before our neighbour Princes? What
'Nations do they not ſolicit, and ſtir up againſt us? What
'do they deſire by this Importunity? Is it only, that the Con-
'troverſy may be decided by Law and Equity? We never
'refuſed that Condition; and they would never accept of
'it, tho' it was often offer'd them. What then do they de-
'ſire? Even this, that we ſhould arm Tyrants by publick
'Authority, who are manifeſtly guilty of the moſt notorious
'Wickedneſs, who are ſatiated with the Spoils of their
'Subjects, beſmear'd with the Blood of Kings, and aim at
'the Deſtruction of all good Men? Shall we ſet them up over
'our Lives, who are found Actors in the Parricide, and
'very much ſuſpected to be the Deſigners of it, without
'acquitting themſelves in a judiciary Way? And yet we
'have gratified their Requeſt, more than the Cuſtom of
'our Country, the Severity of the Law, or the Diſtribution
'of equal Juſtice would allow. There is nothing more fre-
'quently celebrated, nor more diligently handled by the
'Writers of our Hiſtory, than our Puniſhment of evil Kings.
'And amongſt ſo many peccant Governors, who ever felt
'the like Lenity of angry Subjects in inflicting Puniſhment,
'as we have uſed in puniſhing our King's Mother, though
'evidently guilty of the greateſt Crime? What Ruler con-
'victed of Murder, had ever Power given to ſubſtitute a
'Son, or Kinſman, in his or her Place? To whom, in
'ſuch Circumſtances, was the Liberty ever granted, to ap-
'point what Guardians they pleas'd to the ſucceeding King?
'And in the Abjuration of the Kingdom, who can com-
'plain of any hard Uſage? A young Woman unable to
'undergo

'undergo the Load of Government, and toſs'd by the 'Storms of unſettled Affairs, ſent Letters to the Nobility 'to free her from that Rule, which was as burdenſome to 'her, as it was honourable: It was granted her: She de-'ſir'd the Government might be transferr'd from her to her 'Son; her Requeſt was aſſented to: She alſo deſir'd to have 'the naming of the Guardians, who might rule the State till 'her Son came to be of Age; it was done as ſhe deſir'd: 'And that the Thing might have more Authority, the 'whole was referr'd to the Eſtates in Parliament, who 'voted, that all was rightly done, and in good Order; and 'they confirm'd it by an Act, than which there cannot be a 'more ſacred and a firmer Obligation. But 'tis alledged, 'what was done in Priſon is to be taken, not as done willing-'ly, but by Conſtraint for Fear of Death; and ſo many o-'ther things which Men are inforc'd to do for Fear, are 'wont, as they ought, to go for nothing. Indeed, this Ex-'cuſe of Fear, as ſometimes it is, not without Reaſon, ad-'mitted by the Judges, ſo it doth not always infer a juſt 'Cauſe for aboliſhing a publick Act once made in a Suit of 'Law; if a Man ſtrike a Fear into his Adverſary for one's 'own Advantage, and ſo the Plaintiff extorts more from the 'Defendant, than he could ever obtain by the Equity of the 'Law: Thoſe Remedies are moſt rightfully and deſervedly 'provided againſt ſuch as are either terrified by Compulſion, 'or inforc'd by Fear, to do what is prejudicial to them-'ſelves. But 'tis otherwiſe, if a guilty Conſcience creates 'a Fear to it ſelf, out of an Expectation of a deſerved Puniſh-'ment, to avoid which, he aſſents to ſome certain Condi-'tions: This Fear carries with it no juſt Cauſe to reſcind 'publick Acts; for otherwiſe, the wickeder a Perſon is, ſo 'much the eaſier Retreat he might have to the Sanctuary of 'the Law; and then the Remedies found out for the Re-'lief of the Innocent, would be transferred to indemnify 'the Guilty. And the Laws themſelves, the Avengers of 'Wrongs, would not be a Refuge to good Men, when vex'd 'by the Improbity of the bad; but an unjuſt Shelter to 'the Evil, when they fear deſerv'd Puniſhment. But that 'Fear, let it be what it will, wherein has it made the Con-'dition of the Queen the worſe? The Title of kingly Dig-'nity, and the Power of Government, was long ſince taken 'from her by Parliament; and being reduc'd to her Priva-'cy, ſhe liv'd a precarious Life upon the Account of the 'Peoples Mercy, not her own Innocency: When therefore 'ſhe was put by the Kingdom, what did ſhe loſe by her Fear? 'Her Dominion was ended before, ſhe only caſt away the

'empty

'empty Name of *Ruler*, and that which might lawfully 'have been extorted from her againſt her Will, ſhe parted 'with of her own Accord, and ſo redeem'd the Reſidue of 'her Life, the Sentiment of her Infamy, the perpetual Fear 'of imminent Death, which is worſe than Death it ſelf, 'only by the laying down the Shadow of a mere Title and 'Name. And therefore, I wonder that, on this Head, no 'Body diſcovers the Prevarication of the Queen's Delegates, 'and of her Embaſſadors. For they who deſire that what 'was done in Priſon, by the Queen, may be undone; ask 'this alſo, that ſhe may be reſtor'd to that Place from which 'ſhe complains ſhe was ejected thro' Fear. And what is 'that Place, to which they ſo earneſtly deſire ſhe ſhould 'be reſtor'd? She was remov'd from governing the King-'dom before all publick Adminiſtration was taken away 'from her, and ſhe was left to the Puniſhment of the Law. 'Now theſe goodly Advocates truly, would have her re-'ſtor'd to that Place, as to plead for her ſelf in a Cauſe 'which is as manifeſt as 'tis foul and deteſtable; or rather, 'it being already prov'd, that ſhe ſhould ſuffer juſt Puniſhment 'for the ſame. And whereas, now ſhe enjoys ſome Eaſe 'in the Compaſſion of her Relations, and in ſo black an Of-'fence, and not in any of the worſt Conditions of Life, 'they would again caſt her into the tempeſtuous Hurry of a 'new Judgment: She having no better Hope of her Safety, 'than ſhe can gather from the Condemnation of ſo many 'former Kings, who have been called before Judges to an-'ſwer for themſelves. But, becauſe our Adverſaries ſedi-'tiouſly boaſt, to trouble the Minds of the ſimple, that the 'Majeſty of good Kings is impair'd, and their Authority al-'moſt viliſy'd, if Tyrants be puniſh'd, let us ſee what 'Weight there is in this Pretence. We may rather on the 'contrary judge, that there is nothing more honourable for 'the Societies and Aſſemblies of the *good*,, than to be freed 'from the Contagion of the *bad*. Whoever thought, that 'the Senate of *Rome* incurr'd any Guilt, by the Puniſhment 'of *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, or *Catiline*: And *Valerius Aſiati-'cus*, when the Soldiers mutinied for the killing of *Caligu-'la*, and cry'd out to know, *Who was the Author of a Fact 'ſo audacious*? He anſwer'd from an Eminence where he 'ſtood, *I wiſh*, *I could truly ſay*, *I did it*: So much Ma-'jeſty there was in that free Speech of one private Man, 'that the wild Soldiers were by it preſently diſſipated and 'quieted. When *Junius Brutus* overthrew the Conſpiracy 'made for bringing back Kings into the City, he did not 'think that his Family was ſtained by a ſevere Execution;

'but

'but that, by the Blood of his Children, the Stain was ra-
'ther wiped away from the *Roman* Nobility. Did the Im-
'priſonment of *Chriſtiern* of *Denmark* detract any thing
'from the Commendation of *Chriſtiern* the next King?
'What hindred, but that he might have been accounted the
'beſt of Kings in his Time: For a noble Mind that is ſup-
'ported by his own Virtue, doth neither increaſe by the
'Glory, nor is leſſened by the Infamy of another. But to
'let theſe Things paſs, let us return to the Proof of the
'Crime. I think, we have abundantly ſatisfy'd the Queen's
'Requeſt; her Deſire was, that we ſhould ſhew her ſuch
'ſtrengthning and convincing Proofs for what we have done,
'that ſhe might be ſatisfied in the Juſtneſs of our Cauſe;
'and alſo be able to inform others, who deſir'd to hear
'what we could ſay for our ſelves. As for the King's
'Murder, the Author, the Method, and the Cauſes of it,
'have been ſo fully declar'd by the Earl of *Murray*, and his
'Aſſociates in that Embaſſy, that they muſt needs be clear
'to the exact Judgment of the Queen, and thoſe others de-
'legated by her to hear that Affair. As for what is objected to
'us, as blame-worthy, after that Time, we have ſhewn that 'tis
'conſentaneous to the divine Law, and alſo to the Law of
'Nature, which too is in ſome Meaſure divine: Beſides,
'tis conſonant to our own Country-Laws and Cuſtoms:
'Neither is it different from the Uſage of other Nations,
'who have the Face of any good and juſt Government a-
'mongſt them: Seeing then that our Cauſe is juſtified by all
'the Interpreters of divine and human Laws; and that the
'Examples of ſo many Ages, the Judgments of ſo many
'People, and the Puniſhments of Tyrants do confirm it,
'we ſee no ſuch Novelty (not to ſay Injuſtice) in our
'Cauſe, but that the Queen her ſelf might readily ſubſcribe
'to it; nay, and perſuade others that, in this Matter, they
'ſhould be no otherwiſe opinionated of us, but that we
'have carried our ſelves like good Subjects and Chriſtians
'too.

THESE were the Allegations, which we thought fit to make to juſtify our Cauſe, which we committed to writing, and read them the laſt Day of *February*, before thoſe grave and learned Perſons, whom the Queen had appointed to confer with us on this Subject; and the next Day, which was *March* the firſt, we again went in the Morning to Court, to learn how ſhe reliſh'd our Anſwer, and what Judgment ſhe made of the whole Cauſe; but, becauſe that Day ſhe was going to her Country-Houſe at *Greenwich*, about three Miles below *London*, we had no Opportunity

to

to ſpeak with her: Then we went to the Chief of the Council, who, at firſt, were appointed to hear and treat with us: 'They told us, that the Queen (tho' ſhe had very little 'ſpare time, in regard of her Journey, and other Buſineſs, 'yet had read our Memorial: But ſhe was not yet ſo fully per-'ſuaded, that our Cauſe was ſo juſt, that ſhe could approve 'it without Scruple; and therefore, ſhe deſired us to go to 'the ſecond Thing, at firſt propoſed by us, which was, to 'find out ſome Way, whereby this Diſpute might be ended, 'upon ſome moderate Conditions.' To which we re-ply'd, 'That we were not ſent from home with an un-'bounded Commiſſion, but one circumſcribed within cer-'tain Limits; ſo that we had no Freedom to enter into any 'Debate at all, of what might in the leaſt diminiſh the Au-'thority of our King; and, if ſuch a Liberty had been of-'fered us, yet we ſhould have been unwilling to accept it, 'or to make uſe of it, if accepted.

'MATTERS ſtanding thus; the Queen being at *Green-'wich*, and we at *London*, we ſent ſome of our Number 'to her, to know, whether ſhe had any thing more to ſay 'to us? If not, that we might have Liberty to go home, 'there to conſult, as well as we could, the Good of our 'Country, and our own private Concerns: And if there 'were any thing we might gratify our Majeſty in, we were 'willing to ſhew our Obſequiouſneſs and Reſpect; nay, 'that we ſhould take more Opportunity to ſhew it at home, 'than we could have now in another's Dominions. This 'Demand procur'd us a Summons to appear at Court the '5th of *March:* When we were come into her Preſence, 'ſhe mightily blam'd our Stiffneſs in maintaining our 'Opinion, and that we ſo pertinaciouſly ſhunned a Diſpute, 'or rather a Conſultation, about a Matter ſo much concern-'ing our Security: She alſo added a large Declaration of 'her Mind and Will againſt the King, and thoſe who 'maintain'd his Cauſe. We urg'd, that the Juſtneſs of our 'Cauſe had been clearly enough declar'd before. She an-'ſwer'd, that ſhe was not ſatisfy'd in her Mind, with the 'Examples and Arguments produc'd by us; neither, ſaid 'ſhe, am I wholly ignorant of ſuch Diſputes, as having 'paſt ſome of my former Time in the Study of the Law: 'But, ſays ſhe, if you be fully determin'd to make no o-'ther Propoſal for your King's Safety, and your own; yet, 'I would have you, at leaſt, enter upon another Confe-'rence, with the Chief of my Council, who treated with 'you about theſe Things before. We anſwer'd, That we 'were not at all ſo ſtifly wedded to our own Opinions, as

'not

'not to be willing to hear any good Expedient, that might be 'offer'd by her, or her Counſellors; but ever with this 'Proviſo, that no Alteration be made in the preſent State 'of the Kingdom; nor any Diminution at all of the King's 'Authority: For upon thoſe two Heads, we neither could, 'or would admit the leaſt Conſultation or Debate. The 'Day after, we went down again to the Queen's Palace, '(as we agreed) and entred into a Conference with her Coun-'ſellors, where many Propoſals were made by them to de-'cide the Controverſy, between Mother and Son, concern-'ing the Title to the Government: We, becauſe the Rea-'ſons were many, and concerning Matters of ſuch great 'Moment on both ſides, deſir'd, that we might have them 'given to us in Writing, and Time allowed us, to con-'ſider of Things of ſuch great Conſequence. They were 'very ready to do it, having firſt conſulted the Queen. When 'we had run them all over in Order, the Matters propos'd 'ſeem'd ſo difficult to us, and ſo derogatory to the Power 'of the King, and ſo exceeding the Bounds of our Embaſ-'ſy and Commiſſion, that we neither would, could, 'nor durſt touch upon them. The Day after, *Robert Pet-'cairn* was ſent to Court with this Anſwer, That ſuch Mat-'ters did belong to the Deciſion of all the Eſtates, and were 'not to be diſputed by ſo ſmall a Number of Perſons as we 'were. He alſo carried our Anſwer to them, who the Day 'before, *viz.* the 4th of *March*, had deſir'd to have all in 'Writing. He earneſtly deſir'd the Queen, that ſeeing they 'had executed all the Points within the Bounds of their 'Commiſſion, they might have Leave to return home. Ten 'Days after, we had Liberty to attend the Queen: The De-'legates of the Council, who, from our firſt coming, were 'appointed to treat with us, were very urgent, that we would 'yet treat with them, about finding out ſome Remedies to 'compoſe Things: They us'd many Arguments to that pur-'poſe, telling us, that if War from abroad ſhould be added 'to our Troubles at home, our Labours, Dangers and Dif-'ficulties would be doubled, eſpecially, being not able to 'extricate our ſelves by our own Forces. But we perſiſted 'in our Reſolution, and would hearken to no Model of 'Accommodation, which leſſen'd the King's Authority, and 'ſo that Day ended.' The next Day, which was the 20th of *March*, we were ſent for again to Court, and being commanded to come to the Queen, ſhe ſpoke to us to this Purpoſe: 'That ſhe, and her Council, had weigh'd our An-'ſwers, by which ſhe underſtood, that none but a ſupreme 'Council, or Parliament of *Scotland*, conſiſting of all the 'Eſtates,

'Eſtates, could give a certain Anſwer to her Demands; 'and thereupon ſhe had found out a Way how to leave the 'Matter intire as ſhe found it, and with an honeſt Pretence 'too. She was inform'd, that there was ſhortly to be a 'Convention of all the Eſtates in *Scotland*, that we ſhould 'go thither, and God ſpeed us well; and that we ſhould 'there endeavour, that an equal Number of both Factions 'ſhould be choſen to examine the Grounds of the Diffe-'rence between them; and that ſhe alſo would ſend her 'Embaſſadors thither, who ſhould join their Endeavours 'with thoſe to promote a Peace: In the mean time, ſhe 'deſir'd, that the Pacification might be renew'd, till the 'Matter was brought to ſome Iſſue. She ſaid alſo, that ſhe 'would confer with the Queen of *Scots* Embaſſadors, and 'perſuade them, if ſhe could, to the ſame. But when 'twas 'mov'd to them, they excus'd themſelves, ſaying, that they 'could determine nothing on that Head, without conſult-'ing the Queen; but that they would write to her to know 'her Pleaſure in the Caſe. Yet we preſt hard to have our 'Convoy to return as was promiſed us, but were deſir'd to 'have a little Patience, till an Anſwer was return'd from 'the *Scots* Queen to the Biſhop of *Roſs*, and the reſt of her 'Embaſſadors, and then we ſhould have our Diſmiſſion. 'We urg'd our Return ſtill, but without Effect, though we 'told her, we had nothing to do with the Biſhop of *Roſs*, 'neither was our Embaſſy to him; we had ended what we 'came for, and did much Wonder, why the Biſhop of *Roſs* 'ſhould retard our Journey, eſpecially, ſince ſo many Tu-'mults were rais'd in our Abſence, to the great Inconve-'nience of the King's Party: But though our Importunity 'was almoſt exceeding the Bounds of good Manners, yet 'we could not prevail; for the Matter was deferr'd from 'Day to Day, till the laſt of *March*, and then the Queen 'return'd to *London*.' The Things which were acted in Parliament for three Days after, took up the Queen ſo much, that ſhe had no Leiſure to debate foreign Matters. 'But 'the 4th of *April* ſhe ſent for us, and excus'd the Delay: 'She told us, that our King's Mother had by her Letters 'ſeverely chid her Embaſſadors for their preſumptuous Con-'fidence in deſcending to debate her Cauſe after that Manner; 'and therefore, ſays the Queen, ſeeing they are ſo averſe to 'Peace, which I propoſe, I will detain you no longer; but 'if ſhe hereafter repent of her preſent Sentiment, (of which 'I have ſome Hopes) and take the Courſe pointed out by 'me, I do not doubt, but you, for your Part, will perform 'your Duty.' Thus we were reſpectfully diſmiſt, and the

eighth Day of *April*, began our Journey towards our own Country.

THIS Account was given at *Sterling*, by the Embaſſadors, before the Convention of the Eſtates. Upon which, the Care and Diligence of the Embaſſadors were unanimouſly approv'd. Other Matters they referr'd to the firſt of *May*, a Parliament being ſummon'd againſt that Time. In the mean time, both Parties beſtir themſelves, one to promote, the other to hinder the aſſembling of it. The wiſeſt Senators were of Opinion, that the Queen of *England* would never let the *Scots* Queen leave her Kingdom, as foreſeeing how dangerous it would be to all *Britain*. In the interim, Mention was made by ſome of demanding the *Scots* King, as an Hoſtage for his Mother, rather in Hopes to hinder a Concord, than to eſtabliſh it; for ſhe was well aſſur'd, that the *Scots* would never yield to it; but there were ſome powerful Men in her Council, who ſecretly favoured the Duke of *Norfolk*'s Faction: Theſe were deſirous, that the Queen of *Scots* ſhould be deliver'd, and that thereby the adverſe Faction might, in Time, be broken and diminiſh'd, and ſo might obtain that Point from her by Neceſſity, which they ſaw they could not otherwiſe do; nor did they doubt, but the Matter would come to that paſs, if the Rebels were aſſiſted with Money, and other Neceſſaries for War from *France*; and the Royaliſts had their Eye only on the Queen of *England*, who had, at the beginning, largely promis'd them, upon underſtanding the Crime of the Queen, that ſhe would take a ſpecial Care of the King and Kingdom of *Scotland*. Neither could the *French* King well bring about his Deſigns. He was willing the *Scots* Queen ſhould be deliver'd, but not that the King ſhould be put into *Engliſh* Hands; and hearing how ſtrong the *Norfolk* Faction was, which was all for Innovations; he did not deſpair, but that the *Scots* Queen might, in Time, eſcape out of Priſon privately, or be deliver'd by his Means. Thus ſtood the State of *Britain* at that Time.

MORTON, having given a laudable Account of his Embaſſy to the Convention at *Sterling*, return'd to his own Houſe, about four Miles from *Edinburgh*; he had a Company of one hundred Foot, and a few Horſe to guard his Houſe, and to defend himſelf, if the Townſmen ſhould attempt to make any Excurſion, till more Forces might come in. In the mean time, the Queen's Faction were Maſters of the Town, and ſet Guards in all convenient Places; and levell'd all their Deſigns to exclude the Regent, and to hinder the Parliament, which was ſummon'd to be held at *Edinburgh*.

burgh. Upon which, *Morton* was commanded by the Regent, with twenty Horſe and about ſeventy Foot (for the reſt had Paſſes to go abroad for Forage) to march to *Leith*, who was to make a publick Proclamation there; (for they had garriſon'd *Edinburgh* already) that no Man ſhould aſſiſt the Rebels by Land or Sea, either with Proviſion, Arms, or any other warlike Furniture; they that did ſo, were to undergo the ſame Puniſhment with them. Theſe knowing themſelves to be inferior to the Town-Soldiers, ſent their Foot another Way about, which was cover'd by a Hill from the Sight of the City, (commonly call'd *Arthur*'s Seat) and the Horſe paſt near the Walls and Gates of the City, not a Man of the Enemy ſtirring out. When they had done what they were commanded to do at *Leith*, they had not the ſame Fortune at their Return; for the Foot refus'd to march back the ſame Way that they came, but return'd againſt the Will of the Horſe near the Gates of the City, and ſo paſs'd with them under the Walls, with an intent to try what Courage themſelves were of, and their Enemies too, when, on a ſudden, a Sally was made from two of the Gates. At firſt they fought bravely, ſo that thoſe of the Town were forc'd to retire in Diſorder into the Town with no great Loſs, 'tis true, yet it eaſily appear'd that they were inferior in Valour, tho' ſuperior in Number. The Regent having nothing in Readineſs to attack the Town, and having no Time neither, by reaſon of the ſudden ſitting of the Parliament, to bring any Cannon thither, thought it better to deſiſt from Force, and to hold the Parliament without the Gate of *Edinburgh*: For that City being ſtretch'd out moſtly in Length, they, who firſt compaſſed it with a Wall, left a great part of it in the Suburbs; yet ſo, that the Inhabitants of that Part had the full Privilege of Citizens, as well as thoſe within the Walls. There the Convention was held, for the Lawyers gave their Opinions, that 'twas no great Matter in what Part ſoever of the City it met. In this Parliament, theſe were declar'd Traitors, *viz.* the Chief of them who held out the Caſtle, eſpecially thoſe, who out of Conſciouſneſs of their Guilt of the King's and Regent's Murders, had avoided Trial. The Rebels being thus condemn'd by an Act of Parliament (the Judgment of which Court is of very great Authority) leſt the Commonalty, which commonly is at the Beck of the Nobility, ſhould be alienated from them, they alſo of the Number which they had there, made up a Convention, ſuch as it was. Few appear'd, who had any lawful Right to vote; and of them

ſome came into the Aſſembly at all; ſome preſented themſelves but as Spectators only, abſtaining from all judiciary Acts; ſo that having neither a juſt Number of Voices, nor being aſſembled either in due Time, or according to ancient Cuſtom; yet, that they might make ſhew of a lawful ſufficient Number, two Biſhops, and ſome others who were abſent (a Thing never heard of before) ſent in their Votes in Writing, at hap-hazard, as being doubtful of the Event of that Aſſembly. At this time the Caſtle continually play'd with its great Guns upon the Place where the Nobility were aſſembled; and though the Bullets often fell amongſt Crouds of People, yet did they neither kill nor wound ſo much as one Man. There were but few condemn'd in either Convention; and both Parties appointed another Convention to be held in *Auguſt*, one at *Sterling*, the other at *Edinburgh*. When the Aſſembly was diſmiſt, neither Party attacked each other, ſo that there was a kind of Truce between them. Upon this, the greateſt Part of the Soldiers that were with *Morton*, being preſs'd Men, ſlip'd away to their own Homes. They, who kept the Town, knew, that *Morton* had but a ſmall Party for his Guard, and being willing alſo to have Reparation for their former ignominious Repulſe, they ſent out two hundred and twenty Muſqueteers, and one hundred Horſe, carrying two braſs Field-Pieces along with them; intending either to burn the Town of *Dalkeith*, where *Morton* then was; or, if that ſucceeded not, to frighten the Enemy, and keep him within the Town; and if they could thus put him into a Fright, they intended to make their Boaſts of it all over the Country. They ſhewed themſelves well accoutred on a Hill over againſt *Dalkeith*: Upon which, thoſe of *Dalkeith* being alarm'd, cry'd preſently, *Arm, Arm.* The *Mortonians* drew out immediately, being two hundred Foot, and about ſixty Horſe, and mounting a little an oppoſite Hill, and then again deſcending into the Valley, ſtood over againſt them ready for Battel: Some Archers picquered and skirmiſhed on both ſides, and there was a light Onſet; but the Rebels, who expected to find their Enemies unprepared, being diſappointed of their Hopes, march'd back in as entire a Body as they could to recover the City; and thus ſome preſſing upon others, in the Eagerneſs of their Retreat, they came to *Cragmiller* Caſtle, ſituate almoſt in the Midway between *Edinburgh* and *Dalkeith*. There a few of *Morton*'s Foot, which paſt by the Caſtle privately on the other ſide, roſe from their Ambuſh, and attacked the Enemy's Body, in the ſtrait Paſſage of the Way, which was between

* them,

them, and ſo diſorder'd their Ranks, and put them to flight: They, who kept Garriſon in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, perceiving from the higher Ground, that their Men were flying toward them, ſent out eighty Horſe, and thirty Foot to relieve them; with this Supply they charg'd again, and the King's Horſe being fewer in Number by half, and not able to endure the Action, fled back in as much haſte as they had purſued before. The Foot was in a manner uſeleſs on both ſides, becauſe of a great Shower that fell ſuddenly from the Clouds. In the Purſuit of the *Mortonians* there were but two ſlain, more were wounded, and about twenty ſix taken Priſoners: Of the Rebels there were more ſlain, but fewer Priſoners taken. But one Accident did almoſt equal the Loſs of both Parties: They which came from *Edinburgh*, brought with them a Barrel of Gun-powder, and as the Soldiers, in Haſte, and careleſſly, went to take out ſome Powder, a Spark of Fire fell into it, and blew it up, inſomuch that the Horſe which carried it, *James Melvil*, the Commander of the Foot, and many other Soldiers, were ſo ſcorch'd and burnt, that the moſt Part of them, in a few Days after, dy'd.

WHILST theſe Things were acting about *Edinburgh*, Victory inclining to neither ſide, one Troop of the *Scots*, who, ſome Years before, had ſerv'd in *Denmark*, under *Michael Weems*, a noble, virtuous, and learned young Man, return'd into their own Country, and offer'd their Service to the King, againſt the Deſires of the Townſmen, who would willingly have drawn them over to their Party. They had a little Time allow'd them to viſit their Friends; and coming together at the Day appointed, they were inform'd, that ſome Ships were mann'd out by the Rebels to intercept them. *Morton* himſelf was aware of the Deſign, and therefore taking what Force he could, on a ſudden, get ready, without acquainting any Body with his Deſign, he came ſo ſuddenly to *Leith*, that he had almoſt taken them before they went a Ship-board; ſixteen of them, who did not make ſuch haſte to launch out their Boat, he took Priſoners on the Shore. The next Day he provided Ships, either to follow them, (he could not do it ſooner becauſe of the Tide) or to intercept them in their Return. The Regent alſo was made acquainted with it the ſame Night, who, ſpeedily gathering ſome irregular Troops, haſtned to the left Shore of the Port, to ſet upon the Rebels when they landed: But the Speed of the *Daniſh* Soldiers rendred thoſe Endeavours needleſs, for the greateſt Part of them got aboard a large

Veſſel, and ſo paſt ſafely over. The reſt, who were in a ſmaller Skiff, were taken not far from *Leith*, and being about twenty ſix, were brought Priſoners to the Caſtle. After this Action, the Regent return'd to *Sterling*: *Morton*, being wearied with Labour and Watching, and troubled with the Cholick too, fell ſick at *Leith*. *Drury*, the *Engliſhman*, who had treated for a Truce between the Factions for ſo many Days, could, in the end, effect nothing; for the Regent would yield to no other Terms, but that the Places which were ſeized on, during the former Truce, ſhould be reſtored. When *Drury* was about to depart, the Rebels, as 'twere in Teſtimony of Reſpect and Compliment to him, drew out all the Strength that ever they could make, ſuppoſing, that whilſt *Morton* was ſick, they ſhould either put their Enemies into a terrible Fright, who were inferior in Number to themſelves; or elſe, if they durſt fight with the Force they had without their General, they might do ſome conſiderable Execution upon them toward the ending of the War. *Morton* being inform'd of this by his Horſe-guard, roſe preſently out of his Bed, and buckling on his Armour, brought up all his Men into a neighbouring Hill, where he kept them ready for the Attack, about four hundred Paces from the Enemy. *Drury* rode between both Armies, and earneſtly deſired them to return home, and not to break off all Hope of Accommodation, by over-raſh and haſty Counſels: Upon which, they both agreed to retreat, only the Diſpute was, who ſhould do it firſt. *Drury* endeavoured to compound this Difference alſo, and deſired of both, that when he, ſtanding in the middle between both Armies gave a Sign, they ſhould both retreat in one and the ſame Moment. *Morton* was willing; but the Rebels threatned, that unleſs he retreated firſt of his own Accord, they would beat him ſhamefully out of the Field; and indeed, they could hardly be kept from advancing their Bodies toward him. When *Morton* heard this Anſwer, he ſuppoſed he had ſatisfy'd *Drury* and the *Engliſh*, whom at this Time he was unwilling to offend, but would rather have them Witneſſes of his Moderation; whereupon he preſently drew forth againſt the Enemy; firſt, the Horſe made a brisk Charge, and routed the Enemy's Wings; the Foot attempted to charge, but were routed alſo; when the Gate of the next Street being narrow, could not admit ſo many at once in their haſty Flight, many were there ſlain, many trodden under Foot; great Numbers taken, none making any Reſiſtance, but only a Party of Foot, who, having the Advantage

tage of the next Church-yard, rallied again; and yet, at the firſt Charge, were a ſecond Time put to flight. Their Flight into the City was ſo confuſed, that the Guard left the Gates, and all fled into the Caſtle; ſo that if the Enemy that purſued had not been intent on their Booty, they might have all together entred the Town with them, as being unguarded. About fifty of the Rebels were kill'd, and about one hundred and fifty taken. *Alexander Hume* had a ſlight Wound with a Fall from his Horſe, and was taken Priſoner: *Gawen Hamilton* was kill'd: *James Culen*, *Huntly*'s Kinſman, a Commander of Foot, hid himſelf in a poor Woman's Pantry, but was diſcovered, and brought to *Leith*. The common People, when they ſaw him, made ſuch a Shout, that it plainly appear'd they would not be ſatisfied, but by his Death; for, in the former civil Wars, he had been a cruel and rapacious Plunderer. He was infamous in his military Imployment in *France*; and when the Kings of *Denmark* and *Sweden* were at difference, he promiſed to ſerve them both, and accordingly had Money to raiſe Soldiers from either, but tricked them both. And being thus taken at laſt (as I ſaid) to the great Joy of all, was led forth to his Execution.

AFTER a few Days Reſt, the Townſmen recruited their Forces, and then ſhewed themſelves again in Arms; after that, light Skirmiſhes paſt between the Parties almoſt every Day, with various Events. The King's Party were more couragious, but the Rebels had Places more convenient for Ambuſhes; and beſides, they had a high Caſtle from whence they might ſee all the Motions of their Enemies, neither would they commonly venture any farther on an Action, than their Ordnance out of the Caſtle could command. The Regent kept himſelf at *Leith*, watching all their Sallies, and ſtopping all Proviſions by Sea; for he could not do it by Land, by reaſon of the Largeneſs of the City, and Inconvenience of the adjacent Places, in the ſurrounding of which many Opportunities of Service were loſt. Whilſt theſe Things were acting about the City, a *French* Ship was taken, that brought Gun-Powder, Iron-Bullets, ſmall Braſs-Guns, and ſome Money to the Rebels. The Money went to pay the Soldiers, but the Bullets, Powder, and part of the Cannon, being ſent with little or no Guard to *Sterling* againſt the Tide, the Rebels, having Intelligence of it, procured ſome Veſſels from other Havens, and ſurprized them; but not being able to carry their Booty to the Caſtle, they ſunk it in the River. About the ſame time, another Ship was alſo taken, in which

there was little elſe but Letters and large Promiſes of Aſſiſtance, ſpeedily to be ſent from *France*. For during the two whole Years laſt paſt, in which there was War in *Scotland*, the Queen of *England*, on behalf of the Royaliſts; the King of *France*, and the *Engliſh* Papiſts, on behalf of the Rebels, ſent in ſome ſmall Sums of Money, but loaded them with more Promiſes, as rather ſtudying, that their reſpective Party might not be conquer'd, than conquer: Both of them were willing Matters ſhould be brought to that Neceſſity: The Queen of *England*'s Deſign was, that the *Scots*, being worn out by their Diviſions, might be willing to ſend their King into *England*, and ſo ſeem to depend wholly on her: The *French* did it, that the Rebels might ſurrender *Dunbarton* and *Edinburgh* to him, and that thus by thoſe two commanding Garriſons from both Seas, he might keep the *Scots* always in Fear of his Arms. But deſpairing of the Queen's Delivery, and *Dunbarton* Caſtle being loſt, he mov'd but ſlowly in the Cauſe of the Rebels; his Aim only was, that the Kingdom being exhauſted with domeſtick Sedition, he might not undertake a new and unneceſſary War, for the ſake of one Caſtle only; it was enough, he thought, at preſent, if it did not fall into the Enemy's Hands.

THE *Scots* were fully reſolved not to give up their King to the *Engliſh*, upon the Account of old Controverſies; as alſo, becauſe the *Engliſh* Papiſts were ſo ſtrong, who plac'd all their Hopes in his Death. For, if he were taken out of the Way, the Queen of *England* would not only ſeem weaker, ſeeing it was the Life of one King only that delayed their Hopes; but alſo the Queen of *Scots* was the undoubted Heir of the whole Kingdom, who, by her Marriage, might gratify whom ſhe pleaſed with the Realm, and ſo bear a mighty Figure in the Change of the State of Religion thro' all *Europe*. And in the *Engliſh* Court there were ſome, no mean Perſons, who preferred the Hopes of Novelty before ancient Courteſies; yet if, as long as the King of *Scots* was alive, they ſhould cut off *Elizabeth*, many of thoſe of the Queen's Privy-Council feared, leſt the known Wickedneſs of the *Scots* Queen might diminiſh her Authority, and increaſe her Son's Power, and ſo, for Fear of Tyranny, endear him more to the *Engliſh*: Whereupon the *Engliſh* Rebels were willing to deſtroy the Queen of *England*, and King of *Scots* both; and not ſucceeding in doing it openly, they reſolved upon Poiſon.

MATTERS

MATTERS ſtanding thus in *Scotland*, both Factions prepared themſelves againſt the approaching ſitting of the Parliament. The Rebels had only three of the Lords voting with them, of which two were the Proctors, or Commiſſioners to the Convention, to be held in the Queen's Name: The third, *Alexander Hume*, was the only Man who had Right to vote. And of the Eccleſiaſtical Order, two Biſhops, the one baniſh'd thither a few Months before by the Regent; and, the State of the City being chang'd, not daring to depart without a Convoy, he ſtay'd there againſt his Will: The other was a Bankrupt, who, having ſpent his Eſtate, was driven thither by Neceſſity. By their Votes, above two hundred were condemn'd, ſome of them being Children under Age. Beſides, the impertinent Soldiers, as if they had already got the Victory, divided other Mens Patrimonies among themſelves, and ſo put many quiet and innocent Perſons (and, by that means, more liable to Injuries,) into the Roll of the Confiſcate.

THE Regent went to *Sterling*, where he had a great Convention of the Nobility; in which, about thirty of the moſt obſtinate of the Queen's Party were condemn'd, the reſt were put off in Hopes of Pardon. The Rebels thought this a fit Opportunity for them to attempt ſomething, in the Abſence of the Nobility; and accordingly they drew all their Forces out of the City, and to make a greater Shew, the Townſmen with them; they ſet them in Battel-array, that ſo, as in former Times, by light Skirmiſhes, they might draw the King's Forces out of *Leith*. In the mean time, while the Enemy were kept in Play by them, they reſolved to ſend the reſt privately to march about, and when the Garriſon was drawn out, to enter in at the oppoſite Gate, and ſo burn the Town. *Patrick Lindſey* was Governor of *Leith*, a wiſe and valiant Perſon; he drew forth his Forces, having ſufficiently provided againſt their Treachery, and marched directly towards the Enemy; they fought ſtoutly at firſt, at laſt he gave the Rebels a round *Salvo*, and ſo beat them back, yet not without Loſs, to the Gates of the Town; a great many Priſoners were brought off, but the moſt Part of them were Townſmen. *Alexander Hume* was taken once, but reliev'd again by his own Party. In the Evening, as the King's Party were retreating, joyful for the Victory, *James Haliburton*, a good Man, and a skilful Soldier, who commanded all the Foot, being too far from his Troops, was taken by ſome Horſe in the Dask of the Evening, when he could not diſcern of

whoſe Party they were in the Highway, and ſo carried Priſoner into the City. Upon this Loſs, the Rebels took heart to make another Attempt, as full of Danger and Boldneſs, and more likely, if it had ſucceeded, to put an End to the whole War. For having receiv'd Intelligence by their Spies, that the Nobility of the contrary Faction at *Sterling* were ſo careleſs and remiſs, that, in an open Town, they had not ſo much as a Night-Guard, as if it had been a Time of Peace, they took three hundred Foot, and two hundred Horſe, and march'd thither; to eaſe the Foot, who were haſtily called forth, they took away all the Countrymens Horſes, who came to Market the Day before; and if occaſionally they lighted on any other Horſes by the Way, they took them too. The Captains, in that Expedition, were *George Gordon*, *Claud Hamilton*, and *Walter Scot*, they were much encouraged to the Undertaking by *George Bell*, an Enſign of a Foot Company, who was born at *Sterling*; he knew all the convenient Paſſages and Acceſſes into the Town, and was made acquainted in Writing with all the Noblemens Lodgings; he gave them aſſured Hopes, that they would quickly maſter all, inſomuch, that they were ſo confident of Succeſs in their March, as to appoint whom to kill, and whom to ſave alive. They came to the Town early in the Morning, and found Things in profound Security, not ſo much as a Dog opened his Mouth againſt them; ſo that they ſilently enter'd the Town, and without any Reſiſtance, went up to the Market-Place; they ſet Guards at all the Paſſes, and then went to the Noblemens Lodgings; the reſt were eaſily taken, only *James Douglas*, Earl of *Morton*, put ſome ſtop to them in his Lodging; when they could not break in upon him by Force, they ſet fire to the Houſe; one or two of his Servants, who ſtoutly defended the Paſſes, were kill'd, and he himſelf, when all was a Fire, hardly eſcaping out of the Flames, ſurrendred himſelf to *Walter Scot*, his Kinſman, then near at hand. The Regent too was taken Priſoner at the ſame time; his Men did not ſtand it out in his Defence, but he was forc'd to defend himſelf alone, and at laſt was taken Priſoner. *Alexander*, Earl of *Glencairn*, and *Hugh*, Earl of *Eglington*, were reſerv'd, under a Guard, for Execution: For *Claud Hamilton* told his Men, *They ſhould kill all the Noblemen of the contrary Faction, as ſoon as ever they paſs'd out of the Gates, without any Diſtinction.* All Things thus ſucceeding beyond Expectation, the common Soldiers ſcattered themſelves all over the Town to get Plunder. Upon this,

this, *John Erskin*, Governor of the Caſtle, who had before try'd to break thro' the Enemy in the Market-Place, but in vain, they were ſo ſtrongly poſted, ſent a Party of Muſqueteers into his own new Houſe, which was then a building, and not quite finiſh'd, from whence there was a Proſpect into the whole Market-Place. This Houſe, becauſe it was uninhabited, and not compleated, was neglected by the Enemy, and afforded a ſafe Poſt to the Royaliſts, whence to play on their Enemies: When the Rebels ſaw that they were ſhot at from a high Place, garriſon'd againſt them with unequal Weapons, they preſently turn'd their Backs, and ran away in ſuch Fear, that, when they came to the narrow Way leading to the Gate, they trod down one another: That which ſaved them, was, there were but few to purſue, for they who had driven them out of the Market-Place, could come out but one by one thro' the Gate of the new Houſe, which was but one neither, and that half-ſhut too towards the Town; and but a few came forth from other Houſes, where they ſtood armed, ready for all Events. Thus the whole Soldiery, which, the Day before, had attempted ſo deſperate a piece of Service, and had almoſt ſucceſsfully finiſh'd it, were driven out of the Town in ſuch Fear and Confuſion, that they left their Priſoners, and every one ſhifted for himelf. In this Action there was only one Man of Note kill'd, and that was *George Ruven*, a young Gentleman of great Hopes, who, preſſing too eagerly upon the thickeſt of the Enemies, loſt his Life. And *Alexander Stuart* of *Gairlice*, when he was led away Priſoner, was kill'd; 'tis not known, whether by his own Men, or the Enemy. In this great Conſternation, they, who before kept within their own Doors for fear, now came abroad. They, who had taken *James Douglas*, and *Alexander Cuningham*, Priſoners, ſeeing no Hopes to eſcape, ſurrendred themſelves up to their Captives. *David Spence*, Captain of Horſe amongſt the Rebels, was leading away the Regent; he knew that many lay in wait for his Life, and therefore he defended him with all the Care he could; inſomuch, that when the Ruffians aim'd at, and ſhot the Regent, they hit him too, and he died the ſame Day, to the great Grief of both Parties; for he was an accompliſhed young Gentleman in every Reſpect both in Body and Mind, and inferior to no Man of his Age in *Scotland*. After his Deceaſe, the Enemy's Horſe never did any memorable Service. Two of the Regent's Murderers were put to Death, not being able

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to eſcape: The reſt fled in ſuch Fear, that the Priſoners, whom they had taken, eſcap'd out of their Hands. For certain, all the Enemy's Party might have been deſtroyed, if there had been Horſe ſufficient to have purſued: But the Tories of *Teviotdale*, at their firſt Entrance into the Town, had plundred all the Horſes, which ſaved them. The ſlain of both Sides were almoſt equal: Of the Royaliſts, not a Man was carry'd away Priſoner; of the other Side many; moſt of whom being intent upon Plunder, were taken in the Houſes which they were a rifling: The Regent dy'd the ſame Day of his Wounds. His Funerals were celebrated in haſte, as well as they could, in ſuch an Hurry, and then the Nobility, who were there, aſſembled, to create another Regent to ſucceed him. They choſe three out of their own Number, having firſt given them an Oath, to ſtand to the Deciſion of the Nobility, and thus, as Candidates, they were to expect the Iſſue of the next Aſſembly. The three were, *Gileſpy Cambel*, Earl of *Argyle*; *James Douglas*, Earl of *Morton*; and *John Erskin*, Earl of *Mar*. All the Votes pitched on *John Erskin*. His firſt Attempt was to attack *Edinburgh*, there having been an Army appointed to be levy'd by the former Regent againſt the firſt of *October*, but this ſudden Change of Affairs made it to be deferred till the 15th of the ſame Month; that Delay was a great Hindrance to Buſineſs, for it gave Liberty to the Townſmen, who wrought Night and Day, to perfect their Works; ſo that the early Winter, the long Nights, the bad Weather, in thoſe cold Countries, the Difficulty of conveying Proviſions, and his Want of military Accommodations, cauſed him to return, without carrying the Place.

FOR ſome Months after Sallies were made, but of no great Advantage to either ſide: For the Proſpect of the Caſtle being free and open to all Parts, gave Opportunity to the Rebels, that they would never come to Action, nor yet fall into any Ambuſh; for, by a Signal given from an Eminence in the Caſtle, they were eaſily warn'd to retreat in Time; yet once, when all the Horſe and Foot ſallied out of the Town, to intercept a few of the Royaliſts, and they preſt upon them, who pretended haſtily to fly away: When they in the Caſtle ſaw the Colours of ſome Companies ſtart up from a neighbouring Valley, they preſently ſounded a Retreat to them. Upon which, the Rebels, before

fore they came to the Place of Ambuſh, retreated back in great Fear, and their Flight was ſo much the more confus'd, becauſe, tho' they were advis'd of their Danger before-hand, yet they did not know what, or from whence it was, nor could they ſo much as ſuſpect it: Thoſe few Horſemen, who before made ſemblance of Flight, preſs'd upon their Rear in ſuch manner, that they caus'd the Foot to break their Ranks, and every one ran to the City as faſt as ever he could; many were wounded and taken, and amongſt them, ſome Captains and Coronets of Horſe.

WHILST Matters were thus ſlowly carried on about the City, in the Country towards the North, there was a great Loſs receiv'd upon this Occaſion: There were two Families of great Power in thoſe Parts, the *Gordons* and the *Forbes*'s; the *Gordons* liv'd in great Concord amongſt themſelves, and by the King's Commiſſion, had for many Years preſided over the neighbouring Counties, and ſo increas'd their ancient Power and Authority: On the other ſide, the *Forbes*'s were always at Difference, and continually weakned one another; but neither of them had now, for many Years, made any Attempt upon the other, there being rather a ſecret Emulation, than an open Breach. In the Family of the *Forbes*'s, there was one *Arthur*, a Man of Senſe and very active, and who, from the beginning of the falling out, had always been on the King's Side; he thought 'twas *then* time for him to ſet up his own Name and his Families, as alſo to advance the Power of the Party which he followed. He firſt then endeavour'd to reconcile all of his own Family; he fear'd not any Power that could be rais'd againſt him in thoſe Parts; when a Day was appointed for that Purpoſe, *Adam Gordon*, Brother to the Earl of *Huntly*, by all means, endeavour'd to hinder it, and for that End, giving private Notice to his Friends and Vaſſals, there came a great Number of them to the Place. There were two Troops of the *Forbes*'s in Sight, but, before they could join, he ſet upon one of them, and kill'd *Arthur* preſently; at his Fall the reſt were ſcatter'd and put to flight; ſome eminent Men were kill'd, and many taken, the reſt, ſome Days after, dar'd not ſtir for Fear, leſt thoſe they had taken Priſoners ſhould ſuffer for it. And their Fear was increas'd by the burning of *Alexander Forbes*'s Houſe, with his Wife, great with Child, his Children and Servants

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in it. *Arthur Forbes*'s elder Brother, who was their Chief, after his Houſe was taken and plunder'd, hardly eſcap'd, and came to Court; where, tho' they were ſomewhat ſtraitned themſelves, yet were there two hundred Foot granted to him, and to the Nobility that follow'd his Party; and withal, Letters were written to the neighbouring Nobility to join with him: When they were thus join'd with the reſt of the *Forbes*'s, and ſome neighbouring Families, they thought themſelves ſecure enough from Force, but they wanted a Commander over them, for the Heads of the Families were moſt young Men, and there was ſcarce one more eminent than another amongſt them: So that being unreſolved in their Counſels, *John Keith*, with five hundred Horſe, went home to his own Houſe, which was not far diſtant. *Alexander Forbes*, and his Vaſſals, with two hundred Foot march'd to *Aberdeen* to drive thence *Adam Gordon*, and to refreſh his Men after their March. *Adam* receiving Intelligence, that his Enemy was advancing with but a ſmall Party, draws his Men out of the Town, and to make a Shew of a greater Multitude, compell'd the Townſmen to draw out with them, upon which enſued a ſharp Action in the Field near the Town. The King's Foot, out of Eagerneſs to fight, followed the *Gordonians* too far, and having no Reſerves, were repuls'd and put to flight, principally by the Archers; there were not many of them kill'd, becauſe the Action laſted till dark Night, but ſeveral were taken, and amongſt them, *Alexander Forbes* himſelf, after he had ſtoutly defended himſelf againſt them a long time.

THIS Succeſs in the North mightily encouraged the Rebels to attempt greater Matters: Upon which, in a different Part of the Country, they reſolv'd to attack *Jedburgh*, a Town, as the Country Cuſtom then was, unfortify'd; but the Inhabitants were very brave, and, ſome Years before, had ſtoutly reſiſted the Rebels: *Thomas Carr* of *Farniheſt*, and *Thomas Scot*, liv'd near the Town; they, beſides their old Clans, which were numerous enough, had aſſociated to them the three neighbouring Countries, *Liddiſdale*, *Eweſdale*, and *Eskdale*, Places always notorious for Robbery; but then, in regard of the Licentiouſneſs of the Civil War, they pillaged without Controul a great Way farther. And beſides, in *Teviotdale* it ſelf, there were ſome great Families noted for thoſe Practices, either being infected by

their

their Neighbours, or becauſe they had been accuſtomed to plunder their Enemy's Country; nor did theſe only come in, but ſome of the neighbouring *Engliſh*, in Hopes of Booty, join'd themſelves with them; beſides this, they ſent for one hundred and twenty Muſqueteers from *Edinburgh*, all pick'd Men, out of every Company of the Foot. The *Jedburgians* knew, that they were aim'd at, and therefore ſent in Haſte to the Regent, to acquaint him with their Danger; and only deſir'd a few light harnaſſed Soldiers from him: In the mean time, they were not wanting to do their beſt. They ſent for *Walter Carr* of *Seſford*, and levy'd a reaſonable Number of Soldiers out of the Neighbourhood, and fortify'd their Town as the Time would permit: Both Parties were alſo inform'd, at the ſame time, that *William Ruven* was come as far as *Dribargh*, with one hundred and twenty Horſe and Foot, part of which he had brought with him, and part he rais'd in the neighbouring County of *Merch*. But the Rebels, being confident of their Number, as being three thouſand Men, march'd to the Town early in the Morning, to prevent the coming in of their Relief; *Ruven* ſuſpected they would do ſo, and therefore march'd ſpeedily after them, and made ſome Attempts upon their Rear. And *Walter Carr* join'd his Forces with the Townſmen, and drew out directly towards the Enemy: Who ſeeing this, that they might not be ſurrounded, preſently retreated to Places of greater Advantage. The Robbers, who came in for Hopes of Plunder, ſeeing the Town fortify'd, and the Royaliſts ready for Action, went home the neareſt Way they could; and the Rebels, with their Vaſſals, and a Company of Foot, retreated to *Hawick*, never thinking that the Enemy would, in the leaſt, attempt any thing againſt them there; and their Hopes were increas'd by the Winter Seaſon, which was ſharper than ordinary, by reaſon of a great Quantity of Snow lately fallen that cover'd all the Ground. But *Ruven* intended to make Uſe of the Opportunity, and in the third Watch drew out his Party, and march'd ſo ſuddenly towards *Hawick*, that he was in a Mile of it, before the Enemy took the Alarm: At *Hawick* they were ſo ſurprized, that there was no room for Counſel left, but Foot and Horſe were immediately drawn out, and following the Current of the next River, endeavour'd to retreat to a Place of more Safety. But the Swiftneſs of their Purſuers prevented them; the Horſe knew the Country, and made a Shift to eſcape, but the Foot

Foot were left for a Prey to their Enemies; they poſſeſt themſelves of a ſmall Wood on a Rock near the River, where they were ſurrounded by the Horſe, and not venturing to ſtay till the Foot came up, they all ſurrendred themſelves at Mercy: But there being other Dangers to be prevented, and ſeeing that they could not be carried up and down in ſo ſharp a Winter, having paſt their Words to return at a Day appointed, and leaving ſome Hoſtages for that Purpoſe, they were ſent home without their Arms: When they were diſcharged, *Kircade* made ſeveral weak Pretences to elude their Promiſes, which however hinder'd them from returning at the Time appointed.

THE reſt of the Winter, and the following Spring, was wholly taken up in light Skirmiſhes, in which few were kill'd, but more of the Rebels than Royaliſts: For the Rebels, when they ſaw an Advantage, would draw out on the Hills near the City, and before they had ſcarce begun a Skirmiſh, would frequently retire into the City. In the mean while, frequent Embaſſies came from *England*, to reconcile the Factions, but without Effect: For the Queen of *England*, though ſhe moſt favoured the King's Party, yet ſhe was willing to make ſuch a Peace, as might ingage both Parties to her; but the *French* were wholly inclin'd to the Queen's Cauſe, and therefore, by large Promiſes, hindred Peace, and adviſ'd a Continuance of the War: Some Money they ſent at preſent, but not enough for the Occaſion, but only to feed Hopes, and a great part of what was ſent was always fingered by thoſe who brought it. In the mean time, light Skirmiſhes paſt for ſome Months between the Parties, but not at all contributing to the main Affair. Neither were other Parts of the Kingdom free from burning and plundering: *Adam Gordon* gathered a Party together, and, entring *Angus*, beſieged *Douglas*'s Houſe of *Glembervy*; and, finding that himſelf was abſent, they miſerably burnt and deſtroyed all that was there, which ſtruck ſuch a Terror into thoſe of *Dundee*, that they call'd in the Garriſons from the adjoining Parts of *Fife* to their Aſſiſtance; they were Enemies to the *Gordonians*, as having been in a particular Manner ever true to the King's Cauſe. About this time *Blackneſs* was betray'd by its Governor to the *Hamiltons*,

miltons, which is a Caſtle that hinders Commerce between *Leith* and *Sterling*. The Regent broke down all the Mills about *Edinburgh*, garriſon'd all the Noblemens Houſes about it, and ſtopp'd all Paſſages into the City; many Priſoners were taken on both Sides. *Archibald Douglas*, one of *Morton*'s familiar Friends, was apprehended on Suſpicion, which increas'd, by the Baſeneſs of his former Life, as alſo by ſome Letters found about him; nay, after he was taken, Correſpondence by Letters paſt between him and the Enemy; which evidently ſhew'd that he had aſſiſted the Rebels, both by Advice and Actions too, having tranſmitted to them both Money and Arms.

FINIS.

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